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Saving the World's Past

Zeynep Aygen

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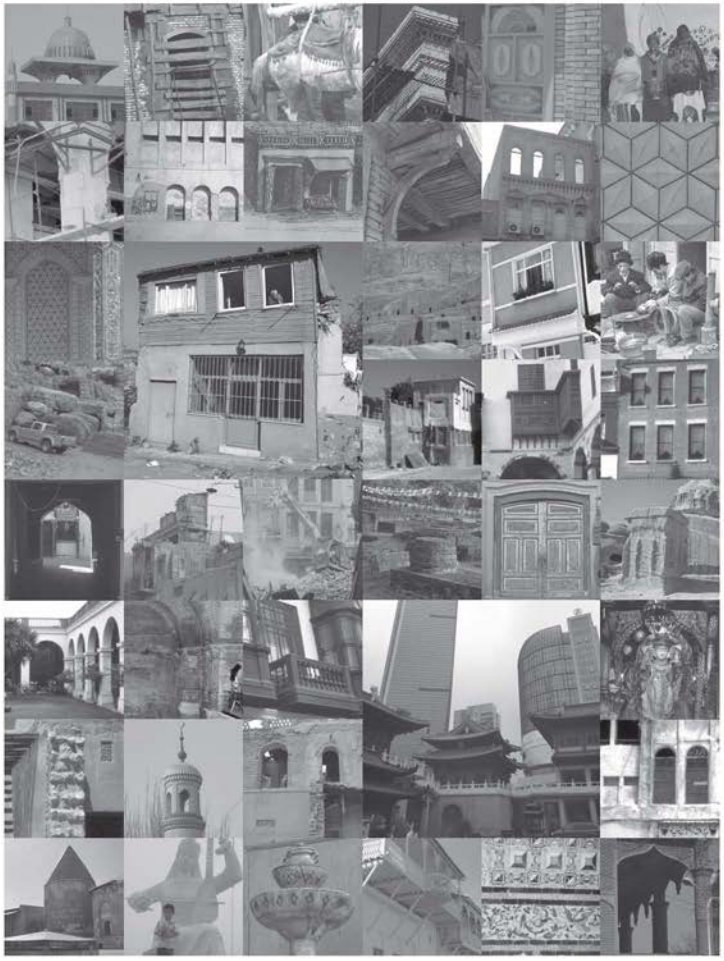

Saving the world's past

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Foreword

There are many reasons why a volume providing a comparative global framework is valuable and timely. The world is witnessing a fundamental shift in geopolitical power and relations. The twenty-first century is now commonly referred to as the 'Asian century', and the rapid modernization of China and India and the growth of their economies are already challenging the economic dominance that the United States has enjoyed for the last hundred years. Japan may have declined in relative terms, but its economy remains one of the global leaders. The so-called Asian Tigers—Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong—continue to prosper, and Vietnam has enjoyed unprecedented growth since the mid-1990s. Brazil has emerged as an economic powerhouse in South America, while Turkey's economic influence now spreads across Central Asia, the Middle East and southeastern Europe; and there is rising wealth in parts of Africa, with that continent's enormous mineral potential starting to be tapped. Meanwhile, the European Union faces financial crisis, the full social and political consequences of which are yet to be seen.

This global shift will eventually be fully reflected in the field of cultural heritage conservation, as in other forms of cultural production. Consequently, we need to know more about the heritage places, site management projects and conservation approaches belonging to the world outside Europe and North America. Zeynep Aygen is to be commended for bringing into focus in this important book the cultural heritage of societies that should have been better represented in the international heritage discourse. Many would argue that the Western world—essentially Europe and North America—has dominated the cultural heritage field for too long.

This is seen most clearly in the World Heritage system, UNESCO's flagship program created under the 1972 World Heritage Convention, where the bias is distinctly Eurocentric. The system's headquarters are located in Paris (UNESCO World Heritage Centre), and the advisory bodies named in the convention are situated in Gland, Switzerland (IUCN; International Union for the Preservation of Nature), Paris (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) and Rome (ICCROM; International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property). Moreover the system's

centrepiece, the World Heritage List, when it was created in the late 1970s soon began to lean towards Europe. Nearly two-thirds of the 216 Cultural Places inscribed in the 1996–2000 period were European. The credibility of the List as a representation of the world's cultural heritage was at risk.

The World Heritage Committee, aware of this problem, set in training in the 1990s a number of changes designed to reduce the imbalance by extending the World Heritage system to regions, countries, cultural groups (including minorities) and cultural features not well represented on the List. These included the widening of the inscription criteria by introducing the concept of Cultural Landscapes in 1992 and the establishment of a Global Strategy in 1994 to encourage countries that had not already done so to join UNESCO and for more Member States to ratify and become States Parties to the World Heritage Convention and then to begin submitting applications for World Heritage listing. In parallel with these moves, and under pressure from non-Western countries, most notably Japan, the need for new intellectual approaches to understanding and conserving heritage places was also recognized. An experts' meeting was held in Japan in 1994 which produced the important *Nara Document on Authenticity*. This statement asserted that societies view heritage through their own cultural lens and should be allowed to protect their heritage in a way that is appropriate in their specific cultural context. This has had enormous implications not only for conservation practice related to heritage places but also extends into the practices applied in museums and galleries, with the International Council on Museums supporting different societies' right to develop their museums in their own ways rather than following a European approach.

A further major shift away from what had become the conventional way of understanding heritage came with the greater emphasis placed on intangible cultural heritage, again a development promoted strongly by Japan, including through Koichiro Matsuura, UNESCO's Director-General from 1999 to 2009. This shift underlay the increased interest in the 'associative' values of cultural landscapes and spiritual places within the World Heritage system. It also inspired the development of UNESCO's Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2000 and the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage in 2003 with its new system of committees and inscription and monitoring processes. Again, these changes at the global level have flowed through into heritage practice at the national and local levels.

Zeynep Aygen outlines the emergence of new heritage approaches and projects in the non-Western world. Her discussion is rich, highlighting conservation ideas, practices and projects that readers in what she refers to as the 'core'—Europe, North America, Japan and Australia—will find new and sometimes challenging. Each of her detailed chapters ends with a case file that both sharpens the chapter's focus and allows the main points to be summarised. Her discussion of the modernizing impact of colonialism on the non-European world in Chapter 4, for instance, ends with a fascinating case file on East Africa and the Gulf States.

One of the reasons for the World Heritage system's suboptimal performance is the limited financial resources in many States Parties, the low capacity of heritage agencies and officers, the absence of practitioner support organisations and training opportunities. In Chapter 6, Aygen picks up these deficiencies, reminding us of the resource contrasts between different parts of the world and the need to explore new ways of finding international funding and other support for conservation projects.

Another issue she highlights is the way in which countries make use of heritage for their own narrowly nationalistic reasons. While much heritage protection has positive outcomes in terms of group cohesion, a positive sense of identity and an ability to market a place as a destination for tourism purposes, heritage has also been put to less benign uses. In the World Heritage arena, the emphasis tends to be on celebrating one's own rather than the world's heritage. This can be for economic reasons, but it is sometimes part of a deliberate political strategy of celebrating the heritage of the country's dominant racial or ethnic group in order to strengthen that group's cultural dominance and force the assimilation of racial and ethnic minorities. Aygen analyses a number of cases, such as the undermining of the Uyghur cultural heritage and identity in China, in her wide-ranging Chapter 3 on the role of politics. Her arguments provide ammunition for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva in its efforts to see access to and enjoyment of cultural heritage as a fundamental human right. Not that all traditional cultural practices are worthy of safeguarding; indeed, some clearly infringe human rights. There is a need to move towards a rights-based approach to the management of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible.

Again, these issues are well understood among professionals in the World Heritage Centre, and more inclusive approaches are being sought at the global level as well as at national and local levels in many countries. The focus now placed on the associative values of cultural landscapes is one example within the World Heritage system, while, in some national and local systems, protecting places because of their social value is being tried. UNESCO's intention is to make the World Heritage system more inclusive by requiring the involvement of local stakeholders, especially indigenous people, in the identification, evaluation and management of World Heritage sites. Aygen explores the moves to increase public participation in these processes in Chapter 7, looking at the active involvement by affluent groups and the difficulties that limit meaningful involvement by less advantaged groups. She uses a case study of the Americas to summarise this aspect of her discussion.

Much more can be done within the World Heritage system, especially to provide a stronger focus on dialogue creation so that diverse peoples understand better and learn to respect the heritage of others. In this way, the World Heritage Convention and system would contribute more effectively to achieving UNESCO's fundamental objective of building bridges to peace. The current director-general of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, has been

promoting this objective more strongly than her predecessors, and it is to be hoped that she succeeds. Such a reorientation would, however, not only impact on World Heritage but would trickle down to influence heritage protection ambitions and practices at national and local levels.

It would also be in line with the more critical academic field of heritage studies that has been emerging over the last decade. This, too, calls for heritage conservation to be reconceived as a form of cultural politics and for this to be reflected in heritage practice in the field and heritage scholarship in universities. This book by Zeynep Aygen sits squarely within this new paradigm, contributing to the discussion of such critical issues as the diversity of heritage conceptions and terminological confusion, the abuse of heritage, the infringement of human rights and the denial of historical justice and memory. It is a comprehensive and serious study for which those of us in the heritage field will be especially indebted.

William Logan
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1 Introduction
Global Boundaries between Preservation and Conservation

> No person within the town . . . shall unroof or dismantle any house without a decree of the senate, unless he shall intend to restore such house to its former condition. Any person acting in violation of this prohibition shall be liable to pay . . . a sum of money equivalent to the value of the said house.[1]

This clause is part of conservation legislation issued several hundred years ago during the Roman Empire.[2] It addressed the citizens of Tarentum, a former Greek federation colony in southern Italy which was later amalgamated with the nearby Roman colony established in 123 BC. Its citizens had to adopt Roman laws, dedicated partly to safeguarding the region's built heritage. *Lex Municipii Tarentini* provides evidence for the existence of an early conservation management concept, challenging a common belief which dates the origins of conscious heritage conservation within a management frame to the European Enlightenment. It also uses the word *restoration*, which we still use. Contrary to some other terms in conservation terminology, restoration is a rare example whose meaning has hardly changed since the Roman period, and there is almost global consensus on its meaning. The glossary of selected terms of the US National Trust Library describes restoration techniques as "methods used in rebuilding buildings and structures with historically accurate materials to achieve historical authenticity in keeping with a particular time period or event."[3] This definition closely corresponds to the ancient Roman description of this action. Their action was probably limited to a shorter time scale, whereas current restoration concepts aim to interpret any historical period. In 1999, Article 1.7 of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter defined restoration as "returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material." Here is an important detail which is not clarified in the US National Trust Library version. Burra restoration does not allow the use of "new" materials and is thus distinguished from "reconstruction," which allows new material to include recycled material from other places.[4]

Unlike restoration, there seems to be no consensus for the word *conservation* in its global use. In the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, conservation includes all the processes looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance of a place, including repair and restoration. However, in some countries like Turkey, restoration is rather perceived as a separate category, as indicated by the name of the Istanbul Central Laboratory of Restoration and Conservation, a governmental institution in charge of rehabilitation and protection of movable and immovable property.[5] Both the name and the description of responsibilities of this institution seem to interpret restoration as a separate category to conservation.

Although the current version of the Burra Charter dates from 1999 and has influenced the development of national charters in other countries (e.g., China), it seems that there is still no global consensus regarding its terminology.[6] One would think that the Charter, widely used by professionals, as one of the rare documents giving practical examples for the clarification of its articles, would have helped towards a global consensus, but this is not the case. Stephen Emmitt stated in 2002 that conservation allows alterations and improvements, and a change of use is also to be expected. Emmitt's version of the conservation of a Georgian town house included the application of technical features such as electricity, insulation and new bathroom and toilet facilities.[7] Under the Burra Charter, this would not denote conservation action but would rather fit within the category of *adoption*, meaning modifying a place to suit the existing use or a proposed use. The historic commercial centre shown in Figure 1.1 has been reconstructed, but it is not a reconstruction, as it has introduced mostly new materials. Some authors also alternate between *conservation* and *preservation*, which is probably the most difficult definition to clarify regarding boundaries between the two. In their article, "The Conservation of Historic Buildings in Britain and the Netherlands," Nigel Dann and Mark Steel used the words *preservation* and *conservation* interchangeably, whereas Emmitt saw preservation solely as the retention or reinstatement of an important structure to its original form, rather like a "museum."[8] This approximately matches the Burra Charter definition, which sees preservation as maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration. This definition emphasises maintenance which should exclude "repair," whereas Article 17 still states that "new work (e.g., stabilisation) may be carried out in association, when its purpose is the physical protection of the fabric."[9] For example, the columns in Curates Street in Ephesus have been stabilised through anastylosis, as the new work aimed to protect the fabric which would have deteriorated if the columns had been left in fragments. A similar practice can be seen in Petra, Jordan (Figure 1.2). This attitude was described by James Marston Fitch as being the most conservative of all levels of curatorial intervention. He asserted that it is also the safest procedure in the sense of "least done, soonest mended."[10] This description could clash with the "reinstatement" aspect of Emmit's description, which may involve a major action in many cases and

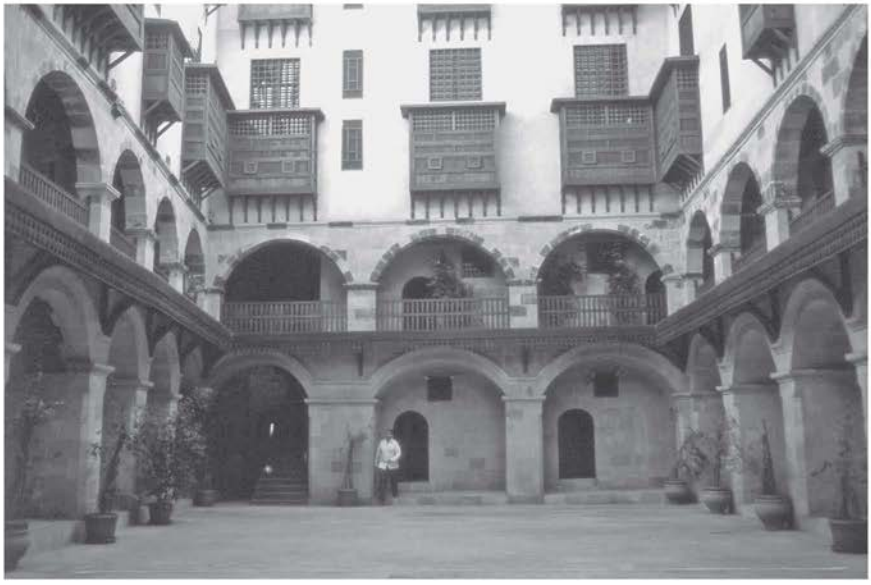

Figure 1.1 An historic commercial centre (*wakala*) in Cairo, Egypt: restoration, reconstruction or adaptation? Image by Zeynep Aygen.

Figure 1.2 A structure in Petra, Jordan: preservation, conservation, restoration, reconstruction or stabilisation? Image by Zeynep Aygen.

would be restoration rather than preservation, following the Burra Charter definition.

Conversely, Fitch saw the world's oldest continuous preservation project as the Japanese temple complex of Ise Naiku in Honshu Province, as it has been replicated every twenty years since the reign of Emperor Temmu (AD 673–676), and stated that immortality could only be won by period replication.[11] Can this be called a preservation project, or is it rather reconstruction in a very broad sense? Provided we assume that the craftspeople who rebuild the temple guard their techniques jealously, so that the continuation of the building method fulfils the principle of "like for like" in the modern sense, it is a typical reconstruction. Indeed, this type of accurate reconstruction was common practice for early Shinto buildings in Japan and has probably been practised at Ise Naiku, as Soper indicated. Soper also mentioned that at Ise Naiku the extracted materials of the old dismantled precinct were put to some worthy use elsewhere, so that this recycling ensures that the tradition is never broken.[12] In any event, this approach contradicts Fitch's "least done, soonest mended" description of preservation, although it fits within the wider category called "historic preservation," discussed later in this chapter.

Global confusion over terminology, especially regarding the difference between conservation and preservation, grows when one looks at North America. The US National Trust Library warns that, in the US, conservation does not apply to buildings but to other objects and national resources and that non-US publications may not conform to this difference. Preservation in the US means to maintain a building in its existing state; however, it differs in the degree of intervention by usually allowing limited alterations and even additions. In this it is much closer to what some other parts of the world call conservation. Similar to the US, in Canada, preservation relates to places and sites, whereas conservation embraces all cultural resources.[13] Other national definitions differ from the more commonly used ICOMOS terminology. For example, the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) Charter of 2004 states that, while Western ideology of conservation advocates minimal intervention, India's indigenous traditions idealise the opposite (see Chapter Two). Western ideology underpins official and legal conservation practice in India and is appropriate for conserving protected monuments. However, conserving unprotected architectural heritage offers the use of indigenous practices.[14]

The use of the word *conservation* in this document is generic and could be replaced in some cases with *reconstruction* or *rehabilitation*, a term which Bernard Feilden used to differentiate conservation from more drastic interventions.[15] What is more important to the theme of this publication is the differentiation emphasised by INTACH as "Western ideology." This phrase implies that indigenous techniques and crafts in some countries have not been subject to such drastic changes in culture and technology as in more industrialised countries, most of which are now in a postindustrial phase, concentrating on services rather than production. In certain parts of

the world, an historical continuity in production exists compared with others. India aims to protect this continuity as a civilisation legacy.

For the sake of consistency and clarity, this publication prefers to accept ICOMOS terminology and will use *conservation processes* as a generic term to include all the above intervention levels, in accordance with Article 14 of the Burra Charter. It will also accept *historical preservation* in its broader context to describe the modern interest in the preservation of cultural heritage, as used by Jukka Jokilehto in the same sense in his 1998 article.[16] This aligns with the semantic structure of preservation, which itself differs in its dictionary meaning from conservation; the latter is rather to preserve from change, thus justifying historical preservation used in a general sense for those types of activities that protect historical buildings.[17] However, wherever possible, it will refer to diverse definitions which may be not accepted by the majority but which will enrich the discourse by reflecting lesser-known philosophies and conditions, as in the case of the Indian charter.

There is also an historical dimension. Extensive evidence exists of preservation concepts practised earlier than the more widely known Roman ones. In the "Analects," Confucius (551–479 BC) praised the two fifth-century BC kings Wu and Tschau for regularly maintaining temples left to them by their ancestors.[18] He also referred to a contemporary debate concerning the demolition and reconstruction of the Treasure Chamber of Lu by expressing his opinion that the temple should be restored in accordance with the original building, an idea close to the reconstruction principles of the Burra Charter. This brings us back to the Ise Temple in Japan, where such reconstruction took place regularly, which implies a certain conceptual preservation tradition in that part of the world. As conservation philosophy is today one of the main pillars of conservation discourse, there is no reason to exclude the input of such an eminent philosopher from the history of the development of conservation philosophy just because of its nonlegislative nature. The Confucian account provides evidence of the existence of a public debate in ancient China related not only to historic preservation but also to conservation processes. However, this also signifies that the roots of heritage preservation began outside the boundaries of Europe, which is one of the aims of this publication.

Another important issue to remember is that all these terms involve various types of management, including the management of change to retain the cultural significance of the place. Management can be seen at different levels of intervention and includes the philosophies and legislation of no physical intervention. However, some cultures that managed change by prohibiting any intervention, thus protecting ruins without conserving them in the modern sense, have mostly been excluded from scholarly publications on this subject. They deserve to be included, however, as protecting a historic building or site from being demolished or changed is only possible through an exertion of power, which could take the form of written legislation but also through oral tradition passed from generation to generation, exercised by the relevant authority. The next chapter will discuss these unusual forms

of conservation management and trace the origins of their exclusion from the conservation discourse.

The methodological approach employed during the research process for this book was based on triangulation between qualitative and practice-related research methods, deriving from multiple case studies in a number of predominantly non-European countries. In some cases, examples from European countries were used for comparison purposes. Triangulation, convergence, corroboration, correspondence or results from different methods refer usually to the combination of qualitative and quantitative research, excluding practice-related research as an independent research method in academic discussions.[19] However, according to the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, practice-related research should be considered in its own terms.[20] This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. While the practice-related research component of this multistrategy research partly involved field observations, including discussions with multiple stakeholders about their practice, in a number of cases, the author sought to be the voice of practitioners in the field within a comparative context. The global framework of this study made it impossible in some cases for the author to visit the relevant locations; however, these case studies are still discussed to raise awareness of their existence in lesser-known parts of the world for the international readership.

According to Bampton and Cowton, e-interviews conducted by e-mail exchange open up possibilities for interviewing research subjects "who would ordinarily lie beyond the geographical and social research of the researcher."[21] In my own case, this permitted a lengthy delay between communications, which Bampton and Cowton described as "asynchronicity" and saw as a disadvantage in terms of not knowing the resources the interviewee has drawn upon in that period. However, this is not a disadvantage in practice-related research, as the interviewees were all practitioners talking about their own practice. These personal communications proved to be a valuable asset for the author, helping to overcome language barriers in a number of cases. The practitioners not only gave exact references to their resources, such as national legislations, parliament documents and newspaper extracts, but also reflected on their views of the global conservation discourse as experts in their respective countries. Therefore, at the end of this book, an appendix contains contact details and short biographies of the interviewees, subject to their agreement, for them to be more widely known and accessible to an international public interested in heritage preservation concepts and practices.

NOTES

1. Ernest George Hardy, *Six Roman Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 108.
2. Hardy suggested the period 89–45 BC to date this legislation.

3. Glossary of Selected Index Terms, University of Maryland/ National Trust Library, www.lib.umd/edu/NTL/glossary.html (accessed January 7, 2010).
4. Australia ICOMOS/ Charters, http://australia.icomos.org/publications/Charters (accessed January 8, 2010).
5. http://kvgm.turizm.gov.tr/TR,43099/istanbul-restorasyon-vekonservasyon-merkez-laboratuvar.html (accessed March 22, 2012).
6. This is the third version; the original charter dates from 1979.
7. Stephen Emmitt, *Architectural Technology* (London: Blackwell Science, 2002), 198–9.
8. Nigel Dann and Mark Steel, "The Conservation of Historic Buildings in Britain and the Netherlands: A Comparative Study," *Structural Survey* 17, no. 4 (1999): 227–30.
9. The Burra Charter, 1999 (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance), Australia ICOMOS, incorporated 2009.
10. James Marston Fitch, "Curatorial Management of the Built World," *Historic Preservation* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990).
11. Ibid.
12. Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, 3rd ed. (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), Chapter 17, note 10.
13. "Historic Preservation," Absolute Astronomy, http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Historic_preservation (accessed January 20, 2010).
14. *Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India*, clause 2.6, INTACH, http://www.intach.org/about-charter.asp?links=about3 (accessed March 13, 2012).
15. Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Architectural Press, 1982).
16. Jukka Jokilehto, "International Trends in Historic Preservation: From Ancient Monuments to Living Cultures," *APT Bulletin* 29, no.3/4, (1998): 17–19.
17. http://oxforddictionaries.com (accessed March 12, 2012).
18. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics I: Confucian Analects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895).
19. Alan Bryman, "Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research: How Is It Done?" *Qualitative Research* 6, no. 97 (2006): 97–113, http://qrj.sagepub.com/content/6/1/97 (accessed February 24, 2012), doi:10.1177/1468794106058877.
20. See Chapter 2 in this volume, Arts and Humanities Research Council and Dominic Symonds, University of Portsmouth, and e-mail message to author, October 26, 2010.
21. Roberta Bampton and Christopher J. Cowton, "The E-Interview," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* [Forum: Qualitative Social Research] 3, no. 2 (2002), (revised June 2008), Article 9, http://nbn-resolving.de/um.nbn.de.0114-fqs020295 (accessed February 24, 2012).

2 Periphery, Margins and Self

Periphery, a concept originally developed in the late sixteenth century denoting a line that forms the boundary of something, gradually started to be used to define "the outer limits or edge of an area or object" or "outermost part or region within a precise boundary" and has been regarded historically by post-Enlightenment Europe as culturally inferior.[1] Although to a lesser extent than the oriental "other," traditionally it still represents the margins of the civilised world. According to Gavroglu, the countries of peripheral Europe are those of the Iberian Peninsula, the Balkans and the Eastern European and Scandinavian countries.[2] This may explain why conservation concepts in countries such as Bulgaria in the Balkans or the more recently established European Union countries of the Baltic are rarely mentioned in pertinent publications. Even the more celebrated peripheral countries of European culture, like Greece and Spain, only found their proper place in books dealing with building conservation for the first time in Jokilehto's admired comparative approach, first published in 1999.[3] In this popular book, he also innovatively discussed countries in Asia and South America, the latter being in a sense a periphery of both Spain and North America. In *Sciences in the European Periphery during the Enlightenment*, Gavroglu and his coauthors discuss how, while social and conceptual repercussions of Enlightenment ideas have been systematically studied in those countries where the movement originated, only a few historical works have dealt with the introduction of these ideas to the countries in the periphery of Europe.[4]

Based on a general acceptance that architectural and archaeological conservation in its present form is a conceptual framework beginning during the Enlightenment, it is clear why fundamental writings have ignored early developments in peripheral countries. For instance, one of the first archaeological excavations in Europe to discover the remains of ancient civilisations and former European settlements and forts occurred in Russia under Peter the Great, czar of Russia from 1682 to 1725. However, in the literature, it is nearly always Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) who takes this credit, with work conducted mainly in the 1750s at Herculaneum in Italy. It is true that Winckelmann founded a systematic approach to archaeological excavation and criticised an earlier attempt to excavate Italian

sites, a private initiative dating from 1711 carried out by Austrian cavalry officer Prince d'Elbeuf on his property near Portici.[5] The czar's enterprise was, unlike Elbeuf's, of an official nature and much closer to a scientific concept in the present sense, despite being criticised by Cecere.[6] The lack of a systematic approach Cecere mentions may be the result of the pioneering nature of this enterprise; on the other hand, the theoretical framework, with the participation of eminent academics, indicates an early development of archaeological documentation, possibly ignored in publications as a consequence of the peripheral position of Russia within a European context, and a consequent lack of interest.

An exploration of present attitudes towards this phenomenon is best reflected in the humorous title of a seminar delivered at Stanford University in 2009: "Wi(l)der West? A Transatlantic Perspective on the European Periphery from the Balkans and Turkey to Russia."[7] This "wildness" is usually connected with a lack of economic prosperity in comparison to the economically stronger countries of Europe. Derek H. Aldcroft wrote in *Europe's Third World*: *The European Periphery in the Interwar Years* that the countries of the European periphery at the turn of the twentieth century were dependent upon agriculture, with per capita incomes 50 percent less than "advanced" European nations.[8] This definition, based on economic geography, includes among peripheral countries the three Baltic States, the Balkan countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania, and the Mediterranean countries of Turkey, Greece, Spain and Portugal. All of these countries are similarly those whose conservation projects have not been explored at all or only explored in recent years. The only exceptions are sometimes Poland and Hungary, which Aldcroft categorises as Central European peripheral states; of course, there were somewhat political reasons for their inclusion into European cultural concepts in the Cold War period. For example, a book published by the German government in 1975, *Rehabilitation of Historic Town Centres Abroad*, explores within the category of main countries France, the UK, the Netherlands, Italy and Poland; while CSSR (Russia) and Hungary appear in the category of "short reports."[9] The other countries appearing in the short reports category are Austria and Switzerland, indicating the impact of Germany's historic and cultural links to these countries. Another European publication from the same year emphasises that "Europe survives as a cultural entity which neither Tartar nor Turk, nor even two world wars and an 'iron curtain' have succeeded in breaking."[10]

Politics, identity and historic preservation are closely linked, as we shall see increasingly as the book develops. A 1994 publication on architectural heritage, inventory and documentation methods in Europe reveals that Turkey was added to the European framework of conservation management initiatives during the 1990s.[11] However, a Council of Europe publication on the same inventory, fifteen years later, added three other peripheral, usually lesser mentioned, countries to the inventory—the Russian Federation, Portugal and Slovenia—but excluded Turkey.[12] There is a clear parallel with the

political situation. Further evidence of this was a recent Council of Europe publication on the cultural policies of Southeast Europe, which included Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and the former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia.[13] Obviously, at present these countries demarcate the southeastern boundaries of Europe; its eastern boundary is still the Russian Federation, as it was fifteen years ago. Another interesting point is the total exclusion of Romania from all these publications, a country with UNESCO patrimony areas in Moldavia, Maramureş and Oltenia. As early as 1892 Romania passed a monuments law, and a national school of restoration emerged in the interwar years. However, "a decade after the overthrow of Ceausescu and his government the Romanian experience is still regarded as something alien."[14]

On the other hand, a concept emphasising wider boundaries of a European entity has developed: the European City of Culture. It started with Lisbon, the capital of another peripheral country, and in 2009 it was Belfast, capital of Northern Ireland, one more peripheral country; finally in 2010 it included Istanbul, proving the existence of inclusion policies regarding the periphery. Still, it seems that these intentions have not yet been reflected in relevant publications. The European periphery definition of the economic geography discourse can be followed in most of the EU publications between the 1970s and 2000s; their selective context excluding countries such as Portugal, Ireland, Romania and Greece recalls Aldcraft's "Europe's Third World" definition based on lower per capita income.

One European country whose economic instability during the economic crisis of 2010 provoked cultural discussions among the Western European members of the European Community is Greece. Originally the margins of the Greek world were defined through the Greek League. People outside that geographical, political and cultural area were considered "barbarians." However, when Edith Hamilton wrote in 1930, she converted the Greek self to the Greek other; what was left from the grandeur of the country of origin of European civilisation, according to her, was a mere glimpse: "Little is left of this wealth of great art: the sculptures defaced and broken into bits, have crumbled away; the buildings are fallen; the paintings gone forever; of the writings all last but a few."[15]

Hamilton placed the full stop here. Obviously she believed that her contemporary Greece was no longer able to produce comparable artistic and intellectual achievements, the country having lost its central position in Europe and become peripheral. As Francesco Crocco, in his essay about the poetry of Felicia Hemans, notes, this view had already been expressed by a number of Western European visitors in an earlier period: "Interestingly, Greece's geographical location, on the metaphoric borderline between East (Levant) and West (Europe), sustains such a condition of categorical confusion."[16]

Hemans predated Hamilton by a century in similarly positioning Greece "with their toil but to destroy what ages have revered."[17] It is striking that

both Hamilton and Hemans agree that Europe's present periphery is incapable of protecting its cultural heritage and is being accused of neglect and destruction. Paradoxically, as early as 1837, the Archaeological Society of Athens took responsibility for the work on the Acropolis in terms of financing and supervising restoration activities.[18] Although the first archaeological inspector was a German, he was replaced immediately by a Greek counterpart. Indeed, a number of German architects and archaeologists were involved in early conservation activity in Greece, such as Leo von Klenze, whose Aryan race ideology, aiming to create a "new Greekness," legitimised his work in the Acropolis, but he was mostly interested in how he as a German could improve Greek awareness about the preservation of Greek heritage.[19] As Argyro Loukaki agreed, conservation of ancient monuments represents continuity between ancient and modern Greece within postindependence Greece, their antithesis being of great merit.[20] Another interesting point is that both poets' descriptions of the ruins in Greece bear a similarity to orientalists' descriptions of ruins in Egypt or Syria. In both cases, they convey the concept that the monuments belong to such a distant past that the present inhabitants of the country have lost a connection with that civilisation. This orientalising legacy may well be one of the main reasons for Greece not being mentioned in relevant European publications until quite recently. Another might be that Greece was regarded as a peripheral country in Europe, despite its rich culture and national pride emerging in the post-Ottoman period. The achievements of early Greek archaeologists and the pride of the Greek people in their heritage have been ignored for years due to this orientalising attitude. Most publications about the early work of Greek archaeologists have been written and published in Greek and not translated into English. A good example of this genre is Fani Malouchou-Tufano's excellent work about the anastylosis of ancient monuments in modern Greece (1834–1939), which provides extensive evidence of the existence of an early Greek contribution to the modern conservation realm.[21]

While Greece stands, within the early conservation realm, for the eastern boundaries of European periphery, the western boundaries of Europe in the same realm seem to be represented by Ireland. Usually described as a "small marginal island economy on the north-west periphery of Europe rich in heritage and cultural features," Ireland is missing from most of the key publications, including Jokilehto.[22] Instead, most authors are interested in political identity questions through linking "Irishness" with heritage preservation and its sociopolitical dimensions rather than heritage preservation itself.[23] One exception is Pickard's periphery-inclusive book on urban aspects of conservation, where he has included the revitalisation of the Temple Bar district in Dublin among other peripheral European case studies such as Latvia.[24]

Ireland was actually the first part of what was at the time Great Britain and Ireland to enact legislation relating to the protection of historic monuments.[25] The Irish Church Act, passed in 1869 to protect medieval churches within the disestablishment process, provides a good case study of the role

of politics in the conservation of places of worship and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Later, the Irish Land Act of 1903 and the Land Act of 1923 also included provision for ancient monuments. The protection of built heritage in Ireland is a complicated issue in the absence of a single piece of legislation with generic definitions. Following general elections in the mid-2000s, the remit of heritage was shifted to a new Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, and arts and culture came under the auspices of the Department of Arts, Sport and Tourism. The consequence is that galleries and museums are managed by an institution different from that which manages built heritage. According to Catherine Kelly, "the politics of educated elitism is often played out in the cultural and tourism sectors."[26] This relates to the controversial position of conservation in Ireland, which has been associated with historical Anglo-Irish aristocratic elitism, which in turn underlines its peripheral position in the European conservation debate.

A special case of European periphery versus nonperiphery, especially in its cultural dimensions, is represented historically by the Ottoman Empire and currently by Turkey. Although the Ottoman Empire was sometimes considered to be European-like, as in the case of the "sick man of Europe," usually its characterisation is closer to being the arch enemy of European culture.[27] Constantin Francois Volney wrote in 1784 that "all what remained that had been Roman, Parthian and Sassanid before falling into Ottoman hands and subsequently into ruins," when he was visiting the city of Palmyra, then within the boundaries of the Ottoman protectorate of Great Syria, accusing the Ottomans of neglecting the Hellenistic heritage of the east.[28] This account appears much earlier than reactions to the Ottoman use of the Parthenon as an arsenal, which led to its destruction by the Venetians (1687), and shows that the European perception of the Ottoman Empire as ignorant of the value of built heritage dates back to a much earlier period, the Enlightenment. It underlines Greek interest, following the War of Independence, in archaeological conservation and recognition as the cradle of European civilisation in opposition to the Ottoman Empire. Conversely, even today, the Ottoman Empire's early building conservation activities and its history of conservation legislation dating back to the nineteenth century are omitted from publications dealing with the history of conservation. The possible reasons of this exclusion will now be explored from the perspective of the Enlightenment.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT SYNDROME AND THE OTTOMANS

> Like it or not, conservation as a discipline was born in Europe.[29]
>
> Damned if you do, damned if you don't; either way they were incapable of really pleasing the West.[30]

Locating the centre and the periphery becomes more complicated after the Middle Ages, which clearly defined the "other" through the Crusades. During the Renaissance, a non-Western state, the Ottoman Empire, attacked the boundaries of Europe and defined the margins of "self." From the Enlightenment onwards, Europe began to develop a theory that the Turks, represented now by the Ottoman Empire, were the only obstacle separating the ancient Hellenistic civilisations such as Greece, Persia and India from Europe.[31] This aligned well with Montesquieu's view that, under Muslim rule, everything was governed by custom and there was no law or legislation. This Enlightenment-based perspective places the Orient in particular, but also the so-called peripheral countries of Europe, into a category where countries were ruled "by the whim of the prince"[32]—in other words, they were ruled haphazardly, devoid of conceptual developments characterising their more enlightened neighbours. It is this belief in the lack of both financial strength and scientific ability which has resulted in disinterest in the conservation history of the countries in the limited and extended peripheries of Europe.

The first historic conservation legislation in the Ottoman Empire dates from 1869 with revisions in 1874 and 1894. Interestingly, the legislation was designed to protect only the Greek and Roman monuments in the empire and not ancient Turkish ones.[33] As expressed by Ussama Makdisi, the "Ottoman archaeological interest in the pre-Islamic Phoenician and Hellenistic past was one more step in the self-incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into a European-dominated modernity."[34] In fact, the Ottomans were trying to join the new Europe by conserving the monuments of ancient civilisations, thus responding to the accusations of post-Enlightenment Europe. One of the major projects dedicated to antiquity was the rehabilitation of the ancient Hippodrome area in Istanbul. The earliest archaeological excavations and restoration of monuments in this area, now called Sultanahmet Square after the Blue Mosque on its edge, date to the mid-nineteenth century. At the beginning of 1889, correspondence began between the municipality and the Ministry of Education, the latter in charge of cultural heritage, noting that the ancient Colossus was about to collapse. Following a number of letters, examinations by experts and a major earthquake, which caused further delay, restoration was completed in 1895. A letter by the director of the Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey, reveals that the stones that had to be taken down were numbered and put back exactly in their original positions, once the reinforcement work in the lower section was finished. More importantly, another document, discovered in the Ottoman Archive by Nuran Yazıcı, one of the few experts working in Ottoman archives on documents related to historic conservation, shows that, in this project, the principle "like for like" was used, as missing stones were replaced with stones from the Byzantine city walls, "fallen a long time ago and lying there."[35] This principle of replacing damaged materials in facsimile, preferably from the same period if available, evolved during the twentieth century. Ninety years

after the Colossus restoration, Bernard Maury, the head of the French Cooperative Task Force for the Conservation of Islamic Cairo, used the same method to replace the missing stones of an eighteenth-century bourgeois house in Cairo.[36] In this case, the Ottoman approach represents a pioneering contribution to conservation philosophy.

The capacity of the person behind this project and his contribution to heritage preservation has been recently acknowledged internationally. On May 10, 2010, UNESCO celebrated the archaeologist and museologist Osman Hamdi Bey by organising a panel discussion at which UNESCO World Heritage Site Director Francesco Bandarin said that "Osman Hamdi Bey is the leader of archaeology not only in Turkey but throughout the world."[37] In fact, Osman Hamdi Bey has never been mentioned in an international context in books and journals relating to the history of conservation among his contemporaries from Europe, despite his many awards from contemporary European institutions, including the Berlin Museums and the Archaeological Society of Athens.[38] On the other hand, Osman Hamdi Bey was a typical representative of the Ottoman elite who firmly believed in the Ottoman "civilising mission," an extension of the French *mission civilisatrice*, which Selim Deringil calls "borrowed colonialism," by creating its own periphery through "adopting the mindset of its enemies, the arch-imperialists."[39] They started to imitate the colonial Western empires "by pushing the periphery—principally the Arab provinces—into colonial status."[40] Later, this peripheral framework was used against the Ottomans by their European colonial successors, who nourished in former Ottoman protectorates the image of a culturally alien Ottoman. For example, in the words of the British archaeologist-spy T. E. Lawrence, the Ottomans caused the Arabs, the "limited, narrow-minded Semites," to lose "their geographical sense and their racial and political and historical memories."[41] So Lawrence and others gave to themselves the mission to "civilise this people," introducing to the Middle East a modernisation project which included a reinterpretation of national heritage, to gain "a footing in the Asiatic Levant" and compete against "rotten Turkey."[42]

However, the heritage-related part of the civilising mission and colonial urban design projects were more part of French hegemony than British. During the first period of French colonial administration, heritage preservation had been generally ignored, but later, parallel with the development of the concept in France, conservation legislation was introduced into the colonies. The pioneering attempts of the Ottomans, through the Francophile Ottoman elite, which introduced early period French preservation concepts both to Istanbul and to their periphery, have been largely ignored and even today are not acknowledged. For example, Mirna Hanna in the abstract of her chapter about the development of heritage preservation in Lebanon, states that the first conservation legislation concerning archaeological heritage was introduced to the country by the French in the period 1918 to 1945. However, she contradicted herself on the next page by mentioning

earlier Ottoman legislation introducing the first law on antiquities for regulating research and excavation conditions of archaeological projects.[43] There seems to be a general disbelief relating to the capability of the Ottomans to protect antique monuments, despite their Muslim identity. In addition, the legacy of the image of the cruel Turk, dating back to the Enlightenment and strengthened through nineteenth-century colonialism, seems to prevail even today. Albert Glock, an American archaeologist and expert on the development of Palestinian archaeology, agreed, in his 1990 article that evidence was provided by one of the early excavators of Palestine that Turkish permits had prohibited the removal of national monuments from the country, based on the principle that possession must remain with the people of the country.[44] However, at the same time, he commented: "In view of the Ottomans demonstrated lack of interest in the population of Palestine, this statement requires many qualifiers. Nevertheless compared to what happened to Palestine under the British Mandate, some small virtue may yet be reserved for Ottoman rule."[45]

One of the reasons for Glock's doubts about this Ottoman conservation law may be that it had required all movable artefacts to be removed to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. On the other hand, one should remember that the Ottomans considered Palestine, together with their other protectorates, as part of the Ottoman Empire. What they were doing was moving the artefacts to the state capital—in other words, from the periphery to the centre. Ottoman intellectuals were cultivating the image of the civilised man trying to save ancient classical heritage neglected by nomadic populations in their Middle Eastern periphery, in the same way that European imperial colonists were applying the stereotype of the primitive Turkish peasant in the Anatolian periphery, unaware of its rich classical heritage.[46]

The conservation of Ottoman monuments occurred through dual processes. While new, Western-type legislation covered ancient archaeological sites, early Ottoman public buildings were protected by a traditional system based on pious endowments. This system, which Jokilehto acknowledges was used for the upkeep, repair and maintenance of properties in community use, actually involved more than repair.[47] It represents an early version of a nongovernmental organisation, one of whose major objectives was historic preservation. The act of an owner surrendering his or her rights of possession to purpose-built property such as a mosque, fountain, school or hospital included not only maintenance but also nearly always preservation clauses. For example, the foundation deed of the Ottoman Yeni Cami Mosque in Istanbul requires, in addition to the continuous employment of an architect and a master craftsman, the appointment of an *usrubi* for the regular maintenance of the lead-clad dome and the employment of a person to clean graffiti from the walls of the building complex.[48] The latter represents a minimum intervention concept and fits within the framework of our present conservation definition. These institutions, which can also be found in a number of countries in Asia and Africa, also trained craftsmen to ensure

the continuation of the craft in the traditional way. Their salaries and the trust resources to pay their salaries are stated in most deed documents. Some pious foundations were even solely dedicated to building conservation and maintenance issues.[49] A study of these documents may reveal valuable data regarding traditional preservation concepts in these two continents, and in particular shed light on the lesser-known preservation approaches of the Ottoman Empire concerning buildings dating from the Islamic period.

More importantly, these pious foundations continue to manage preservation of historic properties under their auspices. After a brief period of decline during the nineteenth century, in most countries they have been revived and collected under one roof within general directorates and ministries. These institutions engage their own conservation teams, publish both academic and nonacademic journals and still function as a school for promoting traditional skills. For example, between 1980 and 1990, the Turkish General Directorate of Holy Foundations published two journals, initiated and supervised rehabilitation and restoration activities related to more than one hundred buildings, completed 1,382 pieces of conservation surveys and prepared about four hundred restoration and restitution projects.[50] Consequently, if one looks at the history of pious foundations in general in Asia and Africa, and in particular in the Ottoman Empire, the argument by Eurocentric scholars that conservation as a discipline was born in Europe during the Enlightenment and that all earlier, non-European activities of this kind are sporadic cases is no longer valid.[51] The previous narrow definition of this academic discipline is now changing and is starting to include practice and performance-based research, which will be discussed later in detail.

WORD, PERFORMANCE AND PRACTICE VERSUS SCRIPT: UNWRITTEN PRESERVATION POLICIES

> We did preserve our buildings continuously; it was never necessary to write down how to do this, as the knowledge was transmitted by word from generation to generation. However, later we recorded them in writing in order to please our Western colleagues.[52]

This quotation relates to Japan, where historic preservation dates from the seventh century, as we have previously witnessed in the case of the Ise Naiku temple complex (see Chapter 1). Whether one agrees with the early Japanese preservation approach, based on accurate reconstruction, is not relevant in this context. The point here is that Japan, like many other Asian and African cultures has, over centuries, maintained preservation policies transmitted orally. As in many countries, their oral tradition ceased during the twentieth century as the introduction of international conservation charters gave precedence to script and generic rules. Today a number of experts from these countries think that excluding local preservation ideas from international,

ubiquitous policies has led to a number of problems in countries with oral traditions. This view has now been officially acknowledged in an International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) conference in 2010, which will be discussed later. But first we need to concentrate on the value of the word and its position in the context of orally transmitted preservation information.

It is known that the oral tradition lost its superior position to script during the Enlightenment, although this process had already started during the Renaissance. Although philosophers such as Plato, Rousseau and Levi-Strauss regarded speech as superior to writing, "logocentrism," prioritising of speech, became a derogatory term within Western scholarly traditions. This degradation of the word is based on the criticism of its subjectivity, excluding "many voices in the world" and "privileging some of those voices because of power relationships," as Jacques Derrida claims.[53] Criticism of logocentrism is not directed specifically at the oral tradition per se but at selection of language. The proof of this is the fact that most deconstructionist literary critics, including Derrida, Roland Barthes and Jacques Lacan, criticise the indeterminate meaning of the text and its restrictions.[54] Howard N. Rabinowitz is critically opposed to this position but agrees that these "gurus" helped to us to gain greater insight into the past.[55] This insight indeed reminds us not to rely on the written word blindly, as it represents a privileged selective view, which has been associated with Orientalism by Said and his followers. According to Said, "the learned Orientalist . . . surveyed a series of textual fragments, which he thereafter edited and arranged," later to be treated by other Orientalists "in the same citationary way."[56] Nowhere can this argument, which the deconstructionist literary critics developed further on, be truer than in the subject area of historic preservation in relation to trust deeds. Such selectivist choices made during the translation process of pious foundation documents into Western languages concentrated on religious and legal clauses rather than those related to preservation. An overview of early translations of such foundation deeds reveals that most translations from the 1910s and 1920s relate to property management issues and rights on moveable objects in the British protectorates and colonies such as India, Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt. Abdulazim Islahi, on whose bibliography of pious foundations this overview was based, believes that in current studies, Muslim writers concentrate rather on jurisprudence, management and their socioeconomic role, while "non-Muslim writers concentrate on other aspects."[57] This bibliography makes it clear that these aspects focus on public policy, family structure, gender studies and religious issues, which are good examples of selective translation and interpretation in both cultures. However, it should be noted that academic studies and disciplines in today's academic environment are mostly products of the nineteenth-century selectivist tradition, which also influences the decisions of most referees in academic journals where these studies are published. There is a current trend to close this gap in knowledge. Scholars

such as Doris Behrens Abouseif and Paula Sander have concentrated on Egyptian foundation deeds and their role in shaping and preserving the architecture in Egypt.[58] Mehr Azar Soheil has described preservation strategies in Iranian foundations, Saleh Al Hathloul investigated the same strategies in Saudi Arabian and Tunisian archives and the author researched conservation clauses in Turkish holy foundation deeds.[59] Pious foundations also exist in Hindu and Asian-Christian contexts and are not limited to Islam, which shows the extent of their capacity to shed light on the lesser-known conservation history of a major part of the world.

In addition to the limited studies dedicated to conservation clauses in foundation deeds shown by these examples, there is also potential for locating conservation legislation and philosophy within literature about management strategies and public policy. However, even native authors writing on Muslim foundations seem to forget that Islamic sharia law was not based on generic rules, of which there are only a few. They disregard the importance of maintenance paragraphs in their documents, which appear over centuries as common form. In a typical example, the foundation deed of the Zeyni Hatun Foundation uses the phrase that "the remaining money after the salaries of the personnel is paid, should be used for the rehabilitation of the masonry and maintenance [of the timber]" parts of the building.[60] The donor in this late sixteenth-century deed, a female resident of the city of Istanbul, uses a phrase related to the long-term conservation of the endowed building, which we see repeated in hundreds of other documents. In addition, in Islam, the majority of the legislative instruments relied upon former case studies consisting of decisions of eminent judges to represent the traditional view. Therefore, Muslim foundation deeds in particular contain conservation clauses reflecting traditional consensus based on a legal judgement and thus carry philosophical and legal weight, most of which has been neglected in selectivist translations. Even authors such as Sohail, who work on conservation clauses, refer only to the legal character of these deeds and not to the philosophical aspects based on ancestral tradition.[61]

A crucial result of the selectivist tradition in understanding conservation history is the absence of the role of Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher who, in his "Analects," developed one of the earliest accounts of conservation philosophy. Xue-cai Yu, a Chinese academic who made a presentation on Confucian philosophy on heritage during the 2010 UK ICOMOS conference, explained that the philosopher's view on postwar heritage embraced protection of both the winner's and the loser's heritage assets.[62] Heritage carriers may change, but the care should never change, a concept that coincides with our present "custodian" role. However, Yu writes mainly in Chinese, and the majority of the participants in the conference, all heritage experts, would never have encountered these concepts had they not had this opportunity to listen to the translation of Yu's presentation.

In rare cases, Confucian conservation philosophy appears in English publications. Most cases date back to the nineteenth century. For example, as

Table 2.1 The table below presents a part of the current research led by the author for the documentation of conservation and rehabilitation activities in regard to the Ottoman pious foundations. The documents presented here are a section of the royal decrees, the execution of which has been delegated to the Ministry of the Pious Foundations stored in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul about 1871–1872. For example, the letter *a* refers to the restoration of the royal chamber in Valide Mosque in Uskudar, Istanbul, and the letter *b* refers to the restoration of the Hekim Celebi Mosque and School in Koska. The letters *c, d, g, h, i, j, k, l,* and m represent different buildings and building parts such as minarets and infrastructural heritage; for example, j is about the restoration of an old bridge. For more information about this topic, see Zeynep Aygen, "Heritage Conservation in Islam: The Role of Pious Foundations," in *Responsibilities and Opportunities in Architectural Conservation,* eds. Salim Elwazani et al., Proceedings of CSAAR 2008B Conference (Amman: CSAAR, 2008).

Registration number	File number	Document number	Date (H/ Ottoman calendar)	Quantity	Subject of decree
366	633	44021	1288 Ra.10	1	a
368	633	44023	1288 Ra.11	1	b
369	633	44024	1288 Ra.11	1	c
374	633	44029	1288 Ra.14	1	d
377	633	44033	1288 Ra.15	1	e
388	633	44043	1288 Ra.15	1	f
406	634	44062	1288 Ra.24	1	g
410	634	44066	1288 Ra.25	1	h
439	634	44095	1288 R.03	1	i
462	634	44118	1288 R.10	1	j
474	634	44130	1288 R.13	1	k
484	635	44140	1288 R.13	1	l
491	635	44147	1288 R.18	1	m
493	635	44149	1288 R.18	1	n

we saw in Chapter 1, Legge wrote in 1893 that Confucius praised the two fifth-century BC kings Wu and Tschau for regularly maintaining temples left to them by their ancestors and recommended the use of original materials.[63] Without the information provided by Yu during the conference, these incidents may have seemed like sporadic incidents, but Yu's presentation provided the context and evidence that in fifth-century BC China, there was a theoretical framework to support the preservation of ancient buildings and the historic environment. Ironically, if these conference proceedings are not published, this valuable oral information will be lost.

The root of Western society's unquestioning belief in the printed word dates back to ancient Greece. The tendency to consider published texts, copied documents rather than the original stele, relies on the fact that the Greeks erased unsatisfactory passages from stele text.[64] The copy of the stele was therefore considered more authentic than the stele itself. The validity of the written text, the published document, became greater than the words on the object. Gradually, Western culture lost its faith in reading walls and started to rely on the word written on paper, ignoring the spoken word and practical example. The spoken word in Greece was even less valuable than the original object; for example, Polybius accused Timaeus of lying when he claimed to have seen an inscribed treaty.[65] While in one part of the world, oral transmission of an eyewitness has no value when verification is needed, in another part of the world, epigraphic evidence may have even less value, because it can be changed like the stele or it can be easily be replaced. This is not the case when there are several witnesses of spoken word. In traditional Arab culture, written text will reference a number of eyewitnesses to claim authenticity. Again, in other cultures such as Japan or Mali, collective memory remembers the traditional practice and gives oral and behavioural tradition priority over epigraphic evidence, as it is based on a consensus of the elders of the society. Harley argued that amid the search for new philosophies, methodologies and techniques, an independent study of historic evidence has been neglected which includes "symbols carved on stone or wood; maps, paintings and photographs, monuments and landscape evidences; artefacts dug up from the ground and the living documents of oral history."[66]

Rarely in building conservation studies has this neglect relating to the independent study of historic evidence excluded lesser epigraphic traditions. While today intangible heritage is acknowledged as an important part of culture, it is not yet being used efficiently as a tool to collect scientific proof. As expressed by John Freeman, "practice as research is among the most pressing and fast-moving concerns in early twenty-first century."[67] Practice becomes more and more theory-generating, leading to new definitions of what an academic discipline is.[68] According to the Arts and Humanities Research Board, practice-related research should be considered in its own terms and not merely as equivalent to those in more traditional areas.[69] This new paradigm of critically discussing conservation discourse embedded in the structure of the practising pious foundations, institutions keeping records of generations of practice-based research and their control mechanisms in the legal system equates to academic disciplines developed during the Enlightenment. The even earlier Confucian "Analects" represent a conservation manifesto. Even in the traditional Western sense, these principles constituted guidelines which challenged the Asian dismantling tradition as early as the fifth century BC.

Trevor Marchand, who conducted field research in Djenné in Mali in the late 2000s to explore the practices of local masons, observed that traditional skills were protected by means of a guild, which ensured the reproduction of Djenné's architectural heritage. When the guild lost its authority at the end of the twentieth century, its architectural heritage started to decline. The guild's philosophy and rules were not dictated through any texts but were transmitted by experienced masons to apprentices in a medium beyond "propositional forms of knowledge expressed in text and the spoken word to include, at the very least, the skill based practices and performance enacted by the socialized and enculturated body of the craftsmen."[70] Performance-based transmission of traditional knowledge represents in this case the conservation philosophy of this society respecting the guild's decisions and accepting the principles set by the guild.

A similar consensus-based conservation philosophy initiated and monitored by experienced craftsmen can be observed throughout a number of countries in Africa, Middle East and Asia. For example, Yemen has a long tradition of craft guilds which emphasise their pride in traditional crafts and see themselves as custodians of Yemeni heritage, revealed in Kamil Khan Mumtaz's interview with a Yemeni master mason.[71] The interview

Figure 2.1 The community in Djenné participates every year in the replastering of the Great Mosque under the guidance of the guild. Image courtesy Peter Howard, www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites/Peter.

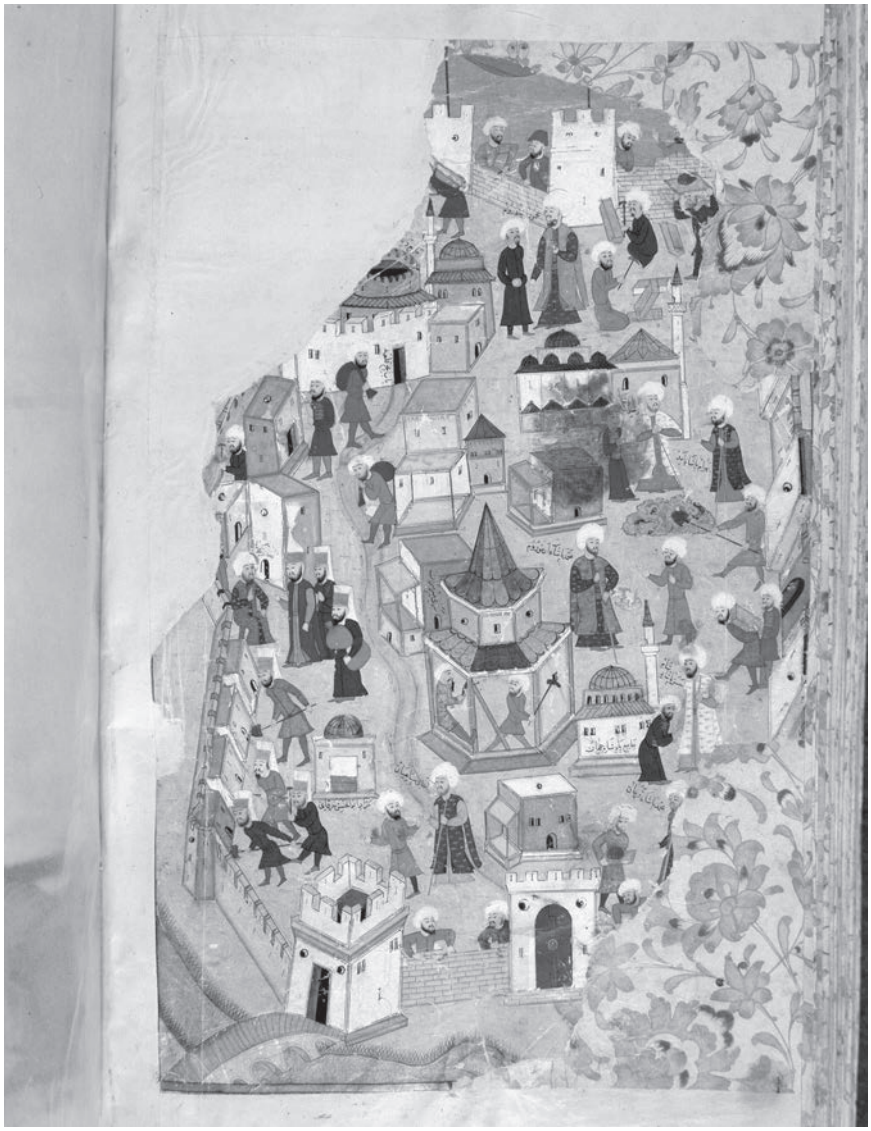

Figure 2.2 Rebuilding of the city of Kars, a miniature from the book of Nusretname, Topkapı Palace Archives, inv. no TSMK H.1365, y. 1395. This miniature shows Ottoman architects and craftsmen engaged in restoration and reconstruction activities at Kars during the Ottoman-Persian war of 1578–1579. Nusretname (Book of Victory) is a chronicle written by a famous contemporary historian, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, who not only described and depicted in his account of the war military actions but also the culture and architecture of the region and its towns. Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Archives.

was conducted in 1983, a period of growing architectural consciousness following a modernisation period in Yemen. This view was also supported by Marchand, who previously worked in Yemen. He stated that craft apprenticeship for Yemeni masons included training in Islamic philosophy and social responsibility. Like the foundations, in most Muslim countries, guilds have consciously demonstrated philosophic aspects of conserving traditional crafts through their work by placing it within the context of their Islamic belief system, with craftsman perceived by the public as an "embodiment of morals, muscles and mind."[72] In this context, conservation is associated with being charitable. The Ottoman word *meremetci* for carpenter, which also means restorer or a person who carries out repairs, has been transformed over time to *merhamet tamircisi*, meaning charitable repairer, a carpenter who "takes out the decayed parts of a timber building, heals them and puts back to their original place."[73] Carpenters were always the other most important element of the conservation team in holy foundation deeds, usually ranked with stonemasons to ensure over generations the sustainable maintenance of the trust building. For example, the royal trust deed of the Crown Prince Mehmed in 1548 confirmed the continuous employment of a restorer at two "coins" per day.[74] There were also court decisions to ensure the employment of a restorer in a holy foundation, even when trustees in later generations tried to end it.[75] Usually, both masons and carpenter-restorers were entrusted with making decisions about sustainable rehabilitation in war-damaged cities or settlements affected by natural disasters, and they transferred these decisions into practice. In the previous page we see an example, an Ottoman miniature dating to 1584 depicting the restoration of the city of Kars.

Moreover, similar to Mali and Yemen, Ottoman guild practice clearly demonstrates the existence of a conservation philosophy based on tradition. For example, Mehmed Tahir Aga, an eighteenth-century architect who designed his other buildings in Ottoman Baroque style, was appointed by the sultan to restore the Mosque of Fatih in Istanbul. This mosque, dating back to 1470, was demolished in an earthquake in 1766. The architect not only reconstructed the mosque by replicating the classical Ottoman style of the 1470s but also conserved all the remaining parts of the original mosque and integrated them into the restored building. The photos in the next page show the difference in masonry techniques between the original fifteenth-century stonework and the eighteenth-century additions. The use of original fragments and contrasting new material together reflects a conservation attitude similar to today's conservation techniques. However, as these observations are practice and conservation based, they have never found a place within the discourse.

Unlike the ancient Greek tradition, the stele or plaque had great value both in the medieval Seljuk and the later emerging Ottoman traditions, and it played a special role in their conservation attitude. Every major monument undergoing a restoration process was supplied with a plaque on its

Figure 2.3 Fatih Mosque in Istanbul The arcades of the original mosque built in 1470 were reused by the Ottoman architect Mehmet Tahir Ağa in the eighteenth-century reconstruction following the earthquake of 1766. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

Figure 2.4 Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. Use of remaining fifteenth-century stones during the rebuilding of the minarets—an application of Burra Charter principles developed at the end of the twentieth century was developed in the eighteenth century by the Ottomans in practice. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

façade commemorating the date of its restoration. The mosque Kizil Cami in Bitlis in Turkey has three restoration plaques in addition to a fourth plaque stating the original date of the building.[76] These plaques are symbols of the importance attached to conservation; constructing a building for public use was a holy deed, and conserving and restoring these buildings for future generations was also considered to be holy. But this historic aspect of traditional conservation philosophy, transferred into practice in countries with a holy foundation tradition, has long been forgotten.

Even today, when practice and performance have gained more importance in the academic domain, most academics still tend to look to the written word to find evidence for their hypotheses. Therefore, practical examples have not been valued as proof of conservation consciousness in the domain of conservation history and philosophy. The current debate about the inappropriateness of the logocentric research tradition in other disciplines such as performance arts and creative writing should also be extended to historic building conservation. If the notion of practice becoming theory increases in the near future, the new narrative will be presenting a new, non-European conservation philosophy concept embracing the whole world, coexisting with European conservation philosophy.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: COMPLIANCE WITH CHARTERS

> They attend to culture only when external monies are included and so they view international urban charters as "dry bones without meat."

This bold statement from a conservation expert from Uganda, Allan Kenneth Birabi, represents the tip of an iceberg regarding the role of international institutions in a number of non-European countries and complicated problems arising from this role, especially compliance with international charters.[77] Birabi asserts that international charters alone cannot ensure conservation without the support of local political will and financial support. He also contends that cultural matters are usually at the bottom of national priorities in the least developed countries. Although many have ratified most conservation charters, they see themselves as honorary signatories and are thus unwilling to enforce international charters. In addition, least developed countries are in no position to enforce long-term objectives compared with more stable and economically powerful countries.

Does this mean that cultural internationalism is the wrong approach to achieve globally valid heritage preservation stability? To seek an answer to this question, we need to go back to the origins of the contemporary conceptualisation of international heritage introduced by the Athens Conference in 1931 after the First World War and institutionalised in 1947 through

UNESCO. The Venice Charter was approved in 1964 during the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, with a number of non-European experts in the organising committee from countries such as Syria, Nigeria, India, Peru, Mexico, Japan and Tunisia.[78] The International Council on Monuments and Sites was established in 1965 to ensure the application and adaptation of the principles of the Venice Charter at national levels in a global scale by establishing national committees. ICOMOS is a nongovernmental organisation "to create a framework for good practice in the protection and enhancement of the historic environment"; the national committees were also supposed to be nongovernmental organisations. This European-based community participation approach, enhancing a bottom-up attitude in cultural decision mechanisms, led early on to cultural clashes with a number of peripheral European and non-European countries whose conservation policies were strictly controlled by central authorities. Their consequences have important implications for present global conservation strategies.

According to Doğan Kuban, who, with Selma Emler represented the Republic of Turkey in the 1964 Venice meeting, despite the presence of non-European experts in the organisation committee, European representatives predominated. A consensus-based, informal agreement between the Italian, German and French experts resulted in the appointment of an Italian expert as the first president of ICOMOS, giving an insight into the continental European character of the Venice Charter. The importance attached to setting reflected the aspirations of postwar Europe to promote the rehabilitation of destroyed cities. Kuban identifies a preference for archaeological restoration at this early stage, a process which helped to promote cultural tourism and made conservation an economic asset.[79] On the other hand, the different government structures of non-European countries created the first breach of consistency regarding the nongovernmental character of the first ICOMOS national committees. For example, in both Turkey and Russia the national committees were part of a governmental framework, contrary to the original idea in Venice of promoting a participative, bottom-up conservation concept.

While in a number of countries the semigovernmental—and, in some cases, solely governmental—character of the ICOMOS national committees has been retained, in some of these countries, ICOMOS committees have gradually became more independent. For example, following the 1992 rearrangement of its legal status, Turkey ICOMOS became more independent, especially regarding the appointment of members and the organisation of functions such as international conferences and symposia.[80] However, in some other countries, a strong governmental influence may still be observed. The China Principles, promulgated in 2002 as principles for the conservation of heritage sites in China by China ICOMOS, had to be approved by the State Administration for Cultural Heritage before they could be put in action. Fenqi Qian compares the Chinese characteristics of the China

Principles with the Australian Burra Charter in an article about their practical consequences and points out that the China Principles "allow greater room for state intervention in the decision-making procedure" and contradict the Burra Charter[81] in terms of the primary stand of minimum intervention, "which might be seen as reflecting a compromise on the part of the profession in relation to the government's own priorities."[82]

Differences between levels of governmental intervention characterise a major problem preventing a globally applicable conservation philosophy and legislation. John H. Stubbs, the former vice president of the World Monuments Fund agrees that such an idea is "in most respects both fallacious and impossible; Tomorrow's will be endowed with myriad initiatives that will support and validate additional value systems of more of the world's countless examples of cultural heritage."[83]

It is interesting that most of the debate regarding international charters develops around the issue of the "Western dogma of authenticity of historic fabric," as Ken Taylor calls it, in an article about a possible role of charters and principles of heritage management in Asia.[84] Indeed, it seems to be a predominantly Asian problem that authenticity does not correspond with the Asian cultural tradition of replacing historic material with new material after a specified period by using the same technique. This tradition also has a religious character in countries such as Japan. For example, in Japan it was traditional practice to reconstruct an entire temple complex every twenty years, with the new group matching the existing one exactly, as happened with the Ise Temple (Chapter 1).[85] This is a case where the "aura" of authenticity in Walter Benjamin's sense contradicts the cyclical reconstruction culture in the Shinto religion; it would even be an offence to give up this cyclical reconstruction, as will be discussed later regarding places of worship.[86] Benjamin, a twentieth-century literary critic, defined the uniqueness of a work of art through its presence in time and space, which gives the object its aura.[87] Logan agreed that in certain parts of Asia this aura has a much lesser value than the collective memory of space, with reconstruction being part of the religious practice.[88] This also attaches great value, of a religious character, to the traditional skills employed in replacement, as we have seen in the case of the Mali stonemasons in Africa.

On the other hand, issues such as minimum intervention are not confined to the Western cultural tradition, as already demonstrated in the case of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. There are also non-European cultures where authenticity of material is venerated and cyclical reconstruction, especially outside places of worship, was not an overall practice at all, even in China. For example, in the Confucian tradition, the philosopher disagreed with the dismantlement of the Ming T'ang Hall, because it was "peculiar to royalty," a definition which reminds us of Benjamin's uniqueness aspect in terms of aura. Confucius advised that if the king wanted "to practise royal government," he should not demolish the hall.[89] In a number of central Asian, predominantly Muslim, countries, during visits to tombs of saints

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 Nepalese believers touching the stones of a shrine. Authentic building materials in a holy place represent in all cultures a tie with the traditional belief system. Image courtesy Dipesh Singha, conservation expert from Nepal, MSc Historic Building Conservation, University of Portsmouth, UK.

and venerated rulers, the religious practice depends actually on the aura of the material, such as touching a certain stone and seeing the traces of the hands of many generations having touched the same stone. The tradition of touching saints' tombs and statues exists also in the West, which shows how widespread this custom is.

It is indisputably good practice and also the correct approach to seek a new, non-Eurocentric heritage preservation framework, which is one of the main aims of this book. However, this should not imply a compromise in quality, which may happen in countries where strong governmental intervention and a search for political identity may lead to wrong practice, preference of certain monuments to others, pastiche applications and decay and loss of original fabric. A multivoiced heritage conservation concept enabling countries to respect their own cultural traditions is only viable if a global consensus is reached, not on everything but on essential generic rules to be implemented by national and local experts hand in hand with the local tradition. Now is the next step: how may governments be convinced to view international charters not as "dry bones without meat," to comply not only with international standards but also to respect the views of their own experts? There is no simple answer to this, but at least World Heritage Site–level institutions such as UNESCO are trying to resolve the problem.

In 2004 the World Heritage Committee Report on the state of the world heritage sites in Latin America and the Caribbean revealed that baseline information for individual reports was not established from the outset, and, more importantly, basic documentation was not available to those who prepared the reports. Therefore, it is impossible to compare the present condition of these sites with their condition at the time of their inscription.[90] Indeed, the lack of coordination between local, national and international experts and committees represents a major problem concerning the management of World Heritage Sites. Although the World Heritage Convention reflects the philosophy promoted in Charters, State Parties who committed themselves to participating in international cooperation activities by signing the Convention face a number of problems such as language and finance and, in many cases, lack of governmental support in addition to lack of coordination. The same problems affecting Latin America and the Caribbean are shared to a greater extent by Africa. State Parties participating in the Periodic Reporting Exercise at the World Heritage Convention in 2003 complained about insufficient financing, inappropriate logistics and lack of manpower; also the lack of coordination became apparent, as it became clear that site managers had no copies of the nomination files.[91] This gap was bridged by UNESCO providing these documents to the site managers. However, it is notable that this action was neglected originally by the respective national governments, which points to a lack of coordination. Some of the poorest countries of the world having taken part in this reporting exercise, the report also revealed that the World Heritage Fund could not bear the cost of necessary operations, and the need for extrabudgetary funding resources was emphasised.

According to Pulat Tacar, former pro-vice president of Turkey ICOMOS, the lack of resources to translate original UNESCO documents from the official languages of UNESCO (French, English, Russian, Chinese and Arabic) to national languages creates a major problem in establishing normative guidelines on a global scale. In many countries, these documents such as charters and World Heritage Sites (WHS) reports are sent to the institutions in charge of conservation in the respective countries in the original language, where "they end up in files to be never read."[92] Another difficulty pointed out by Tacar is the jargon used in these documents, which alienates readers from the start, especially if one thinks of the lack of consensus even on the simplest definitions, as discussed in the introduction to this volume. The difficulties faced by African countries "in understanding the questionnaires," mentioned in the WHS Africa report, have supported Tacar's view regarding jargon created by Eurocentric bureaucratic mechanisms.[93]

Another aspect which emerges from the WHS report for Latin America and the Caribbean, the African Report and Birabi's paper about Africa is a lack of political will and enforcement of conservation standards. As Birabi emphasised, in most cases, "the few laws that exist are either left without necessary regulations or selectively enforced."[94] This shows that without enforcement measures at the national level, international charters, in the absence of local political will, cannot alone ensure conservation. In addition, the few experts who understand the language of the charters and management documents fluctuate in office so that loss of institutional memory and technical capacity make it extremely difficult to build on previous experiences in many countries.[95] Now at least, at the level of World Heritage Sites, the decentralisation and participation policies and strategies developed by the World Heritage Committee may start to tackle the challenge of turning theory into practice. One of the major obstacles regarding compliance with charters, expressed by the majority of the countries, is the exclusion of local practices and experts from international and national decision mechanisms, which will be discussed below.

CLASHES AND REACTIONS AGAINST BEING PATRONISED

Forty-five years after the signing of the Venice Charter, in June 2010, UK ICOMOS and the Centre of Conservation Studies at the University of York organised a conference to discuss the validity of a global conservation philosophy for cultural heritage.[96] The conference questioned whether Asian documents such as the 2002 China Principles and the INTACH 2004 Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India still reflect the ideal of an overarching conservation philosophy to be applied on global scale.[97] Or do they "merely reflect the interchange of ideas between east and west"?[98] For three days, experts from countries such as China, India and Japan discussed with their UK colleagues this diversity of

present approaches and their impact in practice. It was interesting to note that, with the exception of Algiers, all presenters from non-UK countries came from Asia, supporting the view that the dichotomy between Eastern and Western cultures is currently a phenomenon limited to Asia. Time will show whether other continents will develop a similar divergent argument by giving priority to their own principles.

One of the main outcomes of the conference, expressed by Krishna Menon from India, was a concern that global conservation principles are sidelining local practices, with practices in Western Europe becoming the lingua franca of the conservation realm.[99] Menon, a renowned conservation architect from Delhi and one of the founding members of INTACH, which concentrates on unprotected heritage by reintroducing the traditional role of master craftsman, explained the importance of the INTACH Charter (November 4, 2004) as a catalyst to promote local practices. The importance of "technicians," incorporated into the Athens Charter of 1931, disappeared from later international charters, to be revived by India. It is interesting to note here that the issue of the lack of coordination between local, national and international levels expressed in the 2004 WHS report on South America was addressed in India by the INTACH Charter of the same year. According to INTACH's official website, the Indian Charter "acknowledges the importance of various International Charters, however recognizes also the concept of jeenodharanam," the traditional Indian concept binding tangible and intangible architectural heritage and also attaches great importance to the "living heritage of Master Builders, Sthapatis, Sompuras and Raj Mistris, who continue and continue to build and care for buildings following traditions of their ancestors,"[100]

Indeed, the INTACH Charter translates the importance attached to traditional skills in Asian conservation philosophy into writing. If African countries should develop their own charters, it is likely that they will express the same view. In support of this, Mire argues in an article about Somalia that the lack of dialogue and incorporation of local views on heritage practice has led to a failure of Somali cultural heritage, confirmed by the WHS Africa Report.[101] The gap between craft skills and conservation decision mechanisms in previous charters appears to have been bridged by this Asian movement, which can help those countries suffering from conservation elitism which excludes master craftsmen from conservation philosophies. There are many lessons to be learned from this movement giving value to performance and practice by embedding it within a written manifesto similar to the classical European tradition, an emerging trend to unify East and West, this time with the initiative coming from the East. Since the early 2000s, UNESCO has increasingly acknowledged this Asian trend. Starting with the Hoi An Protocols in 2000, a plurality of approaches has replaced the "Western notions of intact fabric."[102] This movement began, according to Logan, as early as the promulgation of the Nara Document in 1994.[103] Later, in the 1999 edition of the Burra Charter drafted by Australia ICOMOS, the

concept of space was first embedded in a charter, thus initiating the new movement in Asia by bringing tangible and intangible heritage together.[104] One of the catalysts of the Asian movement was the adoption of the ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage in 2000, in which, according to Yahaya Ahmad, broader definitions of tangible and intangible heritage are very different from those used by UNESCO and ICOMOS, with variations on the "degree of refinement."[105] Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines and Vietnam give less emphasis to the concept of place compared with Australian and other Asian countries. For example, Ahmad emphasised that in the Philippines heritage is defined as cultural property, both movable and immovable, whereas in Vietnam it combines tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Australia, as a member of the South-East Pacific Region, has been involved actively in the development of the international appreciation of the multitraditional Asian concept. In addition to the effect of the Burra Charter upon Asian countries, China ICOMOS has collaborated with Australia and the United States on the formation and implementation of the China Principles, a document advocating minimum intervention and material authenticity, in contradiction to the Asian tradition of periodical reconstruction, the result of local religious customs and harsh natural conditions. On the other hand, the China Principles have a structure where national heritage law supersedes internationally promoted guidelines, enabling a great deal of governmental intervention, in contrast to the Burra Charter, developed by the completely nongovernmental Australia ICOMOS. Qian emphasised the fact that this authority given to the government allows China's own principles on material authenticity and minimum intervention to be breached by tolerating reconstruction of historic sites.[106]

Does the acknowledgement of traditional craft skills justify large-scale reconstruction by abandoning the principles of minimum intervention and especially "like for like" completely? The principle of "like for like" has been an integral part of non-Western conservation traditions by using the same techniques. However, it is rarely discussed whether these techniques should be applied to the same or similar new material. Most arguments in this direction support the view that spirit of place is created through the memory of people, rather than "concentrating on the material fabric which can change or be replaced. Thus traditional skills employed are also integral to heritage value," based on the main principle of preserving the spirit of the place rather than its material remains.[107] In this case, the new pluralistic approach should define in detail as soon as possible the notion of the "spirit of the place." Is it acceptable to use marble instead of stone, or change the colour of a coating? For example, there is evidence that the use of new, different materials in reconstruction projects leads to a substantial change in the lighting conditions of the place, which has a strong effect on the spirit. Light is one of the main characteristics attached to a place in collective memory and is represented through literature, paintings, film and memoirs.

The actual problem is not reconstruction itself, but the scale and nature of this reconstruction, which affects the spirit of the place by changing the image of the space within collective memory. Additionally, in many countries, reconstructions are popular not for reasons of continuing the tradition but for enhancing and promoting cultural tourism. As Guo Zhan, director of the World Heritage Committee of China and vice president of ICOMOS International emphasised in the 2010 York Conference, "nothing much from the Great Wall of China would remain without reconstruction."[108] Reconstruction history was repeated in 2005 with the reconstruction of the South Gate of Beijing's demolished city walls, complete with watch towers, to be ready for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. China is not alone in applying these touristic reconstructions. The role of tourism in current reconstructions will be discussed later in detail.

Time will show how the now multivoiced conservation discourse will develop. Obviously, protests against being patronised are revealing international charters in a new light, expressed by a voice from South America: "International charters are useful, at least as historic documents that summarize past and present contributions. However their conclusions should not be considered as guidelines for future practice, but paradigms to be discussed and criticized."[109]

Actually the international charters, with the exception of the Athens Charter and perhaps the Burra Charter, barely address practice and practitioners and thus never give direct guidelines for future practice; rather, they are documents translating conservation philosophies into management strategies. The emerging trend is not simply about local traditions being acknowledged by international bodies; all countries will now benefit from the demand of the Asian movement for the appreciation of practice and performance in conservation action. Still, we should not forget to help each other to maintain standards reached by mutual understanding of a now broadened group of experts, including master craftsmen; otherwise, many historic sites, including World Heritage Sites, will lose their quality of being a bridge between past and future generations as a part of our local, national and global collective memory.

CASE FILE: "ORIENT—A COUNTRY IN MIND"

> A selective identification with regions and cultures not one's own wore down the obduracy of self and identity, which had been polarized into a community of embattled believers facing Barbarian hordes.[110]

Following the first edition of the late Edward Said's seminal book, "self" became synonymous with "Western, European, coloniser, racist and imperialist," through the definition of "other" as non-European. Within the

orientalism discourse, several critical assessments and responses have followed. Most critics argue that Said's cultural theory of Orientalism as a subject is debatable; however, most agree more or less with Said's definition that the term refers "to an imaginary 'Orient,' defined in simple opposition to the characteristics of the 'Occidental' world."[111] This dichotomy aligns well with philosopher Jacques Derrida's theory that the Western philosophical and cultural tradition rests on these opposite pairs and, more importantly, also defines the geographical margins of "own" as opposed to "other." Derrida himself has been returned by Christopher Wise in *Derrida*, *Africa and Middle East*[112] to his North African origins. The author locates his criticism of Derrida's work within a geographical context, the contemporary "Orient." So Derrida's cultural background is not only linked by Wise to an assumption of a supposed bipolar favouritism in favour of the Orient, it also indicates indirectly a polarising position and thus proves that Derrida is correct and the Western cultural tradition still rests, at least to a certain extent, on opposite pairs of "own" and "other."

For that reason, Hemans believed that contemporary dwellers on the Greek peninsula had no connection to the land's past inhabitants; the historic buildings in the Orient were built, according to Orientalists, in a period to which present Arabs, Turks and other oriental nations are quite indifferent; they happen to dwell in the same landscape without realizing the value of these monuments. A reviewer in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* complained in 1852 about "these all but daily Oriental productions. . . . There they are; the same Arabs, camels, deserts, tombs and jackals."[113]

Others, predominantly intellectuals like the French poet and essayist Gérard De Nerval (1808–1855), refused to rely on travel books and preferred to obtain their inspiration from ruins and poetic letters about them. They also emphasised the colonial cruelty hidden behind the image of the ruin. Both Nerval and another contemporary poet, Baudelaire, described and depicted gibbets disturbing the ancient, oriental historic environment of their dreams. In Nerval's case, it is striking how he connected cruelty with ancient artefacts when he mistook a gibbet for an ancient statue in the *Voyage of the Orient*.[114] From the 1870s until Egypt's full political independence in the 1950s, colonial practices in Egypt prohibited native Egyptologists from studying and participating in Egyptian archaeology, despite the fact that one of the first experts on the subject, Rifa'a Al Tahtawi, was an Egyptian writing about Egyptology and propagating its nationalisation as early as the 1830s. The struggle of the few exceptional Egyptians who managed to escape this colonial exclusion has been studied in depth by Donald M. Reid, who described the Egyptian Egyptologist Ahmad Kamal's lonely struggle in his two publications dedicated to this topic.[115] Reid also supported the theory that aversion to pre-Islamic antiquity by pious Muslims resulted in a disinterest in Egypt about the monuments of the distant past. However, a footnote referred to the late Ulrich Haarman's work, which demonstrated that Muslim intellectuals like Al-Idrisi (1173–1251) favoured the protection

of the ancient Egyptian heritage and developed around it a highly scholarly discussion.[116] There is also evidence of practical restoration activity related to the pre-Islamic monuments such as the Lighthouse of Alexandria. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has documented accurately that in 1273–1274 the Mamluk Sultan Baybars ordered the restoration of the lighthouse, neglected by previous rulers, to be consolidated from the bottom to the top.[117] Discussion about the disinterest of Islam in pre-Islamic monuments should be transferred to a more comparative framework which allows an historical perspective, including a comparison of the attitude towards pre-Christian heritage by pious Christians in contemporary periods, which is beyond the scope of this book. On the other hand, theories of neglect and aversion of the Orient to its own heritage derive from an Enlightenment concept of European superior knowledge and the teaching mission related to the "Oriental."

It was a common view in nineteenth- and even twentieth-century Europe that Orientals could neither protect "these ancient tombs" nor preserve their own heritage, as we saw earlier in their views concerning the Ottoman Empire. Other countries in the imaginary Orient had their share of this critique as well. The writer Edith Wharton, who visited Morocco in 1919, described how the natives allowed their buildings to fall into ruin until the French arrived to restore them.[118] Indeed, her host, General Lyautey, went to the extreme by building a new palace for the new ruler favoured by the French, to replace his brother, by "reviving around the (new) sultan the ancient traditions and old ceremonies of the court."[119] Thus, Moroccan cultural and architectural tradition, as understood by the French, replaced an actual, real Moroccan tradition, to adjust the country to the French image of the Orient.

One of the best examples of original historical buildings being replaced by colonial powers' orientalised versions may be observed in the replacement of original city gates. For example, Bab Bou Jeloud in the city of Fez—described in a Morocco guide book as being "despite the style quite recent and dating back to 1913"—was built a year after the French takeover in 1912, a result of the French "correction" policies.[120] Another good example of such image adjustment by gates is presented by Bab al Bahrain in Manama, Bahrain. The archway of the Bahrain Gate was designed in 1945 by Sir Charles Belgrave, the then ruler's adviser, to provide a traditional entrance to the historic market.[121] In contrast, around the same time, the quite magnificent building of the old Bahrain Customs House was demolished to be replaced by a new customs house.[122]

Later this European fashion of creating an invented identity through historicised new buildings and structures in the Orient was adopted by the Orient itself. The French architect Antoine Bourgeois was commissioned by the Ottoman government in the late nineteenth century to revive the Golden Gate of the Theodosius Walls in Istanbul, the Byzantine icon of victory during the peak period of the Byzantine Empire. At this period, the Ottoman

Figure 2.7 Invented heritage built by French colonial administrators: Bab Bou Jeloud in Fez, Morocco. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

Figure 2.8 A new Bahrain tradition designed by Sir Charles Belgrave, the British administrator: Bab al Bahrain, in Manama, Bahrain. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

Empire was trying to create links with European culture by adopting a role as a bridge between the Byzantine Empire and contemporary Europe.[123] However, Bourgeois did not build a Byzantine gate for the Ottomans; clearly his orientalised mind associated the Ottoman Empire with something else, so he designed a neo-Moroccan gate instead, which now adorns the entrance of Istanbul University, formerly the offices of the Ministry of War.[124]

In this light, the previously mentioned reconstruction of the South Gate of Beijing's demolished city walls seems at first to be a continuation of the pseudo-historic gate-building tradition started by Europe in its imaginary Orient, but this is not the case. Although in the current discussion Europe seems to be the main opponent of reconstruction, many European countries have also been busy in the last decade reconstructing their own replica city gates and castles. A Roman gatehouse and barracks have been reconstructed recently on their original foundations in South Shields, Tyne & Wear, UK. Arbeia Roman Fort is advertised on the local museum website as "stunning reconstructions of original buildings."[125] According to the 2001 English Heritage Policy on Restoration, Reconstruction and Recreation on Archaeological Sites Including Ruins, "English Heritage will in no case support speculative recreation."[126] As the criteria for "speculative recreation" have not been defined clearly in this document, it can only be assumed that it may seek to prohibit commercial enterprises from encouraging reconstruction projects. Whether it is the recreation of a Roman gatehouse in Great Britain or the reconstruction of the South Gate of Beijing's city wall, there seems to be no great difference between Europe and Asia in terms of their authenticity approach towards this new trend, the nature of these projects contradicting legislative measures and policy documents. Indeed, archaeological reconstruction has become very popular in recent years in the UK. It was the frequency of proposals involving reconstruction or re-creation of buildings on archaeological sites which caused English Heritage, as the representative of the government in this area, to issue this policy document.

Speculative or not, reconstructions have something in common: a strong link to politics. One of the earliest reconstruction examples in recent history, approved by all preservation authorities as legitimate, despite the strong consensus on material authenticity during that period, is the case of the Warsaw Castle. Destroyed by the Nazis during World War II, Warsaw Castle was reconstructed from 1974 and completed in 1984. In addition to the castle, most of historic Warsaw has also been rebuilt. As a large-scale reconstruction, it became exceptionally a World Heritage Site, in contrast to the World Heritage ICOMOS criteria of authenticity. Further castle reconstruction occupies the centre of the political arena in another European country. Berlin Castle, planned on the site of the Palace of Republic of the former German Democratic Republic, has become one of the most discussed political topics in German media in recent years. The building was designed as a tourist attraction with shops, restaurants, a business centre and hotel, with a library and research centre to be used by Humboldt University in Berlin.

The collection of the Humboldt University in Dahlem in West Berlin will move to this building in the centre of a united Berlin once the building is reconstructed. This move marks the end of one era and the start of a new one. However, it has been delayed due to austerity measures, a decision taken by the central government which upset the Berlin mayor and city senate.[127] Conversely, protests employing an inflatable castle against the reconstruction of the building, demolished in the 1950s by East Germany's communist leaders, took place on October 17, 2009. "The only good castle is a bouncy castle," said protest organiser Joel Alas.[128]

These examples show just the tip of the iceberg; preservation of historic buildings has always served politics in different ways. It helped colonial empires to make their imaginary Orient real, it helped politicians express a new identity for their countries and governments to create new histories. The choice of what to preserve and what to demolish, privileges given to certain buildings by neglecting others, conservation projects fuelling political disputes or supporting peace projects, are all witnesses to the strong link between politics and historic preservation, which will be explored in the next chapter.

NOTES

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18. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 91.
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33. A transcription of the full text dating back to 1869 is by Hüseyin Karaduman, "Belgelerle İlk Türk Asar—I Atika Nizamnamesi," *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Society) 25, no 29 (2001): 73–92.
34. Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 13.
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47. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 13.
48. Aygen, "Heritage Conservation in Islam," 437–48.
49. For example, there were foundations dedicated specifically to the maintenance of historic library buildings. See Mustafa Altan Arabacıoğlu, ed., *Vakıflar* (Istanbul: Istanbul Vakıflar Basmüdürlüğü, 1984), 16.

50. *Rölove ve Restorasyon Dergisi* [Journal of Historic Building Survey and Restoration] and *Vakıflar Dergisi* [Journal of Holy Foundations]; İbrahim Ateş, Sadi Bayram and Ulku Özsoy, *Son On Yilda Vakıflar 1980–1990* (İstanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1990).
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52. This quotation belongs to a colleague from Japan whom I met at a conference in 2002 in the UK. We had an informal conversation during a conference excursion, and I found this comment by her very interesting. She prefers to remain anonymous, afraid of being misunderstood. However, her words sum up the whole topic in a nutshell.
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61. See note 59.
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66. John Brian Harley, "Historical Geography and Its Evidence: Reflections on Modelling Sources," in *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography*, eds. Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 261.
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68. Barbara Bolt, "The Magic Is Handling," in *Practice as Research: Approach to Creative Arts Enquiry*, eds. Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 33.
69. The Arts and Humanities Research Board is now the Arts and Humanities Research Council, http://www.ahrc.ac.uk (accessed October 26, 2010); Dominic Symonds, University of Portsmouth, e-mail message to author, October 26, 2010.
70. Trevor Marchand, *The Masons of Djenné* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 8.

71. Kamil Khan Mumtaz, "Voices and Images of Tradition and Modernity," in *Development and Urban Metamorphosis, Vol. 1: Yemen at Crossroads* (Proceedings of The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: Seminar Eight, Sana'a, Yemen, May 25–30, 1983) 91–97.
72. Marchand, *Masons of Djenné*, 6.
73. Cengiz Besiktaş, 'Master Carpenter,' as cited in Ayşe Arman "Merhamet Tamircisi,", *Hürriyet*, January 1, 2009.
74. Sadi Bayram, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, ın Oğlu şehzade Mehmed in *Şehzade Külliyesi Vakfiyesi ve Türk Sanatındaki Yeri: Proceedings of the XII Turkish History Congress*, September 12–17, 1994 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Publications, 1994), 1017–39.
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91. *WHC Periodic Reporting Exercise on the World Heritage Convention/ African Region* (Paris: World Heritage Centre/UNESCO, 2003), 18, 60. www.whc.unesco.org/en/periodicreporting

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3 Defence, Survival or Neglect
The Role of Politics

> After every viceroy has been forgotten, Curzon will be remembered because he restored all that was beautiful in India.[1]

This quote belongs to Jawaharlal Nehru, icon of the Indian independence movement, first prime minister of independent India and follower of Mahatma Gandhi. While Nehru's words mark the end of the colonial period in India, they also reflect a political accommodation with the colonised past through heritage discourse. Nehru was also a pioneer in the realm of the current Indian conservation movement of promoting the enhancement of craft skills. In the 1950s, he initiated a study of the endangered traditional handloom sector and asked for the development of strategic plans for its revival. According to A. G. Krishna Menon, Nehru's caveat, "to find a suitable model for the Indian circumstance," has since been ignored, with the consequence that India's practices and values in the post-Nehru era have derived, in conservation and in other areas, largely from Western attitudes and experiences.[2]

Nehru, moreover, was a politician who fully appreciated his country's architectural past. Narayani Gupta noted that "though alternative schemes were prepared for the re-ordering of New Delhi, his government left the capital complex untouched; contrast the insensitive treatment of the Mughal Red Fort in 1857."[3] Indeed, neither Nehru's government predecessors nor his successors have been as sympathetic to heritage preservation, especially if it was the heritage of the "other." All heritage discourse, especially historic building conservation, is a powerful political tool in both war and peace. Historic buildings are the most obvious and visible assets of a society's collective memory, without which it resembles a person after an accident, concussion or trauma. Gupta gives the example of India in the aftermath of the 1857 rising, where the assurance by the British government that India's historic architecture would enjoy a peaceful existence contributed to the reestablishment of the peace in British India.[4] However, contrary to this earlier unifying approach, Sir John Marshall's attempt in 1915 to divide India's diverse heritage into two main categories, with "Buddhist, Hindu and Jain edifices on one hand and the more modern erections of the

Mohammedans on the other," indirectly undermined the value of the later built Muslim heritage.[5] It identified Muslims as the other main group, as opposed to all the other communities. The passage of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1904 in this model presaged the later separation of India into two sovereign states, one Hindu and the other Muslim. Already this distinction was embedded in conservation policies. In light of this, Nehru's famous slogan "unity in diversity" is more than a mere political statement for the newly independent India. Unity in diversity has been the banner for political peace sought through heritage preservation policies and reflected in the conservation legislation of a number of countries. It also set an example for a number of politicians. One, the founder of modern Fiji, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, according to a Fiji-based, tourist-aimed website, borrowed Nehru's phrase directly, referring to the diverse backgrounds shaping the nation's cultural heritage.[6] It is also interesting that the Fiji Travel Guide, linking Nehru through this phrase to the popular Fijian politician, refers in the same document to periodic clashes between these diverse communities, giving examples of the destruction of Hindu temples by Christians. This website, probably monitored by the Hindu community in Fiji, is a good example of the important role played by heritage preservation discourse in local, national and international politics.

Another famous politician who developed conservation policies to support the birth of a new nation was the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. As early as May 9, 1920, during the Independence War, he asked the education minister of the War Cabinet to establish under his ministry a general directorate for the conservation of ancient monuments. Later he constantly demonstrated his support for heritage preservation, including the designation of a number of archaeological sites and the establishment of a department of archaeology at the University of Istanbul. When he visited several Anatolian cities as the first president of the Turkish state, he did everything to place historic preservation in the limelight to evoke public interest. For example, during a visit to Konya in February 1931, he sent a telegraph to Prime Minister İsmet İnönü asking for the urgent restoration of Seljuk medieval city monuments by referring specifically to those decaying in that city.[7] The telegram was labelled "urgent and important." It consisted of two parts: the first part concentrated on the issue of foreign experts working in archaeological excavations in Turkey and emphasised the importance of educating Turkish archaeologists, and the second part related directly to historic buildings:

> In the city of Konya, in spite of their terribly derelict condition due to neglect of centuries, there are a number of important historic buildings as magnificent examples of the Turkish civilisation dating back to eight centuries before our time. Among these especially the Medrese of Karatay, Alaaddin Mosque, the Medrese, Mosque and Tomb of Sahip Ata, Sircali Medrese and Slender Minaret are in need of urgent and

> immediate repair. As any delay in their restoration may lead to their total destruction, those inhabited by the army should immediately be made vacant and the repair of all buildings should start immediately under the supervision of experts.[8]

This telegram contains a number of important issues and also reveals the background to the political and cultural scene in 1930s Turkey by showing once more the important role of heritage preservation in politics. First, the sending of a telegram by the head of state to the Prime Minister about the urgency of the preservation of these monuments resonated throughout the whole country, becoming news and evoking public interest in historic preservation. Atatürk acted deliberately, knowing the great public interest in everything he did and wrote as a national hero and president of a proud new state. In this he and Nehru acted in a similar way. Second, it reveals the physical conditions of this new state, which had emerged from the war just two years before. The army, short of barracks during the war, had occupied all buildings capable of accommodating soldiers and offices. Atatürk's words launched the beginning of the peace period, when culture

Figure 3.1 The Gate of the Medrese of Karatay today. Since the 1930s, there has been a growing consciousness within the Turkish historic preservation discourse about the importance of the pre-Ottoman monuments. Image courtesy Dicle Aydın, Konya Selçuk University, Turkey.

had an important role to play. Finally, not least in importance, the contents of the telegram reveal a search for a new Turkish identity by emphasising the long presence of Turks in Anatolia since the medieval period, countering the European thesis in the previous war which had claimed that Anatolia did not belong to Turks because they arrived there later than the rest, such as the Romans and their predecessors, the Greeks.

We see once again by this example that heritage policies can serve as a powerful tool to mark the beginning of a new era and to shape a new identity. They represent either the power of a colonial administration or a protest against the previous colonial power in the post-colonial period. As emphasised by Elizabeth Delmont in her article about South Africa, "changes in heritage legislation speak to the present as much as the past," an issue explored in the next section.[9]

CONSERVATION POLICIES IN THE NON-EUROPEAN WORLD

One of the most important aspects of conservation policies in the non-European world is the dualistic post-colonial response to colonial policies. While a number of post-colonial independent states have changed their conservation policies from previously selective approaches to more unifying concepts to embrace their diverse communities, some have also retained clauses developed during the colonial period and embedded them within new conservation policies. In many post-colonial countries, reactive policies and alternative contestations have been common, especially during the transitional period from colony to independent state. On the other hand, some post-colonial cultures have adopted a counterselectivity view, excluding the preservation of colonial heritage from protective legislation, which has led to the decay of certain areas in major towns.

South Africa is a typical case study symbolising selective conservation policies in favour of colonial and settler history and its consequences. By 1994, out of 4,000 national monuments, 98 percent represented buildings and sites dating back to colonial periods, with the remaining 2 percent consisting of natural heritage and rock art sites. Resistance from 1994 onwards came through the establishment of a counterdocumentation movement represented by the District Six Museum in Cape Town, which concentrated on the history of forcible removals. This was followed by the legal framework of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999.[10] The preamble of the act claimed its potential to affirm South Africa's diverse cultures and thereby shape the national character of the country. Since then, the definition of cultural diversity has become a much discussed topic in South Africa's heritage preservation scene. Projects such as Constitution Hill, Newtown and Kliptown, three case studies Elizabeth Delmont assesses in her article about culture and heritage related nation-building projects in Johannesburg, have been conceptualised to create reconciliation between the country's difficult

past and promising future.[11] The contexts of all three sites are prisons, forts and liberty, landmarks contrasting with tribal culture projects and preservation of fusion areas deploying an image of coexistence between local and colonial cultures, which we see elsewhere in a number of post-colonial countries.

South Africa's heritage legislation is distinguished from most African countries by its inclusion of vernacular architecture, which encompasses intangible heritage and is a non–age-related conservation concept which embraces all periods, including the modern era, and a participative, decentralised framework. Unlike many other African and Asian countries, it also has a ranking system, graded from one to three. In South Africa, a number of cultural landscapes also enjoy special designation. For example, the Boschendal Founder's Estate, an area of the Cape Winelands, is a cultural landscape with historic monuments, small towns and villages with vernacular features that was designated in 2009 as a National Heritage Site.[12] The designation emphasised that this landscape was the product of the "tireless labour of slave population . . . with the majority of slave descendants still working on the soil" and is "a showcase of the genius of the slave infused society of the Cape."[13] Other specially designated sites in South Africa

Figure 3.2 The prison in Constitution Hill-Johannesburg, one of the historic preservation projects in South Africa in support of the reconciliation process in the post-apartheid period. Courtesy Beverly G. Bond, University of Memphis.

include Madiha House, which contains a portion of Farm 942 with Drakenstein Correctional Services, formerly known as Victor Verster Prison, where Nelson Mandela presided over interactions between the African National Congress and the then South African government.[14] The site is closely linked with Robben Island, where Mandela spent a number of years in captivity, being one of the earliest special designations.[15] The contents of all three of these specially designated cultural landscapes once again reflect a deep consciousness of the country's difficult heritage and hence provide a great example of the important role of heritage policies in shaping a country's national identity.

When one looks at sub-Saharan African heritage policies in general, a pattern emerges of the special character of heritage legislation, shaped in a number of cases through reactions to a colonial past, a pattern shaped by cutoff dates coinciding with the colonisation date of the country. In Botswana's Monuments and Relics Act of 2001, the cutoff date for classification of heritage objects excludes all items created after June 1, 1902, coinciding with the colonisation of Botswana. Similarly, the criteria used to define heritage resources in Zimbabwe through the 1972 act declares the cutoff date as January 1, 1890, the date of the occupation of Zimbabwe by the British South African Company.[16] The Sudanese Antiquities Act of 1952, one of the earliest in the continent, declares the cutoff date for movable and immovable objects to be 1821, the date of the modern Egyptian occupation, leading to the Anglo-Egyptian occupation. Last but not least, the Tanzania Antiquities Act, enacted in 1964 and amended in 1979 and 1985, protects all monuments built before 1886, the date of the establishment of the German East Africa, which incorporated present-day Tanzania. Having related the first two cutoff dates from Botswana and Zimbabwe directly to colonial occupation in Ndoro's excellent article, the author's research has identified the existence of the same links in Sudan's and Tanzania's heritage legislation. More research may lead to more links. However, this evidence already indicates that, with the exception of South Africa, most African countries have decided not to protect the buildings belonging to their colonial past.

It is further observed, confirmed by Ndoro et al., that, with the exception of South Africa, most heritage legislation in sub-Saharan Africa is concerned with monumental heritage rather than vernacular heritage, intangible heritage and conservation areas.[17] A similar approach can also be observed in North Africa, where countries either ignore vernacular heritage and conservation areas totally, or, despite their existence being defined in the legislation, these issues are not supported by management clauses. Egypt's 1985 Law on the Protection of Antiquities and the Algerian Law 98-04 on Cultural Heritage (1998) bear similarities in this respect. Another joint characteristic is the absence of ranking: in most countries, the listings lack categories. For example, Tanzania's legislation protects not only buildings but also fragments such as wooden doors and door frames carved before 1940, which is a positive attempt; however, in the absence of listing

and comprehensive national inventory registers, this is isolated.[18] Another problem in most African countries is the weakness of penalty clauses and legal measurements designed to act as deterrents against destruction. More importantly, most of the legislation is outdated, alien to local traditions and conflicts with other legislation. According to Eboreime, current legislation in Africa fails to appreciate, recognise and use African customs and values that should form the basis of the African conservation laws.[19] A rare exception is presented in the 2004 Cultural Policy of Ghana, which encourages research into the traditional and customary rules of Ghana.[20] Eboreime's critique confirms once again the issue discussed in Chapter 2 in Somalia, where the lack of dialogue and incorporation of local values has led to a similar failure in a number of other countries. The theme of the previously mentioned UK ICOMOS Conference, "Global or Local?" should relate not only to Asia but also to Africa.

Unlike Africa, a number of post-colonial sovereign states in southeast Asia seem to have no problems with their colonial heritage. In sub-Saharan Africa, only South Africa has no cutoff date for colonial heritage and deals with it by using it as a witness for its difficult past. Most other countries exclude colonial heritage from protection. Contrary to this, in most southeast Asian countries, legislation lacks cutoff dates and these countries have a different approach to cultural diversity. For example, in Singapore, which had suffered a rapid loss of its heritage, area conservation has been a key component of national planning since the 1980s. Conservation areas are defined in Singapore as Heritage Conservation Districts. Their designation was first initiated by the Urban Redevelopment Agency with the first conservation area being Tajung Pagar, followed shortly by China Town, Little India and Arab Street.[21] The names of the areas clearly indicate Singapore's diverse heritage. According to Robertson E. Collins, "one of the fortunate investor features in Singapore was that these three heritage districts were where the Chinese, Muslims and Indians had traditionally lived."[22] The Singapore government also had no difficulty in preserving post-colonial heritage. Collins gives the examples of the City Hall, the Supreme Court Building, the Customs House and the National Museum, all built by the colonial power and now under protection. Malaysia is another country in southeast Asia whose planning legislation includes a detailed conservation area clause incorporating a buffer zone and emphasising community involvement in decision making for the management plan. The National Heritage Act of 2005 was a progressive legal document that combined governance of issues such as conservation areas, conservation zoning and, quite unusually, underwater heritage, which is not restricted to shipwrecks, as in a number of other countries.[23] Singapore, like Malaysia, has no qualms in preserving fusion areas where colonial heritage and local heritage coexist. Of course, in contrast to South Africa, neither Singapore nor Malaysia had to deal with an issue such as apartheid in their colonial past. But they have had slavery, interethnic clashes and invasion by Japan.

In other parts of Asia, the scene changes. Ayesha Aga Shah dedicated her master's dissertation, supervised by the author, to the viability of conservation area designation for Pakistan. Concentrating on the case study of Karachi, she stated that the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 1994 did not include the concept of conservation areas.[24] Shah's case study of Karachi's quarters revealed that the absence of conservation area designation has led to a rapid loss of colonial architecture and fusion architecture in the city. An additional clause in 2002 concentrated only on heritage buildings but not on areas or even assemblages in the sense of Venice Charter.[25] The answer of the minister of culture and tourism to a question raised during a sitting of the Provincial Assembly Meeting of Sindh in 2009 regarding a plot in Karachi being declared as a protected heritage site revealed that the term is "applicable only to the buildings, structures and objects."[26] The Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act is a provincial law within Pakistan's federal framework. In Pakistan, according to Anila Naeem, "in a situation where definitive actions on a national scale to deal with the crisis of heritage conservation in the country, are still long pending, the provinces have sought to define their own provincial laws and strategies."[27] Other provincial laws in Pakistan are the Punjab Special Premises (Preservation)

Figure 3.3 The absence of conservation area designation in Karachi has led to a rapid loss of colonial architecture and fusion architecture in the city. Courtesy Ayesha Agha Shah, University of Bahrain.

Figure 3.4 Gol Wala Building in Dr. Daud Pota (Frere) Road/Sharah-e-Iraq (Clarke Road), Karachi. Issues such as multiple private ownership with several shares make it more difficult for these disused colonial commercial buildings to be preserved. Courtesy Ayesha Agha Shah, University of Bahrain.

Ordinance 1985, the North-West Frontier Province Antiquities Ordinance 1997 and the Punjab Heritage Foundation Act 2005. Naeem also referred to recent attempts to formulate a national policy to deal with heritage assets, such as the National Conservation Strategy 1992 and the Cultural Policy of Pakistan of 2005, "a very generalized document dealing with a wide range of areas," including preservation of tangible and intangible assets.[28] However, it did not include conservation areas within its definition of cultural heritage.

Pakistan's neighbour India has adopted a similar approach, concentrating only on the preservation of protected monuments and archaeological and natural sites, excluding conservation areas and the surroundings of protected monuments. The Monuments and Antiquities Act of 1961 amended the earlier act of 1901 created by the Archaeological Survey of India during the British period. In both countries, this emphasis on archaeology may have its roots fossilised by British legislation. Similar to Pakistan, India has a federal structure. Within the Indian constitution, only the state, not the centre, can enact laws relating to land and local governance. However, the Coastal Regulation Zone Notification of 1991 of the 1986 Environment (Protection) Act refers in Category I/I, together with areas of outstanding natural beauty,

to areas of historical importance and heritage areas by not permitting new constructions in this category.[29] This is a progressive step in environmental legislation, whose previous version concentrated mainly on environmental pollution, hazardous materials, restriction of industries and prevention of accidents. Key legislation for India's heritage preservation is contained within the Town and Country Planning Acts of individual states. According to Shikha Jain, director of the Development and Research Organization for Nature, Arts and Heritage, the pioneer of heritage legislation in India was the state of Maharashtra, with the 1995 amendment of the 1996 Regional and Town Planning Act initiated by Mumbai.[30] Maharashtra's example was followed in the early 2000s by a number of states amending previous urban legislation to add heritage preservation clauses. For example, Andre Praesh's Urban Areas (Development) Act of 1975 was amended in 2000 by the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA), microlevel planning prioritising the "conservation of heritage sites and precincts, areas of natural beauty and lakes and their surroundings." As a result, HUDA has prepared a list of 137 heritage buildings and nine heritage precincts. The list includes national monuments, single buildings and building fragments such as gates, places of worship and historic gardens, but it does not contain conservation areas and the surroundings of monuments. Macrolevel planning supported the microlevel heritage preservation initiative by introducing an outer ring road for the new airport to protect the historic core. Conversely, a number of states in India have not introduced heritage legislation. A closer look at Jain's list of these states reveals that they are concentrated mainly in the north of the country, with the exception of Kerala and Puducherry in the south.

Other southeast Asian countries resemble, in their "monument-limited" approach, Pakistan and India rather than their neighbour Malaysia. Both Indonesia and Thailand concentrate on monuments and single buildings, a phenomenon we see also in the legal framework of a number of Middle Eastern countries, which will be discussed later in Chapters 4 and 5. Another phenomenon in southeast Asian legislation is the influence of international conventions on the development of national legislation. According to Ansari Sinungan, director for cooperation and development directorate general of intellectual property Indonesia, the Indonesian Cultural Heritage Law of 1992 was implemented as a direct consequence of the ratification of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage Convention by Indonesia on July 6, 1989.[31] The catalytic impact of the ratification of international conventions on the development of national legislation will be discussed in detail in the special case file at the end of this chapter dedicated to Asia.

Another characteristic of Asian legislation case studies is the importance, in nearly all the documents, attached to natural heritage. When one moves from Asia to other continents, this phenomenon becomes at times a totally natural heritage–oriented approach. Especially in island states like the Bahamas, the main legislative measurement focuses narrowly on landscape conservation, which may result from a lack of appreciation for the island's

vernacular heritage and the legal framework's focus on tourism.[32] Another island state in the region, Cuba, has introduced a special zoning agreement of special significance to tourism, targeting Old Havana, while Law No. 143 concerned the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana.[33] On the other hand, Cuba introduced, through Law No. 2, the National and Local Monuments Law of August 4, 1977, which designated not only historic buildings and objects but also historic town centres as national monuments, a legal framework for area conservation.[34]

The inclusion of area conservation and urban conservation into conservation legislation seems to be one of the strengths of Latin America in contrast to Asian and sub-Saharan African legislation, where the majority of countries have a monument-specific approach. For example, Colombia has special legislation in Law No. 163 of 1959 for "the protection of city sections constructed between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries."[35]

In contrast to sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America preserves the built heritage of the Spanish colonisers, probably because the colonisation period and its end predated that of Africa. Alternatively, especially in 1990s, a movement to protect indigenous heritage affected the heritage legislation of most Latin American countries. Colombia's Law No. 397 in 1997 defined archaeological heritage within the context of Colombia's indigenous population, and in Bolivia, under pressure from the Bolivian Confederation of Indigenous People, the government agreed to return human remains and artefacts in Bolivian museums to indigenous people and enacted legislation to protect their sacred and ceremonial sites.[36] Cultural consciousness of their own heritage among indigenous tribes is growing in Latin America and is becoming increasingly integrated into a legal framework in a number of countries. The reactions to colonial heritage we saw in African legislation had their equivalents in Latin America, where in a number of countries, the pre-Latin or pre-Hispanic culture that preceded the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese cultures is under special protection. For example, in Mexico the Federal Law on the Cultural Heritage of the Nation declares "all examples movable and immovable property produced by cultures that existed before the arrival of the Spanish culture in Mexico" to be considered archaeological monuments.[37] This law was superseded by the Federal Law on Archaeological Monuments and Zones published on May 6, 1972, followed by Regulations on December 8, 1975, both having the same approach to pre-Hispanic heritage.[38] Later, a law passed in 1986 again categorised pre-Hispanic sites as archaeological monuments.[39] Finally, to support the conservation of urban heritage and historic neighbourhoods, Mexico passed the Federal Law on National Properties in 2001.

In 2008 Colombia amended Law No. 397 (1997) with Law No. 1185.[40] This amendment was interesting, because it united in its definition Spanish, indigenous, black and Creole heritage as an entity by declaring it to be the nation's heritage and emphasised community participation and area preservation. It also recognised the decentralisation of heritage management

as a principle and established Cultural Heritage District Councils. In other countries, similar initiatives are in progress. For example, the United Cities and Local Government Fund (UCLG) promoted by the Committee on Culture, the World Secretariat of ULCG and the City of Barcelona, with the support of the Spanish Development Agency, awarded funding in January 2011 to Rosario in Argentina dedicated to the development of local policies to encourage citizen participation.[41] Indigenous subjects and communities in South America are no more "helpless victims of change," as criticised by Yvonne Hammer in regard to their representations in Isabel Allende's novels.[42] Actually Allende referred in her novels to an historical situation which had recently changed. She also refers in most of her novels to indigenous heritage, both in and beyond South America, within an eco-cultural conservationist framework, with the West threatening the non-Western.[43] For example, in *The Kingdom of the Golden Dragon*, a powerful Westerner goes to great lengths to own the kingdom's magic historic artefact, the golden dragon.[44]

Allende is one of countless women whose support for and contribution to the preservation of natural and cultural heritage has rarely been acknowledged. Starting with traditional cultures, women have always been attached specially to the conservation of tradition and heritage, with a number of women acting as custodians in religious heritage sites. Research by Ali Buxton reveals that in UK the growth of women in the building conservation workforce has reached 50 percent, compared with 8.6 percent in 2000 across all positions in the construction industry.[45] According to Buxton et al., women research participants in the building conservation sector defined their work as requiring "patience," "care" and "attention to detail," which they perceived as female characteristics, making women more eligible for conservation work.[46] These views may be subjective; however, it is a fact that a number of pioneers in historic preservation since its institutionalisation in the modern sense happen to have been women. Moreover, a number of first ladies have dedicated themselves to the protection of their national heritage while their husbands held presidential office. The next section is dedicated to those first ladies of heritage conservation, either in their political or professional capacity.

FIRST LADIES SAVE HISTORIC BUILDINGS

> I was painfully distressed at the ruin and desolation of the home of Washington and the thought passed through my mind: why was it the women of this country did not try to keep it in repair if the men could not do it?[47]

What originally inspired Ann Pamela Cunningham (1816–1875), referred to in a number of websites and publications as a forerunner of historic

preservation in the United States, to save Mount Vernon against all the odds, was her mother's letter (quoted above) about the desolate state of George Washington's home.[48] By establishing the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, she also established the roots of a heritage custodian tradition in her country, replicated by a number of other women, including a number of otherwise well-known first ladies but rarely in this capacity. In *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, Dubrow and Goodman refer to the gulf between academic historians and historic preservationists by accusing the former of excluding Cunningham's name from their texts about the nineteenth-century women's movement.[49] It should be added that these women were also excluded from most texts relating to the historic preservation movement, with the result that they appear mostly in isolated biographies. A rare example, mentioning Cunningham's activity within the context of the preservation movement in the US, is Jokilehto's work on the history of architectural conservation, where he refers to the example of her association being followed by other "little old ladies in blue hair and tennis shoes."[50] It is not clear from the text whether Jokilehto quoted this cynical remark in a reversing cynical way. He wrote it in quotation marks without mentioning the source, so it may well be; however, surely it would occur to nobody to mock in such a cynical manner the contribution of Emile Zola, who had a similar amateurish but dedicated interest in historic buildings. One of the reasons for dumbing down women's role in historic preservation may be the charitable character attached to it by different sections of the society, as Buxton's research confirms. Although many men are involved in both charities and historic preservation, "care" is still perceived mainly as a female attribute in Western culture. By contrast, in non-Western cultures, care and charity, especially in saving historic buildings, is also associated with men, as we saw in Chapter 2 with the example of the "charitable carpenter" dedicated to curing decayed timber in the Ottoman tradition.

The tradition started by Cunningham had a snowball effect in the US and produced a number of fighters dedicated to stopping the destruction of historic buildings and neighbourhoods, including Jane Jacobs. Opposing urban renewal projects designed by powerful magnates targeting historic neighbourhoods, she initiated a number of the citizen-opposition movements against highway projects cutting through historic towns and won most of her battles. Even so, Robert Caro's critical biography of Robert Moses, Baron Haussmann of the US, who had no mercy for historic neighbourhoods in his highway projects, does not devote one word to Jane Jacobs, despite her being one of the most successful opponents of Moses' projects.[51] According to Ina Caro, the author's wife and research assistant, Caro's original draft had a whole chapter about Jacobs which was cut before the book was published.[52] Ina Caro explained this incident by the need for the book to be shortened, as it exceeded the publisher's word limit. Still, it is interesting that the chapter about Moses' main opponent was selected to be cut, while chapters on his male opponents in the political area remained untouched.

Later Jacobs's quest was taken over at the highest political levels by presidential wives and women politicians. For example, in 1998, then First Lady and now Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton dedicated herself to the preservation of sites related to the history of African-American women, focusing on the preservation of ten particular case studies as part of her Millennium Project.[53] A number of other first ladies, such as Laura Bush, have also been prominent members of this historic preservation tradition. By launching the Preserve America Initiative in 2003, dedicated to protecting and restoring America's cultural and natural heritage, a White House initiative in cooperation with the Advisory Council in Historic Preservation and the US Departments of the Interior and Commerce, Bush emphasised the role of American women in historic preservation in her speech, in particular the role of another first lady, Lady Bird Johnson.[54] However, she left out one of the most outstanding figures in this regard, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

The contribution of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis to her country's historic heritage is remarkable. Her achievements included stopping the destruction of historic homes in Lafayette Square and her contribution to the debate about tall buildings in natural and historic environments. However, she will always be remembered for her campaign to save the Grand Central Terminal in New York City from demolition and to support its renovation following a ten-year court battle, which would have been very difficult to win without her energy and public presence. In her foreword to a book about this process, Kennedy Onassis described the voice of preservationists as a "lonely voice, powerless against might commercial interests," adding that, as "a young country constantly reforming its image of itself, the United States tore down too much," with the result that great buildings and small-scale cherished neighbourhoods disappeared.[55] In this she came close to Jacobs's views. She continued by praising the efforts of the Landmarks Preservation Commission, the establishment of which turned the fate of historic buildings. Her "high profile help" in saving Grand Central, as described by the *New York Times*, is commemorated by a plaque in the main concourse.[56]

Beyond the United States, first ladies in the Middle East also have been active in historic preservation. Jehan Sadat, the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's wife, wrote in her autobiography, after seeing Rome and observing the way the Italians preserved and maintained their monuments, that she realised that Egypt had a much older, but neglected heritage: "Fum al Khalig in Cairo, for example, was cluttered with abandoned cars and garbage. Why would tourists want to visit it if they were going to see only rusted cars?"[57] Behind these words was a vision that Egypt's heritage offered more than ancient Egyptian pyramids and tombs: a medieval and postmedieval heritage which had been neglected in the modern period after the collapse of the traditional *waqf* system, an issue already mentioned in the second chapter. Sadat's words also reveal a strong interest in using preservation for cultural tourism, or rather preserving monuments for their own sake, similar to some other countries in the region, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Consequently, Sadat founded the Committee to Preserve Egyptian Antiquities and, as its head, launched a campaign to light and clean a number of monuments, especially places of worship such as churches and mosques with an interreligious emphasis on heritage.

Following Sadat, one of the most famous first ladies in support of historic preservation is Jordanian Queen Rania al Abdullah, who was a keen supporter of the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (GSAPP) project in Amman. When GSAPP launched the Amman Lab in 2009, historic preservation students were engaged in historic preservation projects in Amman's historic downtown. They had an immediate opportunity to present their work to the queen at the initial stage of the project, which involved the restoration of the house of Ibrahim Hashem, Jordan's first prime minister. Andrew Dolkart from Columbia University led this project. As a globally appreciated public figure, photographs of Queen Rania with historic preservation students on the project website provide an effective means of attracting the interest of young Jordanian students in historic preservation.[58]

There are also women in conservation who are not queens or first ladies of state heads but are still powerful pioneers of historic preservation in their respective countries. Most are trained conservation architects, urban sociologists and historians who have fought battles with great courage and tied their work to humanitarian issues. Cairo is a good example. First Lady Sadat may have been inspired initially by Rome, as she states in her autobiography, but when approached by people interested in the future of Cairo's urban heritage, she also became aware of the large-scale demolition of Cairo's Fatimid residential buildings.[59] Meanwhile, two other women working in these neighbourhoods, the local minister of parliament Ulfat Kamel and urban sociologist Nawal Mahmoud Hassan, were trying to find a solution to the large-scale eviction of the inhabitants of these demolished buildings. Women's journals carried articles with photographs showing people living in tents next to the monuments. Hassan wrote that Kamel and she "were not able to stem the devastation until first lady Sadat was convinced of the harm being done and money was found to address the issue."[60] As a consequence of these developments, the destruction of the historic neighbourhoods of Cairo was mostly stopped, and the homeless people of the neighbourhood were transferred to social housing estates in the outskirts of the city. Mahmoud Hassan points out that this saved the historic buildings of Fatimid Cairo, but it caused further problems for its former inhabitants, who were removed from an environment where they had contributed intangible heritage. In the late 1970s, however, when tangible heritage was the main and only concern of most conservation experts, it halted the loss of Cairo's civic heritage.

Another pioneering architectural and urban historian of Egypt was Laila Ali Ibrahim, who worked with the famous historian André Raymond on the role of the pious foundation records to develop a methodical approach for

documenting Cairo's urban history. She also proposed, countering a common orientalist notion, that the growth of the Arab and Muslim city had its own rules and was not built haphazardly, and thus made a great contribution to the academic discourse of her time.[61] Similarly, in the same period in Turkey, three women pioneered the profession of the conservation architect. Selma Emler, Cahide Tamer and Mualla Eyüboğlu-Anhegger, three of the first women architects of Turkey, together restored the Rumeli Fortress on the Bosporus. Emler, with Kuban, represented Turkey in the 1964 Venice Meeting, as mentioned before. Both Tamer and Eyüboğlu-Anhegger graduated in the early 1940s from the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and dedicated themselves to the historic buildings of Turkey. Tamer studied as a young mother in the academy, and Eyüboğlu-Anhegger worked in villages constructing school buildings before completing her architectural degree. Both architects discussed in their publications the issue of period changes and have thus contributed to the discourse of conservation philosophy in Turkey. They shared the view that the classical period of Ottoman architecture should have taken precedence over the degenerated late nineteenth-century alterations.[62] Tamer recalled in one of her publications about the Topkapı Palace restorations how she discovered, purely by logical deduction, classical timber panels in the crown prince's quarters hidden under empire period additions.[63] Eyüboğlu-Anhegger, who worked on the same premises as Tamer, shared the same view regarding the value of the classical period of Ottoman architecture. Gül İrepoğlu, an architect and art historian, recollected a childhood visit to the Topkapı Palace harem quarters by remembering vividly Eyüboğlu-Anhegger's excitement at having discovered the classical period decorations inside the dome of the crown prince's quarters under the later applied layers of less skilful finishes.[64] Eyüboğlu-Anhegger commented in an interview that it took a great effort to convince the Council of Monuments of the need for the involvement of specially trained conservation architects in conservation and restoration projects, similar to her colleague Tamer, who was honoured for her contribution to the subject area by a chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts and des Lettres by the French government.[65] These examples highlight how the role of architects specialising in building conservation was developed in Turkey by these women architects during World War II, when the number of women in the architectural profession was very limited in other European countries.

When we look at the list of the buildings that these women in conservation have restored and conserved, we note that most of the buildings are places of worship, contain places of worship or are attached to places of worship. The tradition of preserving places of worship in a number of countries through pious foundations occurs under the auspices of bodies related to pious foundations. In Turkey, this institution is a General Directorate of Pious Foundations; in countries such as Syria and Egypt, these foundations have been encompassed within ministries created especially for this purpose. Places of worship in a number of countries in Europe, America,

Asia and Africa usually enjoy special regulations, management and legislation. Through this they form a special category and in many cases are in the centre of local, national and international politics.

CONSERVATION OF PLACES OF WORSHIP

> Only if it can be established, beyond a reasonable doubt that in 1528 A.D. a temple was destroyed with the express objective of constructing the mosque, a new temple should be constructed. Otherwise permitting such an event to come to pass will lead to opening a Pandora's box.[66]

In 1528 in the town of Ayodhya in the federal state of Uttar Pradesh in northern India, a mosque was built during the Mughal Period, which, according to a group of Hindus, marks the spot where one of the Hindu deities, Lord Ram, was born and dedicated a temple. More than three hundred years later, the first signs of a future conflict emerged with the result that the British colonial administration had to intervene. Richard M. Eaton, who wrote a book about temple destruction in medieval India, believed that it was actually the British colonial historians who fuelled this conflict by selectively quoting earlier and unreliable Persian chronicles on the subject of Hindu temples having been destroyed by Muslim rulers.[67] According to Eaton, their aim was to present these as proof to Hindus in India that they could not survive without the unifying umbrella of the British administration. After several clashes over decades, in 1984 Hindus formed a committee under the leadership of the Vishwa Hindu Parished Party (VHP) and were joined later by another Hindu nationalist party, Bharatiya Janata (BJP), to campaign for Hindus to pray on the site of the Baber Mosque. This was allowed in 1986 by the district judge. In 1990 the mosque was partly damaged by a group of Hindu supporters of VHP's case, and in 1992, after BJP came to power in Uttar Pradesh, a crowd of 150,000 people totally demolished the mosque.[68] It was exactly in the same year that the science of archaeology became involved in regional politics. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), the oldest heritage body of India, following a preliminary survey in 1970, was called in to find evidence of the existence of a Hindu temple on the site and found some subterranean fragments. As a result, VHP emphasised that its case was supported by archaeological evidence. On the other hand, what the Hindu leader Ashok Chowgule had prophesied controversially as the opening of Pandora's box actually occurred: the archaeological debate resulted in nationwide rioting between Hindus and Muslims with a death toll of more than 2,000.[69]

With the increase of global web availability from the late 1980s, a new trend was added to this conflict; a variety of web sources started to reuse Muslim chroniclers on the topic of the destruction of Hindu temples

in India. Most of these sources contained specific references to the Baber Mosque case. Several websites and blogs, based on nineteenth-century British publications but without citing them directly, reach Hindus all over the world.[70] According to one article, "many Indians seem not to recognise that the alien Muslim marauders destroyed the historical evolution of the world's most mentally advanced civilisation."[71] This development provides clear evidence that politics and historic buildings are closely linked, especially in the case of places of worship. Another aspect of this new trend is the emergence of a populist discourse on the history of built environment, lacking academic credibility in most cases, which can have dangerous consequences, both scientifically and politically. On a website named "Taj Mahal: The Biggest Whitewash in Indian History," which discussed the Muslim contribution to the Taj Mahal and accused both Muslims and British architectural historians of denying its Hindu features, a commentator praised the "Spanish Solution," referring to the construction of the Reconquista Chapel in the Cordoba Mosque (see Chapter 8).[72] Clearly this implied that this fourteenth-century practice should be used today; the website accused ASI of keeping silent on this topic for the sake of tourism and communal harmony.

ASI, the governmental body dealing with historic preservation issues, holds a key position within this political debate in India, which probably makes its job very difficult. In the case of the Baber Mosque in 2003, ASI's archaeologists were summoned by court order to ascertain whether a temple preexisted on the site, which they established. This was followed by a new debate by Hindus and Muslims, purely based on the science of archaeology and historic building materials, with Muslims debating the existence of lime mortar in the fragments to rule out the possibility of a Hindu temple beneath the mosque. Against this was a Hindu thesis of a more typological nature that the fragments showed distinctive features of northern Indian temples.[73] What both sides did not discuss was the question of whether it was correct to demolish a historic building built over the fragments of another historic building. A number of ancient churches were built on the ruins of Roman temples or ancient synagogues; some ancient mosques were built on the ruins of churches or were converted from churches, and a number of churches were built upon the ruins of mosques or were converted from mosques. Recently there is also the claim, probably provoked by the Ayodhya case, that Jain/Buddhist temples were destroyed to build Hindu temples, and another claim that Hindu temples along the Cambodia–Vietnam border are due to be destroyed by Buddhists.[74] Last but not least, a current blog discussion questions whether the Portuguese destroyed Hindu temples in Goa to replace them with churches. Where does that lead us at a time when we are talking about the diverse and global heritage of the world? This debate seeds only anger and frustration, not "seeds of thought," as one website claimed.[75]

If the approach taken at the Baber Mosque is accepted, how does this fit within the heritage preservation realm? Should archaeologists and con-

servationists be involved in demolishing buildings? As rhetorical as this question may be, one should always consider the role of historic building conservation in politics. The involvement of ASI archaeologists in the Ayodhya case occurred through a court order. It should be also remembered that in India the central government has no authority to become involved in planning decisions made by state governments. There is now a developing consciousness in India of avoiding conceiving heritage sites in a dual mode. Sinha and Sharma emphasised that the repercussions of widespread communal violence following the Baber Mosque destruction were felt a decade later during heritage conservation in another state, Gujarat, and urged "that the past be not interpreted in factional terms, giving rise to religious polarization."[76] On the other hand, the INTACH Charter of India demands respect for the contributions of all periods in alignment with international strategies. According to the INTACH Charter, "the objective of conserving the unprotected architectural heritage and site is not so much to reveal the authentic quality of the past or preserve its original integrity, but rather to mediate its evolving cultural significance to achieve beneficial results."[77] Contemporary conservation philosophy in a worldwide consensus would not now approve the total removal of additions or finishes, as Eyüboğlu-Anhegger and Tamer practised in the 1940s in the Topkapı Palace. Nehru's "unity in diversity" unites all human contributions to the built environment and enriches our inheritance. Of course, Hindu craftsmen may have worked in the Taj Mahal with their Muslim colleagues, Christian craftsmen contributed to the Great Mosque of Damascus and Muslim craftsmen of Moorish origin worked in the construction of post-conquest Christian churches in Spain, so that many places of worship reflect a multireligious iconography. For centuries, nothing was wrong with this until the postmodern age, when there must be a discussion about whether or not the Taj Mahal was built by Muslims rather than appreciating its unifying diversity, as advised by Nehru.[78]

One of the most political cases regarding the conservation of places of worship is the Temple Mount or Haram al Sherif in Jerusalem, identified in both Jewish and Islamic traditions as the site where Abraham offered his son for sacrifice. The rock, representing both the summit of Mount Moriah in Jewish tradition and the holy spot from where Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven accompanied by the Angel Gabriel, is covered by an exceptional building, the Dome of the Rock. The Dome of the Rock "holds a unique position in Islamic architectural history as the first Muslim monument of structural, decorative and volumetric maturity" and is described by the Jewish Virtual Library, copyrighted by the Israel Foreign Ministry, as "one of the architectural glories of the world."[79] The same site identifies the Aqsa Mosque, next to the Dome of the Rock, as "another very early monument" by mentioning its Muslim attribution as the site of the "furthermost sanctuary" in Islam and states further that the shrine stands on the site or approximate site of the Jewish Temple.[80] A number of Jewish archaeologists

have developed theories concerning the location of the Second Temple. Further Jewish institutions, such as the Temple Institute, the Natan Foundation for the Restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem on Its Authentic Site, and the Temple Mount and Eretz Yisrael Faithful Movement, share the ultimate goal of building the Third Temple on the site.[81]

The case of Temple Mount is different from the Baber Mosque in the sense that here the Muslims are not being accused of having destroyed the Second Temple, as, according to both historic and religious accounts, it was destroyed by the Romans and remained in ruins during the Byzantine period.[82] The Muslims are, however, accused by these institutions of having invaded it. Following the commissioning of the Dome of the Rock in 692 AD and the building of the Aqsa Mosque in 715, Sultan Saladin restored these buildings in the aftermath of the Crusader period after the capitulation of Jerusalem in 1187; the main inscription in the interior cupola of the Dome of the Rock commemorates Saladin's contribution to the survival of the building. During the Ottoman period, the decision was made that this area should be administered by a specially appointed holy foundation or *waqf*, providing another example of the previously mentioned Muslim tradition for maintaining historic buildings (see Chapter 2). After Israel captured the Old City in 1967, it decided to maintain the status quo from the Ottoman era, so the site is still under the auspices of the Holy Foundation of Haram al Sherif. Over the period 1970–1988, the Israeli authorities carried out extensive excavations beneath the Muslim quarter which caused large cracks in one of the residential buildings, confirmed by Israeli authorities.[83] A major modern conflict broke out in Temple Mount in September 1997 during Benjamin Netanyahu's term as prime minister about opening a tunnel along the Temple Complex Western Wall to the Muslim Quarter during archaeological excavations. During the fight known as the Tunnel Riots, around seventy Palestinians and seventeen Israeli soldiers were killed, which led to a decision by the Muslim *Waqf* to try to forbid archaeological excavations in the area. In 1999 the mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert, ordered a halt to digging at the site, defying an Israeli government decision to allow excavation.[84] In 2001 Israeli archaeologists accused Muslims of constructing trenches on the Mount; a water sewer thought to have been built between the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque became a problem for Jewish archaeologists in the Committee against the Destruction of the Antiquities on the Temple Mount.[85] Committee member Eilat Mazar, archaeologist and granddaughter of Benjamin Mazar, the archaeologist who in 1968 began the first excavation on the site following the Six Day War, reported observing excavation activity in the Mount, but provided no evidence.[86]

In this situation, where each side anticipates that the other will destroy its heritage, initiatives aiming to restore the Second Temple or to reconstruct the First Temple do not ease tensions. Hiram King stated that the Knights Templar excavated the Western Wall during the Crusader period, followed in 1838 by the American theologian Edward Robinson and later by British

army officers led by Lieutenant Charles Wilson of the Royal Engineers.[87] In 1867 General Sir Charles Warren dug vertical shafts away from the Temple Mount walls and later connected them horizontally to the Western Wall, despite Ottoman prohibition of excavation in the Temple Mount area. Some authors have indicated that all of these excavations aimed to discover fragments of the Old Temple hidden on the Temple Mount before the destruction of the Second Temple to enable future generations of Jews to reconstruct the First or Old Temple.[88] They accuse the British, similar to the Baber Mosque case, of having started the conflict.[89] It should be noted here that in Jewish traditions, the Third Temple overlapped with the First Temple and represented the ultimate stage of Heavenly Jerusalem. This explains the establishment in 1983 of the Temple Mount Fund to remove the Aqsa Mosque and construct the First/Third Temple. Attempts were made to lay its cornerstone by the Temple Mount Faithful Organization immediately following the Tunnel Riots.[90] At the same time, Hai Vekayam urged the rebuilding of Herod's Temple on the ruins of the Aqsa Mosque.[91] All of these developments caused panic among Palestinian Muslims with the result that *Waqf* forbade archaeological activities. It also led to counterextremist assertions by some Palestinian authors that the Wailing Wall has no Jewish origins.[92]

Muslims believe that the tunnels caused cracks in the Muslim buildings on the site and were intended to destroy them.[93] In their support is a group of Israeli archaeologists who accuse the Israel Antiquities Authority of being an accomplice of Elad (in Hebrew, To the City of David), a settler organisation aiming to destroy eighty-eight Palestinian homes in Silwan, close to the Temple Mount and Aqsa Mosque, and expand the archaeological park dedicated to King David, who, according to biblical accounts, there established old Jerusalem.[94] Although Elad failed to obtain a development permit in 1997 to build 200 new homes over and around the historic excavations, it decided to control the area through religious archaeology, and thus invested in the archaeological park. According to Yigal Bronner, an Israeli academic at the University of Chicago, evidence that "science is being sacrificed to serve a narrow political agenda can be seen from the fact that not one of the historical Muslim buildings in the national park has been preserved, and some were not even documented."[95] Similarly, another Israeli expert, Yonathan Mizrachi, a former archaeologist for the Israel Antiquities Authority, thought that "if Elad can convince people that this was once the home of King David, then it will be easier for them to justify the takeover of Silwan and the removal of the Palestinian population."[96] With two colleagues, Mizrachi has introduced alternative tours, but while in one year 350,000 tourists were led around the site by Elad guides, the alternative tours were lucky to have a dozen visitors.

For Palestinians, conservation clauses in the Israeli draft master plan 2000–2020 for the Old City ring alarm bells. According to Fadil Visahi from the Quds Organisation for Development, the plan anticipates further destruction of Palestinian homes, with the aim of expanding the

Figure 3.5 Israeli archaeological excavations in the area behind the Wailing Wall close to Aqsa Mosque. Photograph taken from the Aqsa Mosque. Image courtesy Erşat Hürmüzlü.

Figure 3.6 Some of conservation clauses in the Israeli draft master plan 2000–2020 for the Old City ring alarm bells for Palestinians. Image courtesy Erşat Hürmüzlü.

archaeological park and ultimately the building of the Third Temple on the Temple Mount, with the depopulation of the Muslim inhabitants of the Old City.[97] In this context, Al Adluni from Muesset'ul Quds discussed the cornerstone laid by the Temple Mount Faithful Organisation, a fragment taken from one of the Umayyad palaces by the Aqsa Mosque, and described this action as Judaification of Islamic heritage.[98] Another author thought it was actually the Muslims who saved the site by building a monotheistic temple, the Aqsa Mosque, on the site of the pagan Roman Temple of Jupiter. Therefore, there was no need for a Third Temple on the Mount.[99] According to Muslims, Jerusalem is not the legacy of Jews but represents the prophets of all monotheistic religions, including Christians, who seem now not to have been part of this conflict. However, historically this was the case; a photographic collection from the 1860s witnesses a dispute between the czar, the Greek Orthodox Church and French-led Roman Catholics about who would restore the roof of the Holy Sepulchre Church. All three parties wanted to take responsibility for the Holy Places in Jerusalem, but this led to serious disrepair of the roof. Trying to stop the conflict, in 1853 the sovereign Ottoman sultan offered to fund the repairs out of his own pocket. Finally repairs started in 1867, financed by all three groups.[100]

As seen in these examples, conservation of places of worship is a highly critical and politicised process. Therefore, many countries have introduced into their historic preservation legislation ecclesiastical exemptions for places of worship. In a number of European countries, places of worship are exempt from scheduling, listing and conservation area consents. Governmental involvement varies from case to case across Europe, where, in most cases, exemption status can be lost if there is a risk from the condition of the building. In most European countries, exemption includes only major denominations; for example, in England and Wales, synagogues and mosques are not exempt.[101] Special legal status for places of worship is also present in non-European countries, as in the case of the Haram al Sherif in Jerusalem, without which the conflict would escalate even more. Even if the place represents the heritage of a majority with no serious conflict issues, most governments prefer to steer clear from making maintenance decisions for historic buildings to avoid clashing with tradition. For example, in Bahrain historic preservation issues related to mosques are under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice and Islamic Affairs.[102] Exemptions encourage community involvement in the decision-making process to avoid clashes in this critical process and respect local traditions and practices by sometimes delegating decision mechanisms to religious authorities, as in the Bahrain case. The exclusion of religious minority heritage usually aims to avoid the decay and destruction of those monuments which lack major community support. In most cases, the protection of minority heritage falls into the category of the heritage of the "other," with otherness being obvious through positive discrimination in legislation. Categories of otherness may vary between minority heritage in a country where the majority has a different culture, heritage of the majority in an invaded country, with the ruling decision makers

being in the minority, and heritage of a past community which no longer exists in a country where this past has become alien.

THE HERITAGE OF THE OTHER: DESTRUCTION OR RESTORATION?

> In Islamic and developing countries, the preservation has a more recent origin. A few countries have prepared charters and passed legislation for the protection and preservation of built heritage.

This quote is from the website of MIT Libraries entitled "Islamic Architecture; Charters & Legislation on Architectural Preservation," motivating the author to raise a couple of questions.[103] First, it is interesting to see an internationally recognised academic institution creating a category such as "Islamic and developing countries." Does it mean that all Islamic countries are underdeveloped, or does it indicate that there is a certain sociogeographical domain in the globe which is culturally more developed than other domains? The polarisation becomes clearer when it states that, "in the Western world the movement for preservation of monuments and sites is fairly well established" and presents as a milestone for this claim the Athens Charter, forgetting that the Athens Charter was the product of the United Nations with a number of non-Western countries participating in its preparation. Jeremy C. Wells believed that the Athens Charter was a document that "advocates cooperative efforts among member states to the exclusion of the others" and gave in this context the example of Italy; the 1932 Italian Norms underlined "Italy's need to maintain and continuously improve the undoubted supremacy" the country has reached in the field of heritage preservation.[104]

The exclusion of "others" in the fields of heritage preservation and the history of the built environment can happen in two ways. Either it falls within the category of "negative heritage" to be destroyed by the enemy, coloniser or changing regime, or its condition or state is "improved" by external powers against the traditions of the society in which it was created. Sometimes governments and institutions have gone to great lengths to retain the status quo of the invasive cultural theory. According to an African website, evidence for the highly civilised existence of the Mapungubwe Kingdom before the arrival of the Europeans was kept secret by the University of Pretoria during the apartheid regime, as it "was simply too much for the oppressive government of the day to bear."[105] Manipulation of facts was and is still common practice, especially in colonial heritage research. The BBC series *Lost Kingdoms of Africa*, narrated by art historian Gus Casely-Hayford, featured stone buildings in the Swahili city of Silwa. Zanzibar's chief archaeologist Abdulcuma accused British researchers of changing the architectural history of Great Zimbabwe by tracing the origin of the region's

stone tradition to Arab colonisers and denying the mastery of African stonemasons. Such colonial cultural theories are closely linked with the loss of craft guilds in countries such as Mali and Yemen, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Local traditions have been replaced with imported technologies; at the same time, selected vernacular traditions such as African mud huts have helped colonial powers to create orientalised images of an inferior culture at the early stages of civilisation.

It was a Roman maxim that the first possessor of an unused property deserved the right of occupation by putting it to use. This concept, *res nullius*, "no one's property," helped Roman colonisers to claim ownership of colonised land by introducing agriculture.[106] Later the Catholic Church used this concept to legitimise the Christianisation of the "uncivilised" world. In the colonial age, starting with Napoleon Bonaparte, Catholic *res nullius* was secularised and invested labour was justified through the introduction of superior knowledge, allowing European colonisers to create their images as heroes introducing civilisation to the uncivilised or less-developed societies.[107] French town planners in particular, with their early-nineteenth-century replanning actions in Egypt, Madagascar, Indochina, Morocco and Algiers, caused a major loss of urban heritage in their colonies, which, according to Gwendolyn Wright, "they used as urban design laboratories."[108] Zeynep Çelik considers that, especially in Algiers, French planning actions generated conflict until the end of the French rule in 1962.[109] Çelik points out that this destruction in the colony was unacceptable at home, emphasising that the political dimension of this destruction marked the empowerment of the colonised. In a later period, the French changed their policy and reinvented Morocco's heritage to readjust it to the French cultural theory of the Orient (see Chapter 2).

The negativity of the destruction of heritage can have religious, nationalist or political origins and is subject to constant change, depending on circumstances. West and Ndlovu gave the example of Christian missionaries in Zimbabwe who constantly tried to disconnect Africans from their sacred Matopo Hills and their shrines.[110] In turn, by 2000, some Zimbabweans started a campaign for the removal of Rhodes's grave from the very same hills. His grave represented a special category of negative heritage, aimed at removing a hostile period from the nation's collective memory, along with items which venerate any representation of this hostile period such as graves, tombs, cenotaphs or memorials. Lynn Meskell describes negative heritage as a "conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary."[111] She refers to its dual role that can be mobilised for positive didactic purposes such as Nazi concentration camps, South African prisons or war sites or that can be erased if these spaces cannot become rehabilitated or incorporated within national imagery, such as Nazi and Soviet statues and architecture. A recent example of this type of erasing action happened to Saddam's statue in Iraq. Its religious equivalent was represented through the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the

Taliban in March 2001. A website concentrating on heritage management issues analysed this action as "new landowners of a country moving in and doing their best to obliterate all traces of the conquered and new minority population," which, in this case, becomes the "other" in the occupied country.[112] Whether this was the case in Afghanistan, where the advent of Islam revived a much earlier period than the destruction is another question. The destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas was not only aimed at wiping out another religion from Afghanistan's religious collective memory. Announcing the action beforehand and publicising images of the destruction helped the group behind this action to occupy the world's media and politicians for a long time.

Destruction of unwanted heritage typically takes place after revolutions, when the previous regime becomes the "other." When the French Revolution confronted this problem, its intellectual theoreticians, as French nationalists, had to demonstrate that fine art and architecture would not suffer under the new regime. However, knowing that "painting, sculpture and architecture in the years before 1789 had been used as instruments of social control" left them little choice in the spirit of revolution.[113] Similarly, a number of monuments in Russia were destroyed as a consequence of the October Revolution in an institutionalised manner. On April 12, 1918, under Lenin, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree ordering czarist monuments to be replaced before the first anniversary of the revolution.[114] In the following years, Bolsheviks destroyed a number of churches and renamed Moscow's streets; in turn, during perestroika years, Soviet monuments were pulled down and streets regained their old names. Similarly, the Chinese Revolution reprogrammed the whole cultural memory of the Chinese nation by destroying vast numbers of movable and immovable objects. A more recent action along these lines could be seen in the Red Khmer period in Cambodia. An international conference discussing the future of Asia's past revealed another important aspect of cultural genocide: loss of knowledge. Cambodia lost many of its preservation experts during the Red Khmer regime so the conference recommended cross-border assistance from Indonesia and Thailand, countries with similar vernacular traditions.[115] As seen in this example, be it colonial practice replacing local customs with new ones or internal conflict, one of the major problems in the preservation of the heritage of the "other" is the lack of expertise and the loss of specific vocational skills, especially when a majority heritage becomes a minority heritage.

There are several dimensions of minority heritage where current academic studies concentrate more on intangible issues than the tangible heritage assets belonging to past or present minority groups. Another dimension can be seen in a dual approach to the built heritage of minorities by classifying such items as either rural or as urban. J. E. Tunbridge thought that there was a considerable void in understanding the relationship between political power and urban conservation in plural societies, in which the preservation of one

person's landmark may be an object of indifference or hostility to another.[116] Dolores Hayden, who in 1984 launched in Los Angeles the Power of Place, a nonprofit institution aiming to situate women's history and ethnic history downtown, pointed out the importance of the built heritage of minorities by giving the example of African-American heritage in New Charleston. Here, "unlike some oral history projects that have slowly drawn out material from a community" and mapped historic places important to African-Americans, she jump-started consciousness by opening up a new terrain of intensified experiences to both locals and visitors.[117] On the other hand, Hayden's case study of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles provided a good example of the tensions minority heritage could cause and how situations change over time. The former Japanese settlement was abandoned when Japanese Americans were relocated to prison camps during World War II. When they returned, many community members turned away from remembering this loss and all the associated negative experiences; they also did not want to be a visible minority in that postwar period. However, gradually interest grew among the younger generations to preserve the remaining buildings of Little Tokyo, which has led to a number of preservation projects despite difficulties faced during the process.[118] In most cases, ethnicity can be used as a tourist attraction to support cultural tourism enterprises, as in the case of Singapore.

From the 1980s, in addition to designating ethnic minority sites as conservation areas, the Singapore Tourism Board incorporated ethnic heritage as a major component of its tourism marketing strategy in the mid-1990s.[119] The Singapore approach has a strong community participation aspect. However, according to J. Henderson, Singapore multiculturalism was marketed for tourist consumption in a somewhat oversimplified form, as in the case of the Peranakan community in the 1980s. Local representatives of Peranakans, a group of combined Chinese and Malay ancestry, protested at the absence of authenticity in government-supported restoration and reconstruction projects with a Peranakan theme.[120] This incident shows the complexity of local heritage conservation projects in multiethnic urban areas, as described by B. Shaw and R. Ismail, who focused on the story of Joo Chiat Road, a conservation area reflecting a fusion of Peranakan and Eurasian cultures. The authors highlighted the impact of potentially disruptive global impacts upon a local heritage neighbourhood and showed how conflict resolution can be reached through community participation.[121] On the other hand, the appropriation of community participation and ethnic heritage for tourism purposes, mentioned previously in relation to legislation, reflects, especially in Asia, on management practice, as the case of Singapore witnesses. More case studies will be discussed within the Asia case file at the end of this chapter.

When it comes to rural minority heritage, most researchers agree that, similarly to urban conservation projects, it can be used to stimulate local economies, and it is therefore usually supported by local and national governments. In the case of rural communities, community pride becomes a

key issue, as it can stimulate community recognition and acknowledgement of values of an ethic minority in a rural area, where the impact of majority culture is much stronger than in an urban area, where there is always some cultural diversity. G. Grimwade and B. Carter cited the example of a temple in Atherton, North Queensland, built in 1903 by expatriate Chinese, which fell gradually into disrepair. Its value was recognised in the late 1970s by a member of the National Trust of Queensland and was gradually brought back to life, together with the abandoned China Town. The authors argued that the appearance of the site may be modest, but it is still worthy of conservation to transfer knowledge about this community to future generations and at the same time provide socioeconomic advantages to the region through heritage tourism. Meanwhile, "ethnic tourism" has become a brand of tourism planning used by many countries to enhance minority heritage sites as tourist attractions where the preservation of built heritage plays an important role.[122] China is one of the countries concentrating on ethnic minority heritage protection in selected minority villages and small towns in rural areas to develop a sustainable tourism concept. China is supported in this aim by the World Bank, which funded the total cost (US$90 million) of the Guizhou Cultural and Natural Heritage Project in the Guizhou Province. This project included the rehabilitation and conservation of unique historic buildings and traditional private houses, building geological and scientific parks, developing infrastructure for tourist services and housing research and knowledge transfer facilities.[123] Further international support was obtained, such as Norwegian support for the cooperative Chinese–Norwegian establishment of the first Chinese eco-museum in Guizhou and support managed by a Dutch initiative with an emphasis on ethnic minority cultural heritage protection.[124] On the other hand, China also shows the impact of politics employed in the selection of minorities whose heritage is decided by the central authority to be promoted, whereas the heritage of others is rejected and in some cases destroyed, which we shall see in the next section.

Another dimension of the heritage of the "other" is the heritage of the former occupier, the former enemy. When in January 2002 the Saudi government demolished the Ottoman Ecyad Castle in Mecca the then Turkish minister of culture, Istemihan Talay, compared it with the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas.[125] The minister also emphasised that the aim of this destruction was to erase from Saudi Arabia's history traces of the Turkish period. While some Turkish newspapers accused Saudi Arabia of systematically financing the restoration of Ottoman mosques in the Balkans to demolish them and rebuild in a Saudi style, conservative newspapers used more prudent language so as not to offend the Saudis, but they still criticised the action.[126] Most newspapers agreed that there was a major financial incentive behind this act, as the historic Ottoman castle was replaced with a high-rise luxury hotel. Preservation of transnational heritage is always a delicate and problematic process, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

However, it is worth mentioning in this context the highly unusual effort of a country preserving the heritage of a former occupier.

From the early sixteenth century, the Ottomans began to conquer the southern parts of the kingdom of Hungary, whose centre became an Ottoman stronghold during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent in the mid-sixteenth century. On September 2, 1686, the troops of the Holy League ended Ottoman rule in Hungary.[127] The last Ottoman governor, Abdurrahman Avni Pasha, died during the battle and was buried on the site in accordance with Islamic tradition. Later the Hungarian government erected a memorial on the site with the following inscription in Hungarian and Turkish:

> The last Governor of Budin of the 145 year long Ottoman rule, Abdurrahman Avni Pasha, was killed in action at the 70th year of his life in the vicinity of this place during the afternoon of the second day of the month of September of the year of 1686. He was a brave enemy; he should sleep in peace here![128]

Hungary also stands out for meticulously restoring Ottoman monuments, including mosques, baths, tombs and castles, and in preserving the Turkish names of some historic streets. Clearly Ottoman heritage in Hungarian collective memory is no longer associated with a conflictual imagery, which is rare. Conflictual case studies take place either between neighbours and become part of territorial conflicts or in religious sites still used by both parties. Turks, who see themselves as former custodians and current users of Mecca, the Holiest of Holy for all Muslims, were particularly offended when their contribution to the site was demolished, especially when the Saudi government's next target was the Ottoman Pilgrim House, a religious donation.

These examples show that all dimensions of heritage preservation have a strong political aspect and that historic building conservation cannot be separated or isolated from local, national and international politics. Heritage preservation is also often used as a political tool to resolve conflicts, create conflicts, rewrite history and erase unwanted periods from collective memory. In Asia, a continent with a long written and recorded history, there are abundant examples. On the other hand, Asia stands out as focusing currently on heritage preservation to liberate itself from its colonial past and revive its local traditions, as seen in the inauguration of the INTACH Charter and the China Principles. Asia will therefore be explored in more detail in the next section.

CASE FILE: ASIA

The impact of politics and politicians on heritage preservation in Asia goes back to very early periods, especially in regard to places of worship. The Great Stupa at Sanchi in Central India is a World Heritage Site and without

a doubt one of the oldest and most important Buddhist monuments in Asia. Its earliest phase is attributed to the Mauryan Period, when the famous Mauryan king Asoka (271–237 BC) erected a stupa on the site of an early monastery.[129] This stupa was vandalised at some point during the second century BC by the Sunga emperor Pusyamitra, who, according to the British archaeologist Sir John Marshall, "was notorious for his hostility to Buddhism."[130] Later the ruler Agrimitra or his immediate successor restored the damaged stupa by building around it a new stupa and concealing the old stupa beneath a stone covering. By this act of cocooning, Agrimitra showed his respect for the old stupa and at the same time restored the old order in an even more fortified form. The history of the restoration of the Great Stupa of Sanchi represents one of the first political actions using heritage as a tool, especially when it comes to the preservation of places of worship, and recurs throughout history, as we saw in the case of the Baber Mosque. It is also an early example of the importance attached to authenticity, with the remains of the old stupa preserved within the new stupa. Motives may differ, but this example shows that whether it is the religious and symbolic meaning of the object or the value of its aura in the sense described by Walter Benjamin, respect for authenticity has been there from a very early period and is not a new invention. The current belief of Asian tradition solely based on regular reconstruction of places of worship, such as in the case of Japanese Shinto temples, is an oversimplification. Practices have changed throughout time and continue to do so and vary from place to place.

Conflicts related to the preservation of places of worship continued during the colonial period. When the French dropped their destructive planning attitude and concentrated on building a new heritage for the colonised, in the case of Morocco in the second chapter, the British took over the former *mission civilisatrice* of the French and imposed it on Singapore. British proposals for what they considered congested districts led to conflicts, especially where planning and zoning proposals destroyed sacred spaces. According to Ward, this transformation of Singapore as an urban laboratory for British sanitary planning dates from 1913, when municipal elections were abolished and sole authority was transferred to British professionals.[131] This followed slum clearance projects at home at the turn of the century, and it is clear that they were developing their civilising agenda to exercise colonial power: there was certainly no place for the heritage of the "other."

Previously the British had used heritage destruction as a tool only for the demonstration of power. Following the Indian uprising in 1857, the British administration systematically destroyed Delhi's heritage and violated its places of worship. A major mosque was converted into a residence and a bakery, rehabilitated later by Lord Curzon. The precincts of the city's second largest mosque were sold at auction to become shops.[132] In some cases, the British demolished symbols of the previous Western coloniser to make a statement about replacing the ruling authority. *The Hikayat Abdullah*, by the famous Malay writer Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, describes the

destruction by the British Colonel Farquhar of a former Portuguese fort in Melaka, which was later occupied by the Dutch. According to the narrative, most of the population believed that the fort was indestructible and when it happened they shook their heads, saying

> Great indeed is the skill and ingenuity of these white men. But what a pity that a building as fine as this should be brought low in an instant of time. For if they wish to repair it there is no knowing how many years it would take before it was finished.[133]

It is interesting to note here that Katrina Proust from Australia, whose article on the physical legacy of European colonisation in southeast Asia contains a number of interesting case studies, did not mention the causes of destruction, conveying the impression that it may have originated from the neglect of national or local government.[134] On the other hand, Logan pointed out that colonial interventions in town planning did not always originate from the West.[135] For example, the Japanese, who ruled Korea from 1896 until 1945, rebuilt Seoul by implementing a Japanese version of the French "civilising mission" and destroyed parts of the medieval city walls and neighbourhoods of the historic city to introduce a new road system; they also replaced a number of ancient buildings with new ones. Be it in urban interventions or in places of worship, non-Western colonial destruction of heritage assets and areas seems to have occurred predominantly in Asia.

Asia, similar to Africa, was also subject to the destruction of its religious heritage for missionary purposes, although probably not to the same extent. Under French rule, the Bao Thien Pagoda in Hanoi, one of the most important Buddhist sacred buildings in Vietnam dating back to the foundation of the city, was sacrificed to construct the monumental St. Joseph's Cathedral.[136] There was not only a clear religious statement in this action but also a clear declaration that the colonial power was expected to last and that at least one part of Hanoi should become a small Paris, including a replica of the Parisian Opera with more seats than the number of French people living in the city.[137] Following the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1954 and the unification of the country in 1975, the French quarter gradually became a museum quarter, with the Museum of the Vietnamese Revolution housed in a colonial building by the Red River. The Vietnam Military History Museum and Vietnam Fine Arts Museum are also housed in French colonial buildings. By default, the Hoa Lo Prison Museum, formerly known as Maison Central under the French rule and later called by American prisoners of war the Hanoi Hilton, is also in a French colonial building.[138] With this development, colonial heritage has become a tool for exhibiting the atrocities and oppression of the former colonial power. This approach has some similarities with the cited South African concept, but there are differences. The sites in South Africa are more

Figures 3.7 and 3.8 These photographs by William Logan taken in 2007 show the transformation of Hanoi's historic core to a central business district as a consequence of Doi Moi (Renovation Policy). Images courtesy William Logan, Deakin University, Australia.

scattered due to the different political nature of the negative period and make direct statements regarding the buildings and places associated specifically with the negative heritage, despite the exhibits contained in them. In Vietnam the clearly segregated colonial quarter offered an appropriate framework for a changeable narrative with movable and changeable items. According to Schwenkel, in recent years the anticolonial message of some exhibits has been moderated for reasons such as tourism promotion and foreign relations.[139] From the 1990s, starting with the Doi Moi (Renovation Policy) reforms, the colonial quarter has become a popular destination for both domestic and foreign investors such as banks, business corporations and hotels, a development that Waibel attributes to its transformation to a central business district.[140]

In most Asian countries, tourism seems to be the main driver for the conservation of colonial heritage. In some cases, such as Semerang and Kolkata in Indonesia, colonial heritage is preserved at an individual level and is not part of government strategy.[141] In others, such as Macau in China, the government presents colonial-built heritage as a "unique architectural fusion of both West and East" and promotes and supports its preservation as one of the main features of its tourism marketing strategy.[142] A similar case in China is presented through preserving built British colonial heritage in Hong Kong within a recently developed bipolar policy of promoting the city's Chinese identity (see Chapter 4).[143] A further government-supported colonial heritage conservation approach can be seen in the Nagasaki Prefecture and the city of Nagasaki in Japan, which, similar to Hong Kong, is presented in a bipolar context.[144] The colonial town Siem Rep in Cambodia was not a primary conservation target at the time of its listing as a World Heritage Site in 1992, when Angkor Wat was proposed at the same time.[145] However, it now has the Grand Hotel d'Angkor owned by the Raffles chain, which also owns major European historic hotels, including Brown's Hotel in London and Vier Jahreszeiten in Hamburg.[146] Kerala has officially created a preservation area in the town's colonial Fort Cochin in Kochi; however, in the absence of relevant legislation for area preservation in India, as discussed earlier, there are management problems.[147] Most Indian authors criticise the monument-specific colonial legislation and its legacy to explain the absence of a context-based conservation approach in India.[148] The effects of heritage tourism on colonial built heritage conservation will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 5.

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, there is no direct attempt through Asian legislation to neglect or destroy colonial heritage, as is the case in Africa. However, in the absence of area conservation in heritage legislation, in countries like Pakistan and India, both colonial heritage and nonmonumental heritage are rapidly deteriorating. On the other hand, another aspect of conservation policy, heritage concepts based on diversity to support minority heritage, is one of the strengths of Asian legislation and is being practised

in a number of countries. However, in some cases, conservation legislation is used to support selected minorities by neglecting others and even destroying their heritage. For example, while China promotes the heritage of minority groups in Guizhou Province, the heritage of the Uyghurs in Xienjiang has been subject to systematic destruction in recent years. The demolition of the city of Kashgar in particular, and its exclusion from World Heritage Site status by Chinese authorities, provides a typical case study of how legislation covering issues related to minority heritage can be manipulated dually through selective approaches and non–conservation-related legislation such as health and safety and transportation.

It is interesting to note that Kashgar, a 2,000-year-old settlement and a Silk Road oasis on the bank of the Tuman, which connects China with Central Asia through high-altitude mountain passes, is rarely mentioned in academic literature. The few works about Kashgar's architectural history and intangible heritage have appeared within history and anthropology books on the history and culture of the Uyghur Turks or in historic and contemporary travel essays.[149] It is missing from major works about the world history of architecture, such as Ching's recently published monumental work, while the section dedicated to China in *Architecture of the Islamic World* is comprised of only two mosques reflecting Chinese design features, without mentioning the location.[150] It is conceivable that the authors could not obtain permission to document the very different architecture of Kashgar, which was more Central Asian than Chinese and conflicted with official Chinese cultural theory.[151] According to the website of the Uyghur American Association, since the 1966 Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government has destroyed by mass campaigns all the Uyghur cultural centres in northern East Türkestan one after another, first by "removing the Uyghur population, then demolishing their traditional homes and finally scattering them into apartment buildings surrounded by Han Chinese neighbours and isolating them as one unified people."[152]

This is exactly what has now happened in Kashgar. As part of a "residents resettlement project" to lessen the "earthquake risk," government authorities began to carry out the destruction of Old Kashgar in February 2009. The aim was to move 65,000 Uyghur households to high-rise blocks about eight or nine kilometres outside Kashgar, which would also destroy the unique intangible heritage of this formerly close-knit community, including their traditional craft skills, customs, mythology and vernacular architecture knowledge.[153] Both Xu and Harrel saw the ideological basis of this strategy within the Han Chinese claim to have a superior degree of civilisation. They have committed themselves "to bringing the 'cultureless minorities up to a universal standard of progress of modernity' through civilising projects."[154] Thus, contemporary China has taken over the civilising mission previously exercised by colonial governments and has used it as a tool to fulfil its political agenda.

The International Scientific Committee on Earthen Architectural Heritage distinguished Kashgar as of "unquestionable universal value," with the now mainly demolished old city as one of the largest groupings of historic mud-brick vernacular architecture in Central and East Asia and probably the world.[155] According to Simon Jenkins of the *Guardian*, Kashgar was deliberately omitted from Beijing's list of World Heritage Site status, a situation comparable with what has happened to Lhasa in Tibet, where again Han Chinese have replaced the local population and Lhasa's heritage has been destroyed.[156] Among the monuments reported to have been destroyed in Kashgar was the Xanliq Medrese, the famous school associated with Mahmud Kashgari, an eleventh-century Uyghur scholar who wrote the famous "Turkiy Tillar Divani—Compendium of the Language of the Turks," the oldest surviving academic study about ancient Turkish languages.[157] Meanwhile, rumours claim that the destroyed *medrese* has been rebuilt as a simulacrum.

According to the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, an independent Chinese nonprofit organisation registered in Beijing, such demolition contravened not only China's obligations under international conventions but also violated China's own conservation legislation, as the Chinese government had registered Kashgar as early as 1986 as a "national level historical and cultural famous city."[158] Accordingly, Kashgar should have been protected by both China's Law for Cultural Heritage Protection and Regulations on Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns and Villages, both of which had strong clauses to protect authenticity. Wu Dianting, a geography professor from Beijing, stated that such large-scale row earth-towns are now rare anywhere in the world, and they were well adapted for the desert region, being warm in winter and cool in summer.[159] Indeed, new high-rise blocks are unsustainable in this climate and the local population believe that the modern materials are more earthquake prone than their traditional materials. Jane Macartney quoted an old man from Kasghar who explained while tapping a mud-and-straw wall that these structures had wood inside to absorb the seismic shocks: "These houses have withstood earthquakes for 2,000 years."[160]

The old man also criticised the use of cement as advised by the government, which would fall more quickly in the case of an earthquake, contradicting the official government justification for demolishing their houses. Unfortunately, the damage inflicted on historic vernacular areas by health and safety regulations seems now to exceed possible damage caused by natural disasters. A recent Turkish attempt to pass a new law to overrule preservation regulations and allow authorities to declare any areas in Turkey as risk zones highlights the need to include health and safety issues within preservation conventions.[161]

Destruction of historic heritage of this scale and value in the present era is rare. Removal of unwanted sections of society and destruction of their traditional built environment under the pretext of health and safety reasons began

Figure 3.9 Jane Macartney quotes an old man from Kasghar who explained to her, tapping a mud-and-straw wall, that these structures have wood inside to absorb the seismic shocks: "These houses have withstood earthquakes for 2,000 years." Photograph taken by a Kashgar resident during the destruction phase of traditional mud houses with timber supports to be replaced by concrete (name withheld).

with Haussmann in Paris and has been used repeatedly ever since. For example, the Roma community, settled traditionally next to Istanbul's historic city walls, has recently been deported to the suburbs, so their houses could be demolished and reconstructed in a neo-Ottoman style (see Chapter 7). Similar Roma resettlement projects occurred in the former Yugoslavia during President Tito's period. In many countries in the Middle East, nomadic Bedouin have experienced the same fate (see Chapter 5). These cases share the same human rights dimensions. However, here we have a case where, in addition to the human rights issue and lack of community participation, a unique and irreplaceable combination of intangible and built heritage entity has been sacrificed for political reasons. Clifford Coonan, who in 2009 managed to talk to some of the shopkeepers in the historic market before authorities blocked access to foreign journalists, gave an example of a shopkeeper lamenting, "this town was home to my parents, my grandparents and my grandparents' parents."[162] This example shows that it is not only the unique built heritage, "large swathes of it already reduced to rubble," as described by Coonan; it is the irreplaceable local knowledge which gives life to heritage. Is it possible that a pseudo-heritage quarter built somewhere

Figures 3.10 and 3.11 "Large swathes of Kashgar reduced to rubble," as expressed by the journalist Clifford Coonan, who took these photographs. Images courtesy Clifford Coonan.

in the place which was once Kashgar can be substituted for the real one? Below, the photograph Coonan took of the site under difficult conditions, as "the town has been constantly under surveillance," gives some idea of the character of the action.

Zhang Sang, a professor at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning in Tongji University in Shanghai, has made some very good suggestions in his critical insight assessing China's legislation in regard to the conservation of historic buildings and towns in China. His suggestions included improving China's legislation on conservation planning adopting a new approach to the preservation of social values. This proposal indicated that there was scope for conservation policies in the country to change towards a more sustainable and inclusive framework in the future.[163] The example of Kashgar showed also how important it is to have international bodies and conventions signed by respective countries, even if they could not have prevented the destruction of Kashgar. The exclusion of Kashgar from applications for UNESCO World Heritage status was evidence of its status and therefore a symbol of its importance. Two years after the start of the resettlement project, the European Parliament, in collaboration with the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation and the Belgian Uyghur Association, discussed the possibility of international intervention to save what remained from this unique site.[164] Rare attempts by Chinese experts to defend Kashgar, based on its international significance, emphasise the fact that the only hope of saving endangered heritage within the current heritage preservation system lies within independent international bodies. However, in the current economic climate, UNESCO is not only criticised by "developing" countries. On March 1, 2011, the UK's international development secretary Andrew Mitchell declared UNESCO to be among the four organisations in "special measures," the three others being the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the development programmes of the Commonwealth Secretariat and the International Organisation for Migration.[165] He demanded that they improve their performance as a matter of absolute urgency and asked UNESCO to develop a more focused, evidence-based programme, including greater transparency.[166] The minister also declared that UNESCO's improved effectiveness would be reassessed in autumn 2012 for the UK to decide whether it would continue to be a member of UNESCO or whether there were more effective ways of supporting the UK's objectives on education, culture and heritage. It is important to note that the report assessed UNESCO's role in tackling humanitarian issues rather than heritage preservation. Still, this development underlines a need for international heritage bodies to change their concept and shift their emphasis, as Logan suggests, from attaching importance to national systems to building bridges between State Parties.[167] Time will show whether international consensus can balance national politics and identity issues more effectively—a major challenge, as we shall see in the next chapter about the impact of modernity.

NOTES

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4 The Non-European World and the Bequest of Modernity

> Heap up the fire to the shelves of the libraries! Divert the canals to flood the cellars of the museums! Let the glorious canvases swim ashore! Take the picks and hammers! Undermine the foundation of venerable towns![1]

Modernisation is as closely related to politics as it is to historic preservation. The statement above is from F. T. Marinetti's "Futurist Manifesto" of 1909. Futurism, a movement led by Marinetti in Italy, propagated the building of new cities with modern materials by demolishing all heritage built before the Industrial Revolution. However, Futurists also wanted to create their own heritage, after erasing all others, when they formed a Society for the Protection of Machines.[2] They wanted history to begin again from year zero, similar to the theorists of the French Revolution, who developed a new calendar for this purpose. In the early years, Marinetti supported Mussolini but clearly could not agree with Mussolini's neo-Roman, revivalist ideas and the 1932 Italian Norms promoting the uniqueness of Roman/Italian heritage (see Chapter 3). Futurism as a promoter of modernisation took on the role of a catalyst in the early stages of the Italian Fascist movement, but the Fascist perception of the past conflicted with Futurist ideas about decadent heritage. German Fascism was even more reluctant to appreciate the merits of modernism. In the early period, a number of former leftists who moved into Nazi circles, attracted by its revolutionary aspects, supported modernist architecture and town planning principles, and some eminent art critics such as Bruno Werner referred to the sympathetic support received by the Futurists from Italian Fascists.[3] However, Hitler's strong dislike of modernism and his interest in Greek/Roman revivalism in support of his Greek/Aryan racial theory, led in Nazi Germany to reactions to modernism, which Hitler and his disciples labelled *entartet* (degenerated). At the same time, Albert Speer, the official architect of the Third Reich, developed his Theory of Ruin Value, opposing modern building materials such as steel in the construction of monumental buildings, to create a bridge to the glorious past of the German nation represented in historic ruins.[4] Speer's ruin value ideas may recall Ruskin's principles, at least by name. But the origins

of Speer's ruin value concept included the use of these ruins as reference points for new gigantic structures to refresh German identity, which led in German towns, especially in Berlin, to the destruction of a number of historic quarters. Speer himself describes these destructions as "razing the heart of the city," but they enabled him to provide space to double the capital's population.[5] Alternatively, Speer tried to create a past for the future by assessing the value of the neoclassical Nazi buildings of his own time before they were built to include them within the ranks of other monuments. This selective approach glorified monumental architecture as "most impressive exhortations when after a long spell of inertia a sense of national grandeur was born anew" by turning this special heritage into a tool to support the Third Reich's fascist environment.[6]

In Russia, socialists and Marxists, who had agreed originally with modernists and their early-period radical architectural and urban concepts, started to drift away from modernism, especially when Stalin took power. While modernists were accusing Stalin of preferring decadent revivalist styles, socialists started to defend themselves by showing an appreciation for historic buildings and monuments, as a counterargument to the Bolshevists of the previous period (see Chapter 3). In 1932 one of the former Soviet members of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne, Hans Schmidt, outlined Soviet objections to modern architecture by emphasising the importance of heritage.[7]

> It is not the goal of socialism, to destroy the cultural values of the past; quite the contrary. Socialism, in contrast to disintegrating contemporary capitalism, tries to preserve these values and give them continuity.[8]

Eric Paul Mumford contended that modernist architecture had no links to a political agenda and was accepted equally in Fascist Italy and the US to some degree.[9] However, in claiming this, he missed the point that Fascist Italy, Fascist Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Empire all rejected modernism in the 1930s, following an initial interest in the early 1920s. All three dictatorships returned to revivalism by trying to develop new national identities supported by selective heritage preservation. In the previous period, the political extension of modernism was represented in Italy through the sympathy the Futurists showed to Fascism by Le Corbusier. He became increasingly dissatisfied with capitalism and turned to the right-wing syndicalism of Hubert Lagerdalle as his official role in the Vichy Government proves.[10] This indicates that Le Corbusier could not have been as apolitical as Mumford has suggested. During the Vichy regime in 1941, he was appointed to the Comité d'études de l'Habitation et la Construction Immobilière and drew up designs for Algiers and other remaining colonial cities under French rule.[11] This imposed his totalitarian planning approach as an extension of his previous French "civilising mission." Before this committee

appointment, his initial plans in the 1930s were more radical; in the following years, he seems to have reduced the scale of his intervention and become more interested in heritage than before, as demonstrated in a publication of 1946.[12] Here, on several occasions, he expressed his appreciation of historic buildings and quarters and offered support for their conservation. For example, he criticised the French for not being aware of what heritage Paris offered:

> I did not meet many Frenchmen, patriots, proud of their past and defenders of their architectural patrimony, their noses in the air in the middle of the street, their eyes running over the splendid facades. Apart from a few kodaks clicking at the Eiffel Tower to send it in an envelope to Oklahoma or Madison, I did not see any "snap hunters" profiting by this unique occasion in the history of Paris.[13]

Theodore Darylmple, however, has demonstrated that Le Corbusier saw in historic areas nothing more than "frightening chaos and saddening monotony," so that he wanted to replace Stockholm's assemblages with "steel, glass and reinforced concrete" to give them a new, shining life.[14] Indeed, in 1933 Le Corbusier opened up the route to urban renewal by addressing "millions of poor wretches" who were being "misled" by those in favour of heritage preservation who accused modernists like him of being "vandals, men without heart, who are trying to destroy the beauty of your city, to annihilate the magnificent history."[15] He wanted to "pull down the already rotting neighbourhoods" despite being "accused of blasphemy and madness" to widen the "streets, which no longer work."[16] He argued that what remained from historic Paris was nothing more than one-tenth of one percent, which would still be preserved if his concept had been accepted, and he criticised the chief architect of Paris for prohibiting action to sanitise the unhealthy rest. In the same publication, he expressed his dislike for the neoclassical buildings of the nineteenth century while defending nineteenth-century industrial heritage, including the Eiffel Tower and Galerie des Machines, whose demolition "did Paris great harm."[17] This also explains what he saw as an architectural patrimony ignored by the French and only appreciated by a few Americans, industrial heritage, which reminds us of the Futurists' Society for the Protection of Machines. Le Corbusier was a modernist who juxtaposed modernity with progress, seeing the lesson of history as "an order to advance" into the future.[18]

Whereas Le Corbusier did not share the view of the Futurists, who wanted to erase all history built before them, his vision did include heritage preservation, albeit selectively. He preferred certain periods and wished to eradicate other periods, a dual approach discussed further in this chapter. One of the characteristics of Le Corbusier and other early modernists was the segregation of old and new, a discontinuity and a leap over time. They preferred older heritage, disliked more recent heritage and appreciated very

recent heritage, consisting of pioneering examples of their own modernism era. As Edward Relph contended, "modern life is filled with an easy acceptance of repetitive standardized discontinuities," with landscapes scraped away systematically for the sake of urban renewal projects pioneered by Le Corbusier and some other modernists.[19]

Darylmple also pointed out that, although Le Corbusier's designs for Stockholm and his plans for French colonies failed, other architects later adopted his ideas to destroy the heritage areas of some other cities.[20] Urban renewal projects in the modern sense go back to the large-scale municipal projects in the nineteenth century such as Haussmann's Paris enterprise. Later Haussmann became a role model for a number of totalitarian governments of the twentieth century, including Fascist Germany, with Hitler regarding Haussmann as the "greatest city planner in history, while hoping to surpass him."[21] Although modernist architects and planners have suggested that area demolitions and urban renewal were mostly and sometimes mistakenly associated with Le Corbusier in literature, it was not actually the modernism of the 1920s which led to the destruction of a number of historic town centres.[22] It was rather the revived Haussmannia of the 1940s and the postwar period, which, having started first in Europe and the US, led to half the globe gradually becoming a clearance building site. A number of surviving postwar neighbourhoods were torn down for the sake of modernism, which was in truth a belated and deformed modernism. At a time when Le Corbusier was defending more heritage preservation, European cities, then non-European cities were becoming targets of urban renewal and road bypass projects.

This late phase of distorted modernism affected the US first, and then other countries, depending on their economic and political situation and national agenda. In China, modernism was delayed at first by an unstable political background. Afterwards, following the 1949 communist revolution, China sided with Soviet Russia against the use of international and modernist architectural and urban concepts, which were categorised as a cultural expression of imperialism.[23] On the other hand, architects trained abroad in the US, Europe and Japan conducted the first modern scientific research into historic structures across China, carried out by the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture.[24] Later in 1954 the architect Liang Sicheng published *A History of Chinese Architecture*, his research following methods introduced by Fletcher, whom Liang encountered at Pennsylvania in the 1920s.[25] However, this research was conducted to provide documentation for the development of a new Chinese national style rather than to support historic preservation. Communist China was thus similar to both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in its search for a national identity in architecture, although in a later period. Chinese heritage was therefore appreciated in China, at least partially, when a number of non-European countries were adopting the late modernist urban theory and replacing traditional buildings with modern ones.

ANTICONSERVATION: MODERNITY AS PRETEXT FOR URBAN RENEWAL

In 1952 the Dover Housing Authority in Dover, New Hampshire, US, released a report in which it described its hopes "to be able to make it possible for private enterprise to redevelop one sub-standard area into a modern mercantile block."[26] In this document and countless others from the period between the 1950s and 1970s, the words *modern* and *redevelopment* were mentioned in a complementary manner, associating urban renewal with razing down old buildings to replace them with modern buildings. The 1985 Heritage Walking Tour booklet of Dover stated that the urban renewal project in Dover undertaken between 1974 and 1978 led to the destruction of 119 dwelling units, 56 buildings and 33 businesses, turned, in most cases, into parking lots and bypasses.[27] Today several community websites lament the loss of historic buildings sacrificed for the sake of urban renewal projects.[28]

Both in academic and popular literature, the early phase of urban renewal was mostly associated with the destruction of heritage, but not always. While some sites such as Wikipedia refer to "demolition of historic structures" in the context of urban renewal, others, such as Business Directory, describe this aspect of urban renewal more carefully as "demolishing old or run down buildings."[29] By contrast, the definition of the *Encyclopaedia of Chicago* includes "massive demolition, aging and decaying inner cities and slum clearance" but not heritage preservation issues.[30] Another aspect of urban renewal projects, displacement and compulsory purchase, has had a much stronger impact in the public domain. The famous African-American author and playwright James Baldwin dubbed urban renewal as "Negro Removal."[31] A tribute album to the singer Phil Collins is called "Urban Renewal" and included his famous song "Another Day in Paradise," expressing the problem of evictions and homelessness.[32] In today's terms, these displacements also mean destruction of intangible heritage and loss of local culture, whose defence began with Jane Jacobs's quest described in detail in Chapter 3.

The phrase "urban renewal" currently has many connotations, which may refer both to the early destructive phase and to the later phase, usually described by words such as *renovation*, *rehabilitation* and *regeneration*. Although renovation means no more than renewal in Latin, the new renewal is certainly more sympathetic to heritage and has developed an inclusive concept based on a combination of historic and contemporary buildings. Clearly the phrase "urban renewal" had become so negative in collective memory that it was felt necessary to replace it with its Latinised version. According to Jon C. Teaford, "those ready to attack modern architecture (postmodern architects) regarded urban renewal projects as valuable ammunition for their assault."[33] Although these two terms were often linked in public memory, as discussed earlier, the modernism of the 1920s and 1930s

has not necessarily had a negative approach to heritage preservation. When, in the early 1930s, a neoclassicist architect tried to demolish Carlton House Terrace in London to replace it with his own building, *Architectural Review*, supported by a group of modernists, saved this historic building from demolition.[34] In addition to Le Corbusier's partial and selective sympathy for a certain type of heritage and heritage-inspired developments in Germany, Russia and later in China, in Brazil pioneers of heritage preservation were modernist architects and intellectuals searching for a national identity.

Although by aiming to establish cultural renovation and a refreshed national identity, Brazilian modernity shares with the previous case studies "a search for roots," in no other country have modernists been so involved in drawing up heritage preservation policies and saving historic buildings and quarters.[35] In the 1930s a number of representatives from the Brazilian modernist movement were engaged by the Ministry of Education and Health, subsequently revaluing the eighteenth-century local baroque style which had been considered unimportant until that time. The declaration of the eighteenth-century gold cycle centre Ouro Preto 1933 by Decree No. 22.928 as a "national monument" (now a World Heritage Site) represented a first step in the involvement of the modernist movement in Brazilian conservation policies. Although Castriota compared this behaviour of the Brazilian modernists with the European avant-garde in appreciating the primitive and archaic, Brazil had much earlier primitive and archaic in abundance, valued as early heritage.[36] The preference of Brazilian modernists for local baroque and their declaration of this style as a new cultural synthesis is very similar to 1930s Turkey, where modernist intellectuals developed the concept of Turkish baroque by attaching new value to eighteenth-century buildings. Similarly, the baroque of Mexico was celebrated by a number of modernists, including the English émigré Alfred Bossom, who published a book of photographs of early colonial Mexican architecture, which he romanticised as symbols of the "adventurous, daring sprit of Spanish conquerors."[37] Film director and critic Sergei Eisenstein perceived Mexican baroque as a special combination of "monumental simplicity and unrestrained Baroque," a version much more theatrical and "overdone" than in Europe.[38]

In these three countries, this behaviour represented an attempt to link a nearer past to Europe, to justify modernisation in the twentieth century—an attempt deriving from both internal and external stakeholders. Again, in both Brazil and Turkey, official narratives claimed that only the local baroque and modernist architecture of the nearer past represented real values, whereas the intervening period, an ensemble of nineteenth-century eclectic styles, was excluded from their value system and was considered to be the result of decadent influences. In this, both countries joined with Le Corbusier, who hated colonial heritage and proposed its demolition.

In 1936 Brazilian modernist writer Rodrigo Melo de Andrade helped prepare conservation law and, more importantly, created a federal agency to oversee heritage preservation, SPHAN, derived directly from the modernist

narrative. Another famous modernist who contributed to heritage preservation in Brazil was the French-born Brazilian architect Lucio Costa. He was active in the National Institute for Historical and Artistic Patrimony in Rio de Janeiro, which was in charge of the preservation and restoration of historic buildings across Brazil.[39] Costa expressed his views on built heritage, indicating his consciousness of collective memory: "When seeing those houses and churches and their surprises, we become happy and we remember forgotten things, things we never knew, but which were there inside us."[40]

Costa also recognised the importance of local craftsmen in the early phases by emphasising the importance of vernacular architecture created with local materials and techniques such as "pau-a-pique (wattle and daub), whitewashed walls, tiled roofs, azulejos, and local stone and wood."[41] He argued that documentation was the first step to preserve vernacular buildings, and he perceived vernacular forms as protofunctionalist works leading to modernist architecture.[42] In Brazil historic preservation became an integral part of the twentieth-century cultural discourse thanks to Lucio Costa and other modernists, with the leading Brazilian modernist architects becoming the country's leading preservationists.[43] On the other hand, Costa's rejection of neocolonial architecture and his appreciation of Portuguese/Brazilian baroque, articulated in SPHAN's approach and listing criteria, also influenced younger preservationists during urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s, leading to the loss of the more recent Brazilian heritage dating from the period 1850 to 1930.[44]

To reiterate, it was the planners and investors of the 1940s through the 1970s who disguised themselves behind the façade of modernism. Jennifer Robinson underlined this phenomenon when emphasising the "close associations between cities and cultures of modernity and the economics of cities."[45] In this context it is interesting to look at imagery used in advertising urban renewal projects. Both Bill Bryson and Jon C. Teaford refer to artists' renderings of sunny plazas with happy families standing in front of a background of shiny buildings in steel and glass.[46] They "genuinely thought they were building a new world—a Britain in which the brooding, soot-blackened buildings and narrow streets of the past would be swept away," related Bryson, reminding us also of Lord Palumbo complaining that the notion of heritage "carries the baggage of nostalgia."[47] Early modernists, who were accused in their own time of serving capitalism, were in reality mostly idealistic star architects who built iconic buildings and produced manifestos about their utopias, whereas late modernists—or rather pseudo-modernists—were mostly influenced by developers, real capitalists who wanted to make a profit from their demolitions and reconstructions with the help of this imagery.

A notable fact when we look at the above image is its striking isolation. It is a synthetic world with no past. In a way it is one step beyond futurist designs, because it lacks the artistic touch of futurism. It has been developed to

be used repetitively, to offer a ubiquitous template devoid of any reference in time or in future. When this template was offered to non–Euro-American countries, propaganda tied to the merits of modernism became its main selling point and consequently led to the loss of indigenous heritage in various parts of the world.

THE MODERNITY OF FRENCH ARCADES

When the author of this book attended a workshop in Beirut in September 1998, the last of three postwar reconstruction projects (their need dating from the first major conflict in 1975–1976) was in full progress.[48] The major stakeholder was SOLIDERE, a real estate company in charge of an area of 296 hectares in downtown Beirut comprising over a thousand historic buildings.[49] During a visit to the project area, the foreman responsible for the reconstruction and restoration of an arcades area, which is now on nearly every Beirut travel guide and blog, answered the author's question regarding the age of these arcades by dating them to the Ottoman period.[50] When the author remarked that, by their appearance, they seem to date from the French, not the Ottoman, period, the foreman's answer was that modernisation in Beirut started with the Ottomans. This view is confirmed by academics, although the arcades in downtown Beirut probably date back to the French mandate period between 1918 and 1945 and not the Ottomans.[51] Moreover, the arcades play an important symbolic dual role in the collective memory of French-influenced societies by representing both modernity and heritage.

In his Arcades Project, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), literary critic, philosopher and essayist, discussed the transformation of Paris arcades between tradition and modernity. The essay begins with Benjamin recalling the noise of the demolition of the nineteenth-century Passage de l'Opéra interrupting the celebrations of the new arcades in the Champs-Élysees:

> While here a new passage is opened for fashionable Paris, one of the oldest passages in the city disappears, the Passage de l'Opera, swallowed up by the breakthrough of the Boulevard Haussmann.[52]

As interpreted by Caygill, Benjamin pointed out that "the inauguration of the new Arcade suppresses the memory of the previously celebrated and in their time absolutely modern arcades of the nineteenth century," which paralleled the French arcades in Beirut.[53] They represented modernity when they were built, then were destroyed by war, to be reconstructed later as one of the priorities of the postwar era to restore to the city that which made it the "Paris of the Middle East." The Paris effect was provided for Beirut first during the French Mandate Period (1918–1945), when French modernisation worked as an antidote to the Ottoman past, then represented as a period

of decline and neglect. One of the French planners presenting modernisation concepts for Beirut was René Danger, whose office prepared similar projects for other French colonies such as Aleppo and Antioch and for nations in search for a new national identity, such as Alexandria in Egypt. This was the period when "Beirut's history was presented as a recurring struggle between a Western (Christian) influence (the Romans, Crusaders and finally the French) and a more insidious Eastern/Muslim (predominantly Ottoman) other."[54]

The French influence as an inheritance factor in the urban history of Beirut is reflected in the town planning history of the city in the second half of the twentieth century, with two postwar master plans being developed mostly by French planners. The Master Plan of 1977–1978, prepared in the aftermath of the 1975–1976 conflict, was developed by L'Atelier Parisien

Figure 4.1 Reconstruction of Ottoman French Arcades in Beirut. Photo taken by the author in 1998.

Figure 4.2 Arcades in Beirut in 2010. Image courtesy Leslie Hakim-Dowek, University of Portsmouth.

d'Urbanisme (APUR, the Urbanism Workshop of Paris). In contrast to the Danger and Echochard Master Plans of the previous period, which lacked measures for historic preservation and anticipated full modernisation, the 1977–1978 plan was pro-heritage. The essential thrust of the plan was that 75 percent of the buildings were to be returned to their original state by restoration or reconstruction.[55] This part of Beirut's twentieth-century town planning history reflected the heritage preservation discourse and duality versus modernity in Europe in general and in France in particular. This Master Plan was never carried out, as new conflicts drew Lebanon into the next fighting period starting in 1978.

The 1980s saw the preparation of the Institut de Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de la région Île-de-France Master Plan by a French-Lebanese working group. According to Nabil Beyhum, this plan shifted the town's centre of gravity towards the periphery, with the consequence that the reconstruction of the old city centre was left open.[56] It is interesting to note that in the 1980s, public authorities introduced new heritage preservation measures and the Maarad Street colonnades were restored, following the regulations of the APUR plan. Mirna Hanna categorised the period 1945 to 1990 in Beirut's urban history as the "heritage/westernization dialectic."[57] However, the dialectic here is rather, as articulated by Farès el-Dahdah, "modernity built on the myth of ancientness versus newness," expressing the exact duality between modernity and its postulated "other," the tradition described by Walter Benjamin in his Arcades Project.[58] In this context, the restoration of

the Maarad Street colonnades represented the restoration of French modernity, with the colonnades or arcades symbolising the restoration of progress in the capital of Lebanon.

The 1991 Master Plan concentrated on downtown revitalisation, followed by the next restoration and reconstruction phase of the arcades, photographed by the author in 1998 (see photo above). While the destroyed French modernity was reinstated, the Ottoman bazaar area was mostly neglected. A study investigating the mental images of downtown Beirut of the prewar and war generation revealed that the arcades in Maarad Street were rated highly among the most frequently mentioned images in Beirut residents' collective memory, with Place des Martyrs at the top of the table.[59] Place des Martyrs symbolised Lebanon's national identity in the historical context of the uprising against the Ottomans, and Maarad Street arcades symbolised its progress towards the future, starting with the French mandate. This dual identity was underlined by the French planning action in Place de Martyrs, which proposed demolition of the Ottoman Petit Serrail and enlargement of the square.[60] With the square's name honouring Arab nationalists executed there by the Ottomans in 1916, demolishing the Ottoman palace became a French symbolic act, taking on the role of catalysers carrying Lebanon into a new future of European modernity.

The importance attached to the arcades in Beirut is one of the consequences of the French civilising mission and cultural correction policies in the twentieth century, which represented progress and modernisation in a number of countries.[61] As part of this approach, French neoclassicism has

Figure 4.3 Place des Martyrs, Beirut. Place des Martyrs symbolises Lebanon's national identity in the historical context of the uprising against the Ottomans, and Maarad Street arcades symbolise its progress towards the future, starting with the French mandate. Image courtesy Leslie Hakim-Dowek, University of Portsmouth.

dominated urban processes in French and even non-French colonies. Buildings in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina dating from the early nineteenth century and early twentieth century provide typical case studies, one of them being Rio de Janeiro. Mayor Passas (1902–1906) envisaged Rio as Paris and built monumental neoclassical buildings such as the Monroe Palace along wide boulevards. At the end of this period, French cultural dominance led to a reaction, so that in Mexico the architect José Villagrán García began a campaign against academic Frenchification.[62] There may be a parallel to this in Brazil, represented through Lucio Costa's reaction to nineteenth-century neoclassical heritage and his preference for Portuguese heritage, favouring the older colonial heritage. The French-inspired dream was destroyed during the urban renewal trend in Rio in 1976, as neoclassical buildings were exempt from the listing measures, possibly as a consequence of Costa's dislike of this particular heritage.[63]

Benjamin's metaphor of the dreamlike quality of the past, in contrast to a materialising future promised by modernity, became, in the orientalist discourse, an imaginative space, "a country in mind," described in Chapter 1. Derek Gregory, who compared in his essay the imaginative geographies produced by Florence Nightingale for Gustave Flaubert as they travelled in Egypt in the mid-nineteenth century, believed that Nightingale's reflections on ruins, dream-worlds and wish-images recalled the device of dream, which Walter Benjamin later made central to his vision of the Arcades Project.[64] On the other hand, the rhetoric of negation, the negative space David Spurr identified as a denial of history within orientalist discourse, the history which is no history until it is rewritten by the colonist, was transformed, with the advent of modernity, into the rhetoric of futurism in a wider context.[65] In this broader context, "the Parisian arcades have been promoted retrospectively to the bridgeheads of the times to come," as Mona Abaza discussed in her article about consumer culture and reshaping of public space in Egypt.[66] In fact, be it in Egypt, Lebanon or anywhere else within the boundaries of the post-colonial imaginary geographies, the restoration and reconstruction of downtown arcades serve postmodern dreams to consumers by making use of the modernist imagery of this dual world.

HAIL TO UBIQUITY: EUROPEAN ARCHITECTS IN NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

> During the last ten years I have crossed many oceans and continents, so I have had ample opportunity to observe gradual conversion of many countries from a feudal past to the now familiar pattern of a modern industrialized society.

Walter Gropius began his treatise on Japanese architecture with these words, written following a visit to Japan, in a contribution to a book initiated by Kenzo Tange.[67] It is striking how the architect Gropius took it for granted

that a modern industrialised society would be the opposite of a feudal one by juxtaposing modernity with democracy. In this essay Gropius praised Japanese heritage but recommended that Japanese craftsmen must gradually adapt to the use of machines in place of their traditional tools. This is in stark contrast to the focus of the book about the Katsura Palace, a traditional building created with these very tools.

Walter Gropius was a typical representative of the early modernist architectural tradition, nourished sometimes by the vernacular traditions of the "other," the East, which Gropius repeatedly posed against the West.[68] In this he resembled his contemporaries, some of whom—such as Le Corbusier, Bruno Taut and Frank Lloyd Wright—drew stylistic inspirations from the vernacular traditions of non-Western cultures to interpret them through modern materials and building techniques. It should be emphasised that not all modernists were representatives of the international movement. Unlike Gropius, who promoted an international style and suggested a modernism applicable to the whole world, using the principles followed later by Henry Hitchcock-Russell and Philip Johnson, Taut and Wright defended the merits of regional architecture and disliked internationalism. Frank Lloyd Wright's first journey outside Europe in 1905 was to Japan, where he spent two months visiting natural and historic landmarks and later called it the "most romantic, most beautiful" country on earth.[69] Several of Wright's organic ideals derived from traditional Japanese art and architecture, which resulted in his preference for wood and stone for his own buildings.[70]

Despite these sporadic examples, modernist influences had a major impact on the loss of traditional skills and decline of craft guilds in a number of non-European countries (see Chapter 2). In some countries the closure of guilds was enforced by the colonial government. Also the need for local engineers led to the establishment of local civil engineering schools, especially in Asia, where engineers were trained to understand and use modern materials such as cement, concrete and steel. The social status of these colleges was much higher than the traditional guilds, so that architecture, in the perception of professionals, became closely aligned with civil engineering in this period. Jyoti Hosagrahar, who discussed the consequences of this development in India, argued that in India the value of Indian craftsmanship was not fully appreciated, although we have seen in the previous chapters of this book that INTACH is trying to reintroduce traditional building skills to India.[71] As a consequence of these developments, in some countries modern materials and techniques appear to be seen as a last resort in conservation if traditional techniques proved themselves inadequate. Ahmad includes in his key principles, which he suggests should be practised in conservation work in Malaysia, the use of modern techniques and materials "which offer substantial conservation benefits in some circumstances," although traditional techniques and materials should be preferred.[72] Behind this was a belief that in solving problems modern materials are superior to traditional materials, the roots of which lie in the imported modernism of the 1920s and 1930s.

Starting from the mid-1920s and increasingly in the 1930s, internationalist architects, embedding their principles within a modernist discourse, tried to introduce their ideas to non-European countries. At the same time, the group of early modernists who disagreed with internationalist architects had a major impact on developing contemporary conservation principles abroad, mostly in the colonies. Among them the French urban planner Henri Prost stood out with his work in Morocco. Prost, who had been invited to Morocco to work for the governor General Lyautey, an initiator of the French-style traditional Moroccan palace (see Chapter 3) concept, followed the principles developed by his predecessor, Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, in conserving the historic core of Moroccan cities, the Medina, and developed these even further. This preservation discourse also supported the French colonial segregation concept of the twentieth century, developed after failed attempts of living with the colonised. As expressed by Lyautey, Prost's work inspired the development of modern new colonial towns in Morocco with a design "that allowed them to neighbour, without too much damage, the indigenous cities."[73] Similar to Morocco, the French colonial government in Tunisia considered the Medina of Tunis "an artistic jewel to be preserved for future generations" in accordance with the 1920 Valensi Plan, so that in both countries French urban conservation attitudes of the early twentieth century continued to influence post-colonial governments in the latter part of the century.[74] One major problem inherited from this period was the destruction and expropriation of the holy foundations and guilds (see Chapter 3), which caused the loss of local conservation concepts and craft skills, as occurred in Asia, described earlier. A number of post-colonial countries still suffer from the colonial centralisation of conservation management and the death of vocational traditions as a consequence of imposed mechanisation.

As discussed before, an attitude shared by most modern colonial planners and post-colonial planners is controversially their mutual dislike of colonial heritage. Latin American modernists developed a preference for earlier colonial heritage and devalued the later colonial heritage. Similarly, Le Corbusier, who called Buenos Aires "born of hasty colonization," wanted to rebuild almost the entire city, in contrast to his proposal for Algiers in North Africa, in which he identified as a special "historic and sculptured jewel" to be preserved. The jewel in Le Corbusier's Algiers is the Peninsular of the Admirauté, where he demonstrated a preference for older colonial heritage, like the Latin American modernists.[75] The jewel in the Tunis Valensi Plan was the Medina, an indigenous site. Le Corbusier's plan for the Medina of Algiers proposed a bypass through the Medina—or rather above it. Unlike Prost and Valensi, who did appreciate medieval Islamic heritage, Le Corbusier had little interest in it, although he did not propose its destruction.

Most modernist planners active during the colonial period of the twentieth century tried to preserve indigenous heritage, whereas some researchers consider that heritage preservation became a tool of colonial administration

techniques to control the past of the colonial people.[76] General Lyautey's attempts to revive Moroccan traditions, including the building of a neo-Moroccan palace for the new native ruler appointed by the colonial government (see Chapter 2) provided a showcase for this technique. On the other hand, we must remember that Lyautey was a colonial administrator and not a professional planner or architect, most of whom were critical of colonial practices, yet "they thought of themselves as working for a higher rationality, namely, social modernity for the colony," even if they were not modernists architecturally.[77] The correspondence of Thomas Karsten, a Dutch architect who worked in Indonesia at the beginning of the twentieth century and whose projects for one of the local princes appeared to be antimodernist, according to Joost Cote, revealed this new role distribution between the colonial and colonised.[78] In the correspondence, we see that Prince Mangkunegara VII was eager to modernise his culture, whereas Karsten tried to motivate him towards preservation. Karsten advised the prince against altering ceiling heights during the renovation of the Mangkunegara Palace, as this would have ruined old timber work; he advised him also against the use of red roof tiles that were popular with Europeans. Cote argued that Karsten's aim was not "to achieve authenticity, but the modernisation and refinement of tradition" within the context of social modernity, if not architectural modernity.[79]

The real hail to ubiquity, aiming to replace indigenous architecture with modern—mainly the skyscraper—on a global scale, came in the latter part of the twentieth century, during the advanced period of urban renewal. According to Ibelings, architectural homogenisation manifesting global uniformity started in the 1950s with the construction of big hotels commissioned by international chains from star architects such as Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer and Skidmore, Owens and Merrill.[80] On the other hand, as argued by King, these buildings represented modernity and progress as a natural outcome of this modernity for post-colonial nation-states.[81] For new nation-states, architectural modernity did not mean homogenisation; it represented status and difference from others. Nevertheless, by building homogenising modernity, heritage has, in most cases, been sacrificed. In the early phase in the 1950s, destruction was limited, with small areas being demolished to provide space for iconic buildings; it is the later phase dating from the 1970s when large-scale destructive urban renewal projects were justified in a number of non-Western countries by using internationalist arguments based on keeping pace with the West.

NATIONAL STATES AND IDENTITY SEARCH

> Nations combine the idea that societies must hold shared cultural beliefs with heritage in order to root those beliefs. . . . Another important aspect of heritage and its use in the production of the nation lies in the use of heritage to produce origin myths.[82]

Harrison, to whom the above statement belongs, cited a number of authors such as Allen, Graham and Ashworth and Tunbridge, who all contended that there is a close connection between heritage and nationalism.[83] This theory may be valid for the last part of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. However, in the mid-twentieth century, nation building in predominantly post-colonial, non-Western nations was partly based on the introduction of internationalist architecture and destructive urban renewal in the name of modernity. As Joan J. Henderson discussed in the case of Singapore, heritage was regarded by many post-colonial nations as "an obstacle to progress and damaging to government policies of economic growth deemed in the national interest."[84] As Henderson suggested, in Singapore and elsewhere, historic buildings were regarded by the new national political elite as incompatible with modern statehood. For example, according to Logan, for national and local policymakers in Laos, the ultimate goal for the World Heritage Site Luang Prabang was the modernisation and expansion of the town, despite its special status.[85] Even in the United Nations, under whose umbrella institutions such as UNESCO try to protect heritage sites, other institutions such as Habitat (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements) declared as recently as 1986 that one of the main reasons for damage in the 1982 earthquake in Yemen was the "poor quality of the traditional construction materials and building techniques."[86] Paradoxically, in the same publication the victims were recommended by the same authors to reuse old building materials where possible.[87] This discrepancy once more reflects modernity's mistrust of traditional vocational skills, which caused the disappearance of these skills in many new nation-states for the sake of modernity, as demonstrated in both Chapter 3 and in this chapter.

Most emerging national states used progress templates provided by the West as a pretext for speculative investment and fulfilment of political purposes, for which twentieth-century developments in Istanbul provide a good example. The role of heritage in creating national myths in post-Ottoman Turkey was confirmed by the support given to excavations and studies related to the early Anatolian Hittite culture, which was considered in the early Republican era to have had Turkish origins.[88] However, Ottoman heritage was passé, and, until Atatürk's personal intervention (see Chapter 3) in a number of towns, many monuments were destroyed by nationalistic aspirations to modernity, erasing so-called decadent heritage. Istanbul, which attracted more attention than small Anatolian towns, was mainly spared these attempts. Following sporadic modernisation attempts, the first major city planning enterprise took place in the Republican era, beginning with an invitation in 1936 to Henri Prost to prepare a master plan for Istanbul. Prost, who had supported the preservation of indigenous heritage during his activities in North Africa, suggested in Istanbul the removal of the historic fabric around the Spice Bazaar in the old Eminönü Harbour and proposed the allocation of the Golden Horn to industry. Prost, who had

preserved the Medina in its entirety in Morocco, concentrated in Istanbul on single monuments from the Byzantine and Ottoman periods and on the silhouette of the city. Although F. Cana Bilsel assessed Prost's prioritising of monumental structures as a period attitude characteristic of the pre–Venice Charter period, Prost had not chosen to use these principles in his previous colonial projects.[89] On the contrary, his preservation approach, including the conservation of Istanbul's central historic quarters, may be compared with the current preservation discourse. Pierre Pinon considered that the differences between the two practices can be explained with ease. According to Pinon, for Prost, Istanbul was an historic, but nonetheless, European city, contrary to the vernacular North African Medina, which was populated by indigenous inhabitants.[90] In Istanbul, Prost acted neither as a colonial planner nor as an orientalist with romantic preservation notions; he used the same principles he would have used in Paris, in line with the 1919 French Improvement and Extension Plans.[91]

The major part of the Prost planning proposals was not implemented in the 1930s to 1940s but in the 1950s to 1960s, the peak period of speculative urban renewal with the pro-American Demokrat Parti in power. Prost was dismissed in this period, his plans revised by Turkish experts in line with the aspirations of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, who declared in 1956 that "Istanbul was to acquire an entirely new face and be made into a modern city."[92] The architect Enis Kortan, whose memoirs compared Menderes with Haussmann, lamented the loss of monuments and sites of

Figure 4.4

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 Tarlabaşı at the end of 1980s during the demolition. Courtesy Chamber of Architects of Istanbul. The Chamber of Architects is one of the few owners in the neighbourhood who managed to save their building from demolishment during the 1980s urban renewal by a court order.

historic and cultural significance and referred to the displacement of people who had lost their homes in this urban renewal craze and were called "expropriation immigrants."[93] The Prime Minister, who wanted to widen the arteries as suggested in the Prost Plan, invited the German urban planner Hans Högg to turn his ideas into reality in 1956. Unlike Prost, who had preserved single monuments, Högg suggested the removal or destruction of a number of important monuments; as a consequence, a considerable number of historic buildings and sites were sacrificed, and the whole historic quarter between Süleymaniye and Zeyrek was erased.[94] Fifty years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the road to national pride was

paved with Americanisation, regarded at the time as the highest level of civilisation. Prime Minister Menderes promised that Turkey would become a "Little America," a term still alive in Turkish memory today, with different connotations depending on one's political standpoint.[95] Fuelled by the American car industry, the promotion of the private car instead of public transport in Istanbul prioritised motor traffic in a Corbusien manner and swept away everything that stood in its way. Although the Prime Minister defended expropriations by stating that these activities would help historic monuments to stand out and be visible, a number of Ottoman and Byzantine monuments were demolished under the pretext that they were structurally damaged and needed to be demolished for health and safety reasons.[96] This subterfuge was necessary to evade the decisions of the recently established Higher Council of Ancient Immovable Properties and Monuments.

History repeated itself thirty years later. During the 1980s, the then mayor of Istanbul, Bedrettin Dalan, used the same pretext as the 1950s to demolish historic buildings along Tarlabaşı-Street, against the ruling of the Higher Council.[97] A total of 386 residential and commercial buildings in the project area were demolished, 167 of them listed buildings.[98] Many of these historic buildings were declared unsafe to avoid accusations of breaching conservation law and risking expropriation costs.

Another interesting parallel with the 1950s was the invitation of a consultant team from Germany, none of whom were planners or architects. One of the team members, Michael Geiler, an expert on traffic psychology, declared that "the plan was focused on accelerating the flow of traffic and not ensuring to protect Istanbul's heritage." He added that "demolishing historic buildings for the sake of traffic would not have been acceptable in Germany," but he had no qualms in suggesting it for Turkey.[99] Turkish media called it the Essen Plan, as Geiler worked at the University of Duisburg–Essen at the time. However, the University notified Turkish media that Geiler did not represent the University.[100]

The invitation of the German team to justify demolition in historic areas coincided with a time when Turkey aspired to be part of the European Union, so a decision by German experts was presented as undisputable; Europe meant progress. Actually in both the 1950s and the 1980s, it was quite fashionable for national governments to employ foreign architects and planners from the West to support speculative urban renewal projects; they could also be used as scapegoats against critics and political opponents. This happened in some other countries, as we shall see later.

Twenty years later, Tarlabaşı-Street was once more in the limelight. From 2005 the local Beyoğlu Municipality introduced a renovation project for the district. In contrast with previous projects, this concept aimed at the "restoration of 278 buildings in an area of twenty thousand square meters by creating new large spaces by uniting groups of small historic houses of 50–100 square meters size each to one large block."[101] Façades of the small houses would be retained and restored; the space behind would house shopping

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 Tarlabaşı main street during the demolitions and now. Image courtesy Mete Göktuğ, an architect dedicated to defending the heritage of the neighbourhood.

areas, residences and boutique hotels. The mayor declared also that the district would be transformed into a new "Champs-Elysees in Paris"; the modernity of the French arcades created by Haussmann two centuries ago used once again to symbolise prosperity and grandeur.[102] Although the project

could be accused of façadism, if one thinks of the reconstruction enterprise in regard to Berlin Castle (see Chapter 2), market forces seem to have dominated at least some aspects of the heritage preservation discourse in the twenty-first century. Another contrast of this project with previous projects in the area is transparency regarding urban decisions and legal framework. The project website lists the complete legal process in unison with the Regional Heritage Preservation Council, the experts involved in the project, including a number of academics and renowned conservation architects, and two guides. One of the websites was dedicated to frequently asked questions.[103] Increasingly, from 2010 onwards, there was public debate regarding removal of the tenants, mostly immigrants. An association formed by these renters and some homeowners filed a complaint with the European Court of Human Rights regarding this "urban renewal project" and the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects applied to a local court in Istanbul to stop the project.[104] For many people, Tarlabaşı is "a shantytown located in the heart of Istanbul . . . considered to be a no-go area among many Istanbullus and tourists alike because it is believed to express the most discontent among the migrant communities."[105] Although the author of this last quote disagreed that the area was dangerous, another account described both the dangers and charms of living there:

> Our Tarlabaşı police station always barricades our block in the event of trouble. . . . Then I saw what looked like a scene from a Frankenstein movie, with angry villagers carrying torches, only this time those were Molotov cocktails. . . . I love Tarlabaşı.[106]

Clearly the issue in this project is whether a liberal economy could allow "Behutsame Erneuerung," a concept coined in the 1980s during the rehabilitation of the Kreuzberg district of the then divided Berlin to avoid the displacement of tenants and avoid speculation.[107] By the time the Kreuzberg project was due, it was a run-down workers' neighbourhood with low-quality nineteenth-century tenant blocks located next to the Berlin Wall. At that time nobody was interested in Kreuzberg as a capital investment. Whether it would be possible to run a similar project in Berlin today is doubtful, as it has now become a prime location. So has Tarlabaşı, a neighbourhood in one of the most central positions in Istanbul, a rising star in terms of international financial and cultural investments. In the Tarlabaşı case, the municipality offered renters alternative accommodation for the payment of an up-front capital sum and further monthly instalments, aiming to make them home owners. However, some renters could not accept the offer, because they could not find this capital sum; besides, they did not want to leave. In Kreuzberg they did not leave; most were Turkish immigrants who are now home owners and identify strongly with this neighbourhood. Kreuzberg has developed, following the urban rehabilitation project, to a hub housing an alternative culture, an eclectic mix of Turkish mosques

Figure 4.8 Tarlabaşı today, a beautiful art nouveau balcony detail of a building designated for reconstruction. Image courtesy Korhan Gümüş, president of İnsan Yerleşimleri Derneği (Human Settlements Organisation) in Istanbul, a nongovernmental organisation promoting a dialogue model between residents and local administration in regard to the development and application of urban projects.

and African-American hip-hop bars. The Kreuzberg example shows that it is possible for an urban rehabilitation project to preserve the social structure of a run-down historic neighbourhood, together with the physical structure. However, proceedings depend very much on global political and economic circumstances and do not merely reflect national decisions.

One of Mayor Dalan's aspirations in the 1980s was to make Istanbul a second Hong Kong.[108] It is interesting to note that many Turkish politicians want to make another city from an iconic city like Istanbul. In the nineteenth century, it was Paris; in the 1950s, perhaps New York, thinking

of Prime Minister Menderes's metaphor of Little America for Turkey; currently again Paris in connection with Tarlabaşı. So why was it Hong Kong in Dalan's time—not a Western but an Asian city? Probably the comparison valued Hong Kong as a new financial status symbol and embraced the mayor's fantasy of adorning the city with skyscrapers as a physical expression of its financial power position as a rising star competing with Hong Kong.

After returning to China in 1997, Hong Kong needed to redefine its national Chinese identity. According to Si Lieung Li, "having been British colonized, westernized, capitalist polluted and culturally hybrid, Hong Kong's relationship with 'Chineseness' is at best an ambivalent one."[109] In this context the recent removal of a number of colonial structures, including the Star Ferry Pier and the Queen Pier, despite vehement protests by Hong Kong residents, should not be a surprise, as Hong Kong must rewrite its history, particularly on the waterfront. Queen Pier was the landing point where new governors arrived and from where the last governor departed. According to Stephen Davies, director of Hong Kong's Maritime Museum, during the demolition, Queen Pier was "part of the eye-line, a familiar landing point. If you ask the average Hong Kong resident about the island's waterfront, that's what they would say—it's Star Ferry, it's Queen's Pier."[110] It is exactly this familiarity that led to the destruction of the piers. By this action, two major symbols of the pre-Chinese period were removed from the waterfront. By the next generation, they will have been removed from the collective memory of Hong Kong residents and visitors. The waterfront as the icon of the island has thus been purified. An interesting parallel to 1980s Istanbul is the similar justification of the developers, who claimed that demolition of the piers would allow better transport links.[111] Now Hong Kong can look forward to a progressive future, as represented in Expo 2010. While Macau and Taiwan pavilions displayed their common roots within Chinese culture, Hong Kong's pavilion was dedicated to modernity—it is modernity that defines Hong Kong's Chineseness.[112]

According to Adrian Smith, the introduction of formal heritage protection to Hong Kong dates back to a relatively recent period: the 1970s.[113] The 1976 ordinance still provides the main legislative measurement for heritage preservation.[114] He questioned the efficacy of the grading system in terms of "the lack of protection it provides to some of Hong Kong's most important buildings," as statutory declaration of new monuments is a rare event. This lack of designation reinforced China's vision of Hong Kong as a symbol of Chinese modernity. Smith also noted that conservation areas in the Town Planning Ordinance related solely to the conservation of the natural environment, an issue we also saw in the legislation of Caribbean islands such as the Bahamas (see Chapter 3). Beijing had experienced a similar transformation process in defining a new national identity through modernity following the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. In the 1950s and 1960s especially, city walls were erased, along with many temples and other

historic buildings, to make way for broad avenues, including the 400,000 square metres of Tiananmen Square. Another period of intense building activity began in the 1980s with the introduction of foreign investments, in whose context the "conservation of historic Beijing emerged as an urgent issue."[115] In 1990 some twenty-five historic areas inside and around the historic centre were specified as protection zones.[116] Beijing, which defined its national identity through modernity a while ago, can now look forward to rediscovering its traditional heritage—unlike Hong Kong, which still needs to define it.

CASE FILE: EAST AFRICA AND THE ARAB GULF STATES

> They left their bowler hats, rolled umbrellas and morning coats behind, in exchange for a topi, a bush shirt and mosquito boots.[117]

A publication dedicated to the fiftieth birthday of the East Africa Institute of Architects in 1963, the year in which the First Constitution of Kenya was declared, humorously described some of the difficulties endured by a succession of pre- and post-colonial British architects working in Kenya.[118] These architects were praised for having built in Africa "the best of the vernacular architecture of the English countryside."[119] Among them was Sir Herbert Baker, who designed a number of public buildings for Nairobi, including the Law Courts, the Railway Headquarters (1929) and Government House (1934–1935).[120] The same publication suggested that the circular campanile of Sir Herbert's Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, was inspired by the tower of the great ruin of Zimbabwe, when the country was still under British rule and colonial cultural theories prevailed.[121] Zimbabwe, at the time of the publication still Rhodesia, would wait more than forty years to be named after the ruins of Great Zimbabwe.

This Kenyan publication also emphasised that the country's "architectural history is short, the edifices of the successive development phases still rub shoulders as equal partners in (their) civic scenes."[122] Most colonial governments or early nation-states in East Africa in this period created an architectural history consisting solely of colonial architecture, as shown with pride in this publication, and disregarding Africa's own architectural heritage. Reaction to this practice is reflected by the cutoff dates in contemporary African legislation, which exclude colonial heritage from protection (see Chapter 3). However, Kenyan heritage legislation stands out by not having a cutoff date and makes no distinction between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial heritage. According to the National Museums and Heritage Act of Kenya, cultural heritage includes architectural works, groups of separate and connected buildings, works of humanity or combined works of nature and humanity and areas of archaeological importance.[123] Scheduled

Figure 4.9 "Modernising" Africa: an advertisement from 1963 in the *East Africa Architects Jubilee Yearbook*.

monuments such as the Railway House in Nairobi, the Watson Scott Memorial Church, the Old Armoury (including the fig tree), the Cottage at Nandi Road in Karen, Kitau Manda Skyline situated at the Lamu World Heritage Site, King George's Tower, Nairobi Club and Westminster House present a broad selection dating back to different periods and confirm that Kenya had no problems in protecting its colonial past.[124] This fact was verified by George and Lorna Abungu, who stated that among more than one hundred gazetted sites and monuments were several colonial structures in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kitale and Nakuru.[125]

The main focus of their article was the conservation of Mombasa Old Town, a port dating back to the sixteenth century with a history spanning many periods of the country and a rich variety of significant buildings. Historic Mombasa has long been under threat of demolition. According

to Abungu and Abungu, the threat came from developers who "looked for change and modernization," a pattern very similar to many other countries in the world during that period, as we have seen in this chapter.[126] The Mombasa Old Town Conservation Project, which started in 1987 following the loss of important historic buildings in the early 1980s, had additionally to deal with many other problems, including the fear of the Old Town residents that the authorities wanted them to live in "mouldy, moth-eaten old buildings."[127] Blaming dirt, moths, mould and mice to justify demolition has been a common tool used in many periods by developers, modernists and antimodernists alike. For example, the decision to demolish the Tricorn Centre in Portsmouth, UK, a brutalist building dating back to the 1960s, was influenced by the view that "it was a filthy, smelly, rat infested dump," as a resident of the area expressed it after its demolition.[128] It is a striking fact that the value of historic buildings anywhere can be undermined by maintenance problems.

The Mombasa Old Town Conservation Project was run jointly by the National Museums of Kenya and the Municipal Council of Mombasa. It was funded by the United Nations Development Programme and executed by two UNESCO experts, showing that international institutions do offer more than "dry bones without meat," in spite of this common belief in Africa discussed by Birabi (see Chapter 2). Waterfront regeneration projects and naval-port regeneration activities especially have been linked successfully to urban conservation initiatives in East Africa, in contrast to Hong Kong. In Kenya, Mombasa is on the tentative World Heritage Site List, and the historic port city of Lamu gained World Heritage Site status in 2001.[129] In Tanzania the port city of the semi-independent island of Zanzibar has received support from the Aga Khan Historic Cities Support Programme, and Tanzania's capital, Dar es Salaam, has received some help within the framework of the Sustainable Cities initiative by the United Nations Development Programme, mainly to save and refunction some of its nineteenth-century German government buildings. Brian Hoyle, who agreed that East Africa provided excellent examples of port-city renovation projects, considered that this development happened in "highly variegated forms," depending on the amount of funding, selection of the area and national and international policies.[130] A pattern that occurs particularly in East Africa, but in general throughout Africa, is the selectivity of attaching special importance to the conservation of stone towns. The name of the authority dedicated to the Zanzibar project is Zanzibar Government's Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority. Similarly Zimbabwe, the name of the former Rhodesia after independence, means literally "stone houses."[131] Possible reasons for this veneration of stone in Africa will be discussed in the next chapter. Another interesting fact is that the majority of the buildings selected for conservation and rehabilitation in Dar es Salaam are late nineteenth-century German government buildings, despite the cutoff date in Tanzanian heritage legislation (see Chapter 3), excluding them from being preserved.

The reason for this choice may lie within international funding criteria for eligibility, to be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Most of these East African waterfront conservation projects started in the 1990s, so most available material about these projects dates from that period.[132] For example, the Conservation Plan for the Historic Stone Town of Zanzibar, whose preparation was based on research funded by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, was approved by Zanzibar authorities in 1994.[133] The survey, which started in 1992, investigated issues such as identification of significant buildings, architectural elements and streetscape features, assessment of building conditions, new buildings and alterations to historic buildings. Despite decay, the Stone Town of Zanzibar survived the colonial period without much damage thanks to H. V. Lanchester, who supported the conservation of traditional architecture in the colonies, like most British colonial town planning experts from the Patrick Geddes tradition respecting local cultural values. On the other hand, the survey also revealed that, in recent years, the use of inappropriate new materials has caused damage to the historic building stock. This practice has been introduced through the popularisation of new European building materials, including steel beams, corrugated iron and cast iron columns, all of which have now started to rust in Zanzibar's humid and salty climate.[134] Thanks to the joint efforts of the Zanzibar Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment and the Aga Khan Trust, the Zanzibar government has started to implement management strategies and conservation principles introduced through the Conservation Plan from the mid-1990s onwards to save this important heritage site. In 2000 the Stone Town of Zanzibar was inscribed into the World Heritage List.[135]

The Global Heritage Fund (GHF), a nonprofit organisation focusing its efforts "on developing countries and regions on preservation and responsible development of the most important and endangered global heritage sites," confirmed the fact that the 1990s were the heyday of historic preservation activities in many countries, especially in Africa.[136] However, after a decade, some of these projects now lack the initial enthusiasm they enjoyed in the 1990s. Among these, Lamu Old Town in Kenya is now on the GHF List of Heritage in Peril, mainly due to the proposal of a large port development project. In 2008 Kenya introduced the Lamu New Port Project to investors from Qatar, whereby the investors also negotiated the construction of the new Garsen-Lamu road, clearly with the aim of improving the coastal link between Lamu Port on Lamu Island and Garsen on the mainland.[137] The port project was planned to include the construction of a new pipeline to export oil from South Sudan, an oil refinery to process the exported oil, three international airports and tourism cities along a new rail and highway network.[138] On September 13, 2010, Kenya invited bids for the project, organising an international press conference attracting the interest of Chinese and Japanese investor groups in addition to those from Arab Gulf States.[139] While it is clear that Kenya aimed to attract international investment to

improve the country's economy, experts were concerned that the new port project would lead to a huge population increase, endangering the limited water resources in the area, when there are reports that the ancient town is already suffering from a water crisis as a consequence of the project commencement.[140] There were further worries that the intangible heritage of Lamu would be lost and the native fishing community replaced by foreigners and immigrants.[141] In addition, Lamu Old Town enjoys World Heritage Site status, but the new port project is a major intervention into the buffer zone, which may put Lamu's status at risk and will have huge effects on the local economy, which has improved considerably since the UNESCO designation through heritage tourism. The case of Lamu provides a typical example of modernity served by globalism, which can be very attractive to poorer countries, but at the same time can have destructive effects on built and natural heritage if not managed and monitored carefully. Similar to Lamu, although not to the same extent, the Stone Town of Zanzibar is under threat of inappropriate development plans that clash with the principles of the Conservation Plan. In addition to the controversial Serengeti Highway Project, plans to build a huge five-star hotel in the World Heritage Site concern conservation experts and nongovernmental organisations.[142] These case studies show clearly that it is not enough to start conservation initiatives with international aid and then leave them to local government. In such cases, support, monitoring and provision of technical aid should continue until the projects settle.

It is not a coincidence that the first bidder to offer investment for the new port initiative in Lamu is Qatar based. It has also been reported that the head of the Zanzibar government recently visited Sharjah, Dubai and Oman to promote plans for the construction of a Free Port in Zanzibar.[143] East Africa, Arab Gulf States and their close neighbours, Oman and Kuwait, have had close historical links; including Lamu, a number of East African locations have had periods as Omani protectorates. At the end of the 1600s, the Omani Empire included Bahrain and Zanzibar, thus shifting Oman into a central position and creating a cultural hub between Arab Gulf States and East Africa. This period is witnessed today by a number of Omani castles scattered over the region. The Ministry of Heritage and Culture of the Sultanate of Oman attaches special importance to its military heritage by having renovated more than one hundred castles, forts and towers in the various regions of the Sultanate; the ministry's official website presents case study examples related to ministerial conservation projects, some of them presenting images of different restoration phases.[144] Preservation of historic forts is also a major activity of governmental cultural institutions in other Gulf States. For example, Al Wajba and Al Zubarah forts in Qatar; Bahrain Fort, Riffa Fort and Arad Fort in Bahrain; Al Maqtaa Fort and the White Fort in Abu Dhabi and Red Fort, also known as Al Jahra Fort, in Kuwait are treasured buildings in these respective countries.[145] In addition, smaller emirates such as Fujairah have reconstructed their forts and have sometimes

also built replica forts in their theme parks, as at Ras al-Khaimah. However, most of them lost their old towns in the modernisation craze during the oil boom and often try to memorialise this loss through publications dedicated to old photographs. According to Haggag and Rashed, modern buildings built in this era were regarded as symbols of progress, while ancient buildings "represented a time when the country was underdeveloped before the discovery of oil".[146]

Kuwait is one of the countries where the discovery of oil in 1936 made a huge impact on the welfare of its people. As stated in *Old Kuwait*: *Memories in Photographs*, "the end result of that discovery is prosperity"; however, "unfortunately much that was culturally valuable and interesting in Kuwait disappeared."[147] The comment beneath an image showing the demolishing of the city wall surrounding the Old City poses the question: "Did these coolies consider the effort it took the faithful people of Kuwait to build such a wall?"[148]

This comment reminds one of the medieval Arab scholar Al Idrisi's (see Chapter 2) use of the phrase "destruction is easier than construction" when citing a discussion of the preservation of the Pyramids in Egypt and referring indirectly to an old Arab legend.[149] The book about old Kuwait and its heritage was published by the Centre for Research and Studies on Kuwait,

Figure 4.10 A restored manor house in Kuwait. Kuwait shows great awareness in preserving the traditional courtyard buildings of the Gulf. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

whose main aim is to raise awareness among the young generation of Kuwait about the history and heritage of the country.[150] Another book by the centre is dedicated to the traditional market buildings of Kuwait, mostly demolished to construct new roads in the 1950s, in the same period that in the US urban renewal was concentrating on building new highways by demolishing historic areas. This book also refers to Kuwait's trade links with East African ports by providing another reminder of the links of this region with East Africa. It should be emphasised here that Kuwait today has a number of successfully conserved historic buildings, including traditional manor houses and mosques.

Similar books are available in Bahrain, compiled in both Arabic and English and often in bilingual form, although the Arabic content may differ from the English versions. In general the books in English concentrate on built heritage, whereas the Arabic versions deal predominantly with social heritage.[151] The majority of destructive urban renewal projects and modernist replacements in Bahrain took place in Manama, especially in the historic port area (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, one of the most important historic towns among the Arab Gulf States, Bahrain's Muharraq, is still in good condition. Muharraq was the capital of Bahrain until the British developed Manama as the new capital "at the expense of the old town about the 1920s."[152] Since the 1960s, the somewhat isolated Muharraq was targeted

Figure 4.11 Muharraq in Bahrain: a unique historic entity representing the traditional architecture of the Gulf in urgent need of Conservation Area Designation. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

for redevelopment through mega projects. In 1981 large public housing development projects, contrasting sharply with the old city, were launched on reclaimed land.[153] Lacking listing measures, limited conservation legislation concentrated only on the preservation of major monuments, such as forts and the oldest mosques. With a lack of funding for heritage preservation, this still-intact example, which represents the tangible and intangible heritage of the country, was subject to deterioration and decay. Documentation of architectural features in Muharraq revealed that all the indigenous craftwork unique to the area, including wrought iron, wood carving and fretwork, stained-glass fanlights and decorated plasterwork, was irreplaceable.[154] Individual attempts, such as the houses restored with the support of Sheikha May, a member of the Bahrain royal family and thus one of the "first ladies in conservation" (see Chapter 3), have made an exemplary contribution to heritage preservation in Bahrain. However, Muharraq needs to be designated as a conservation area and its valuable building stock ranked through listing so that operating guidelines for its residents may be established. It is not a dead building stock, unlike most others in the region; it is alive, with families having lived there for generations—a fact that calls for immediate action before Muharraq is lost.

If one looks at other Arab Gulf States, Sharjah stands out for its awareness of heritage preservation. In 2009 a regional workshop was held at the University of Sharjah under the patronage of the ruler, HH Sheikh Sultan bin Mohammed Al Qassimi, to discuss approaches related to preservation and restoration of cultural property in the Arab region. The main aim was to establish a network with an online information centre to provide information about heritage activities and organisations in the member states.[155] This was followed in 2010 by an ATHAR course on the documentation of heritage sites in the Arab region at the American University of Sharjah.[156] The course aimed to enhance applied knowledge used in recording and managing historic sites. The curriculum includes topics such as scanning techniques, condition surveys and documentation methods.[157] Thanks to the support of the ruler of Sharjah and his government, Sharjah's built heritage is in good condition and provides a successful example of a conservation approach with minimum intervention. Joe Bennet, a newspaper columnist and author of travel books, described Sharjah in *Hello Dubai* as the region's "moral and cultural epicentre."[158] Indeed, in regard to heritage preservation, Sharjah is, in the public mind, the complete opposite of its close neighbour, Dubai. Although in the 1990s Dubai started preservation action to rectify this loss, its built heritage has suffered, like "many Arab communities striving very hard towards modernization during the last fifty years."[159] Abu Dhabi has also recently introduced detailed strategies to save its remaining historic buildings, of which unfortunately only a few survive. Most emirates and states in the region, having rapidly destroyed their heritage during the building boom, later realised that expatriates and tourists need something more than shopping malls and swimming pools. Therefore, all over the Gulf

the phenomenon of the "heritage village" has mushroomed, and this is the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

1. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," 1909, http://www.cscs.umich.edu/~crshalizi/T4PM/futurist-manifesto.html (accessed March 4, 2011).
2. Anthony James Gregor, "Fascism and Modernisation: Some Addenda," *World Politics* 26, no. 3 (April 1974): 370–84.
3. Elanie S. Hochman, *Architects of Fortune*: *Mies van der Rohe and the Third Reich* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1989), 115, 141.
4. Alexander Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture*: *The Impact of Classical Antiquity*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).
5. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 77.
6. Ibid., 56.
7. The Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne was an organisation (1928–1959) that promoted modern architecture through a series of congresses with the participation of prominent architects.
8. Hans Schmidt, "The Soviet Union and Modern Architecture," *Die Neue Stadt*, nos. 6–7 (1932): 146–8, as translated by Eric Dluhosch, http://www.modernistarchitecture.wordpress.com/. . ./hans-schmidt's-"the-soviet-union-and-modern-architecture"-1932/- (accessed March 5, 2011). *Die Neue Stadt* was a radical architectural journal, especially popular in late 1920s and 1930s Germany.
9. Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism: 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
10. Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 244–6.
11. Ibid.
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153. Ben Hamouche, "Changing Morphology," 530.
154. John Yarwood, texts, drawings and photographs, and Azra J. Ahmed, ed., *Al Muharraq,* Special vol. , *Arts and Islamic World*, no. 36 (n.d.).
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5 Postmodernity Elsewhere

> Races, Romans and the River Dee—Make some history of your own with a visit to this captivating city.[1]

The *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* describes postmodernism as "a set of critical, strategic and rhetorical practices" aimed to destabilise other concepts attached to modernism such as "presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty and the univocity of meaning."[2] One of the main characteristics of the discourse described as postmodernism is its "scepticism regarding the main goals of the enlightenment project" and suspicion of the linear progress-based global cultural narrative rooted in the grand narrative of the Enlightenment (see Chapter 2).[3] This aspect of postmodernism led, in the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, to a major change in philosophies and practices in the field of historic preservation. Reactions to culturally authoritative knowledge has led to the acknowledgement of local practices, such as the periodic reconstruction of Shinto temples in Japan by international institutions, and to partial breaches of existing international guidelines, such as the reconstruction of the Roman gatehouse close to Hadrian's Wall in England. The Arbeia Fort reconstruction aims to give "unique insight into life in Roman Britain" and allows visitors to make their own history, promoted by most Roman sites in UK.[4] A similar example is presented in the quotation above, designed to attract visitors to the Roman city of Chester by the River Dee. It implies that the visit will not be limited to seeing sites; activities are also provided on "the oldest racecourse in Britain."[5] A new tendency, seen in a number of countries benefiting from heritage tourism, is characterised by offering multiple experiences to visitors in a carefully designed historic environment whose design may involve elements that contradict the metanarrative of the historic preservation consensus documented by international charters. As detailed in Chapter 2, several countries are currently involved in reassessing principles of authenticity and minimum intervention within the framework of pluralism introduced by postmodernism.

Barry Schwartz's article about Maurice Halbwachs's collective memory concept developed the argument that postmodernism, alongside

multiculturalism and hegemony theory, is one of the discourses to shape the terms in which we debate collective memory.[6] The idea of "petite narratives" replacing the Enlightenment-based grand narratives defined by Lyotard has deconstructed the modernist hegemony as reflected in non-Western criticism related to international charters and has led to the acknowledgement of local practices such as the guild system of the stonemasons of Djenné in Mali or the integration of local charters such as the Indian INTACH Charter or China Principles.[7] Moreover, the introduction of the collective memory concept to the heritage preservation realm has resulted in a broader acceptance by building conservationists that intangible heritage has the same status as built heritage. It is interesting to note that, although Halbwachs identified the notion of collective memory during the late 1940s, just before his execution by the Gestapo, his name was not widely known in Anglo-American intellectual circles until the 1980s, a period when intangible heritage had been popularised in the English-speaking part of the postmodernist world through its presence in museums, community participation projects and recognition of the loss of orally transmitted vocational skills. This is exactly the point where the visitor has been invited to create his or her own history, with the help of the postmodernist cultural programme based on the introduction of multiple memories. The same cultural programme has also caused an increasing interest in transnational heritage and minority heritage as a result of the postmodernist destruction of single identities, an emerging trend discussed in the next chapter.

Conversely, Diane Barthel's essay about the role of historic preservation in shaping collective memories argued that, due to selective choices and recontextualisation through personal interpretation, preserved objects, under the prevailing policies, cannot represent the whole past.[8] Even minimal intervention is an intervention. How politics can use historic preservation as a tool to create or erase collective memories has been detailed in Chapter 3. However, when combined with one of the rhetorical attributes employed by postmodernism, the simulacrum, accompanied by postmodernist questioning of the epistemic certainty, there is a whole array of local practices all over the world, ranging from extensive restoration to reconstruction, all of which would have been totally unacceptable twenty years ago. Currently simulacra of historic buildings vary from Berlin Castle to fort reconstructions in the Arab Gulf countries; Beijing has reconstructed part of its demolished city wall for the Olympic Games, and the tourist industry from Istanbul to Rajasthan is busy creating simulated palaces behind the façade of restoration to be used as hotels.

Recreational simulacra include reenactments, which represent the commercialisation of intangible heritage and the creation of a hyperreality, another postmodern attribute. Jennifer Cypher and Eric Higgs argue that in Disney-type simulacra the boundary between artificiality and reality becomes thin.[9] Their example discusses the pattern of themed natural environment using the example of Disney's Wilderness Lodge, where themed nature distances the visitor from actual nature. A similar argument can be

developed for themed built environment, whose ultimate form is the virtual reality of simulated historic environments in computer games. For example, gothic buildings, used in many of the computer-generated images to create a sinister effect, coexist in the virtual environment with images from historical periods ranging from the Iron Age to the Victorian period.[10] If one calculates the number of children and young adults playing these games, the magnitude of people exposed to blurred boundaries outnumbers the visitors to Disney's Wilderness Lodge.

The concept of constructing simulacra of historic buildings has been practised since the Romans built replicas of Egyptian and Nubian pyramids in Rome following the conquest of Egypt. It reached its zenith during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe with replicas of oriental and European historic buildings adorning gardens and parks. World trade fairs also provided ideal media for transferring exotic environments to Europe and North America through simulacra in the late nineteenth century. However, there is a major difference between these replicas and the simulacrum concept of the postmodernism. A postmodern simulacrum, in contrast to a premodern simulacrum, is built to replicate the past with a claim that the replica is as close to the authentic original as it can be. Authenticity is the moral precedent of the current historic preservation discourse to create the "most authentic replica." This makes the boundary between real and simulated extremely narrow. This is why Disney's Wilderness Lodge provides hyperreality: the more it increases the use value, the closer it gets to the real. The meaning of authenticity as defining an object of "undisputed origin, not a copy, genuine" is gradually shifting in the twenty-first century historic preservation discourse towards defining an object which "faithfully resembles an original."[11] This tendency drifts away from Benjamin's aura-based authenticity definition and also disregards the time component. For example, the Museum of Appalachia in the United States offers visitors an "authentic replica of mountain life," and the UK National Railway Awards lists among eligible categories not only "best practice in the restoration and continued upkeep of railway heritage" but also "a completely new but authentic replica of a specific historic building."[12] If awards for best restoration and continued upkeep of a replica are both eligible, the definition of the word *restoration* (see Introduction) is bound to change as well.

Research shows that in user product interactivity, users establish a certain relationship with certain product properties and the benefits they expect from them. Issues such as time and effort dedicated to the preparation of the product increases the value of the product for the user.[13] Therefore, the more authentic the replica, the more value will be attached to it by the user, so the financial return will increase in accordance with the detail applied to the replicated historic environment. With the historic environment becoming increasingly a commercial product in the postmodern age, museums and sites aim to appeal to all five senses, including smell and sound, to re-create as genuine a model of the past as possible. This phenomenon, combined with global tourism, has motivated a number of countries to restore and

reconstruct their lost and neglected heritage, usually not to create a link to their past for their own citizens but to offer a product for global tourists. The recontextualisation of heritage assets which Barthel discussed in 1996, predominantly in the context of creating a national identity, now has a different dimension characterised by their role in the tourism industry.

PRESERVATION, RESTORATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND GLOBAL TOURISM

> In the rush to modernize over the last forty years or so, Dubai demolished most of its souks. But then the tourists started and tourists like to shop. And they particularly like to shop in traditional markets. So Dubai rebuilt its souks.[14]

As pointed out here by Saskia Sassen in early 1990s, in the age of postmodernity some areas of some cities in the world were defined through their connection to global networks of value making.[15] The anthropologist Marc Augé called these networks of multinational capital "non-places."[16] While the non-place usually characterises the central business district (CBD), it also encroaches on historic market towns and shopping streets. International fast-food chains and shopping malls with ubiquitous façades dominate the urban scene. Recently the Turkish newspaper columnist Kanat Atkaya wrote of a mega-scale mall built within the nineteenth-century shopping street of Istiklal in Istanbul, but the mall does not fit the place, it is alien.[17] The mall came into existence by merging the interior of a couple of nineteenth-century buildings by restoring their façades as a shell. This is a typical example of how the non-place can also exist behind façadism in historic areas under statutory protection. This project has damaged the foundations of a neighbouring building, the sixteenth-century Hüseyin Ağa Mosque, leading to cracks in critical areas and resulting in the closure of the mosque to the public. The cause of the damage was the deep excavation to gain more subterranean space for the shopping mall.[18] The case shows that mega buildings in historic areas are elephants in crystal shops and should be avoided to protect the integrity and physical sanity of the place.

In addition to the development of the non-place, the local place setting has also undergone change. According to Appadurai, locality is more a cultural and phenomenological entity than a physical space and involves in the age of globalisation "new translocalities . . . existing beyond the local and national context (such as tourist localities)."[19] Actually the tourist locality is not the only place presenting a translocal character; in the postmodern city, areas surrounding the tourist locality are usually transnational as well, housing transnational service personnel and an army of immigrants consisting of transnational construction workers, street vendors and minor criminals. The run-down historic downtown syndrome typical of the 1980s,

Figure 5.1 Cracks in the courtyard and minaret of the sixteenth-century Hüseyin Ağa Mosque. The cracks occurred due to the movement of the foundations of the mosque, a consequence of the deep excavations to build the subterranean levels of the shopping mall next to it. Image courtesy Emel Ardaman, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University.

which justified destructive urban renewal, acquired a different dimension in the 2010s. Although the migrant workers of the previous era had arrived in the host country in the expectation of returning to their home country, many of them stayed and the diaspora became their home, as with the Turkish migrant workers settling in Berlin's Kreuzberg (see Chapter 4). Thanks to community participation policies in the late 1980s that were developed as a reaction to urban renewal, they became home owners, now in the third generation. In comparison with the previous era, transnational spaces in

Figure 5.2 Demirören Shopping Mall in İstiklal Street, Beyoğlu (Pera), Istanbul. The construction of this mega shopping mall not only changed the historic character of this street with a number of important historic buildings, it also damaged an important monument next to it, because Hüseyin Ağa Mosque is the only Muslim place of worship in an otherwise historically Christian part of the city and is an important document showing how the multireligious Ottoman society functioned. Image courtesy Emel Ardaman, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University.

postmodernity demonstrate different characteristics. At first these differences are not obvious. Similar to the 1980s in Europe and North America and the first decade of the twenty-first century, in most historic downtowns of non-European countries historic buildings in the buffer zone surrounding the non-place are occupied by predominantly single men sharing rooms in a run-down building. Mustfapha Ben Hamouche, in a 1987 study of the old city of Manama in Bahrain, revealed that only 41.9 percent of the population were Bahraini, with the expatriate presence growing at a rate of 6.1 percent per annum.[20] Old houses in Manama were rented mostly to male expatriates working in restaurants, hotels, retail shops and other low-income service activities in central Manama, the globalising CBD—in other words, the non-place. Whereas the former Turkish immigrant families in Berlin are now living comfortably next to the Reichstag, the seat of the German Parliament, in non-European countries expatriate workers working in the globalised non-place are often on the brink of relocation due to a new kind of gentrification generated for the global tourist, as we shall see further in this chapter.

Ayyub Malik considers that the contemporary non-Western city consists of three segregated cities. One is the inherited city, which Malik describes as "dilipated, unkempt and disowned"; then the modern city, which has no meaning but is costly; and, finally, the slum city, where the urban poor and rural migrants without skills, help or resources settle. It is a fact that some

migrants in cities of the non-Western part of the globalised world live in slums, but these are mainly the national, rural migrants. Most transnational migrants live in the "unkempt, disowned, inherited" city, as we have seen above, and make it translocal. As their restricted income does not enable them to pay for transport, they prefer to be close to the CBD, within walking distance of their workplace. However, a new group, the global tourist, now demands a share in the translocal place of the historic environment surrounding the non-place. In postmodern society one of the consequences of tourism is characterised by the segmentation of the global village into international, national, regional and local sections, interwoven to create an atmosphere to attract the global tourist.[21] Jenkins, in his 1993 study, saw primary attractions for international tourists as major monuments such as the Taj Mahal in India or the Pyramids in Egypt and argued that secondary attractions were not a major determinant in the tourist choice of destination.[22] This may have been true in 1996, but now the pattern is changing. With the popularisation of intangible heritage, more and more tourists today aim for exotic experiences. The attraction of the exotic place is no longer limited to a restricted number of intellectuals and wealthy visitors; cheaper cruises in particular use the theme of cultural experience in their advertisements. The "chance to explore the tangle of lanes and staircases in the old town" of Marmaris, experienced by Simon Calder from the *Independent*, is part of the marketing campaign of nearly every Mediterranean cruise.[23]

Low-budget exotic cruises with European destinations are today an extension of the linked attractions tourism strategy that was popular in the 1990s in Europe and North America. Orbaşlı observed in 2001 that smaller historic towns not warranting a lengthy car journey were linked to another leisure or travel activity as an added attraction of the trip.[24] Similarly, cruises to the United Arab Emirates and their neighbours such as Bahrain and Oman or the Indian Ocean now offer mixed concepts. Royal Caribbean Cruises invites its customers to discover "amidst ancient history the most dazzling cities of tomorrow."[25] Interestingly, the image accompanying the advertisement shows the Pyramids in Giza, Egypt, the eternal symbol of exoticism but far away from the destinations included in the programme. Even if not the Pyramids, cruises need to offer some history to the tourists, possibly one of the crucial factors behind the increase in heritage preservation projects and the introduction of relevant legislation in countries on the cruise routes. For example, Dubai has been one of the first countries in the United Arab Emirates to recognise the need for heritage conservation following a period of destructive modernisation. As expressed by Haggag and Rashed prior to this development, "the few old buildings which remain, stood as isolated pockets in a new modern city."[26] However, cruise tourists want to see "real people living their real lives" and not just "lots of shiny new buildings," as an assessor on a website dedicated to the experiences of cruise participants stated about Dubai.[27] She finally found them in Meena Bazaar, a traditional covered bazaar.

Meena Bazaar is in the area of Bur Dubai, one of two designated conservation areas in Dubai, the other being in Deira on the east side of the creek. Bur Dubai contains the oldest remains of Dubai, where historic preservation in 1980s started preserving single buildings such as Sheik Saeed House built in 1896. However, in the same period, the Dubai Municipality scheduled the demolition of the rest of the historic quarter of Bastakiya, half of which had been destroyed in the 1970s. This neighbourhood, dating from the 1890s, built by expatriate families moving from Iran who had trade links to the Al Souk Al Kabir (The Grand Bazaar), was referred to as Meena Bazaar by the immigrants. During this period, a British architect, Rayner Otter, who had renovated one of the houses in Bastakiya and taken up residence, started a campaign to rescue the area and sought support from Prince Charles, who was due to visit Dubai. Shortly after the prince's visit, the municipal decision was reversed.[28] A survey of the historic building stock followed, and in the 1990s a project aiming at a framework of comprehensive tourism and housing development was initiated. The Architectural Heritage Conservation Committee established in November 1994 the Historical Building Section of Dubai Municipality, which enabled a team of conservation experts working together to achieve the aims of the project.[29] Preservation activity included restoration of the building stock, where possible with building materials salvaged from the site, and reconstruction and adaptive reuse where it was not possible. Today Bastakiya is one of the main attractions in tour programmes and is quite successful as a revitalised area. Although the commercial use of galleries, shops and offices seems to have fulfilled the aims of the project, it did not return the residents to the area, with the exception of a few expatriates observed during a visit to the site in 2008.

Tourists travelling to exotic destinations to stay in translocal tourist localities or ubiquitous cruise ships increasingly demand a "real" experience of an authentic place. It is the dichotomy between their translocal place and an authentic place that makes the journey attractive. They have acquired a taste at home through cuisine, media and fashion; now they are interested in seeing the "real thing." This need has been recognised by a number of governments where the tourism industry is one of the main income sources, resulting in the introduction of conservation projects in historic cores aimed at changing the translocal users from migrant workers to tourists. Be it from religious reasons or mere curiosity, monuments and historic towns have never failed to attract flocks of visitors. As early as 1119 AD, the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome and a building next to it were rented to visitors and pilgrims who wanted to have a bird's eye view of Rome; the resultant income was the main cause of their preservation.[30] Nine centuries later, sun worshippers attracted to exotic locations at some point wanted more; gradually a new type of global tourist emerged, often described as a "culture vulture." Now the culture vulture has become the main income source for the conservation of monuments and rehabilitation of historic towns and sites.

Historically, the first enterprises to offer European tour groups cultural experiences in exotic locations started with Nile cruises. Initiated first by

accidental visitors attracted by the archaeological excavations in Egypt in the nineteenth century, the Nile cruise in the early twentieth century became a cultural phenomenon in its own right. In 1869 Thomas Cook conducted his first tourist party up the Nile. He had planned tours to the Holy Land but dismissed this idea and was persuaded instead to organise tours to the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, an exotic environment much closer to home.[31] The first Thomas Cook Nile cruises in the 1870s represented a turning point from religious tourism to cultural tourism. When in 1937 Agatha Christie published *Death on the Nile*, which described a similar tour, interest in Nile cruises grew even more, only to be interrupted by World War II.[32] After the war, interest returned, and today Nile cruises are as popular as ever. However, looking the images advertising the Nile cruise today, the majority show their cruise ships rather than the monuments to be visited, or they show just a single image. Some cruises also offer customers a glimpse of rural life in the Nile Valley "as a unique opportunity" to be experienced, usually without images.[33] On the other hand, it is a striking fact that none of these images use any local vernacular buildings or people. Egyptology does not include vernacular architecture and intangible heritage, because the subject was not developed originally by the Egyptians, who were even not allowed to study it in the colonial period (see Chapter 2). Today it still aims to offer visitors a simulation of the original necropolis devoid of villages and fields. Historically, however, the necropolis was never devoid of villages and fields; the workers building them would have lived on the site and probably continued to live there, with their descendants settling in the area.

The villages of Gurna on the west bank of the Nile opposite Luxor, in the area of the Theban Necropolis, provide a typical case study for the fact that the Venice Charter guideline to protect a monument within its surroundings does not apply to certain archaeological sites. In 1945 the Egyptian government commissioned the architect Hassan Fathy to build his rural utopian concept for Egyptian peasants to rehouse the inhabitants of Gurna.[34] The model village, built using local materials and traditional passive ventilation elements, was called New Gurna and became a new star in the international architectural scene as an example of ecological, vernacular architecture. However, the villagers of Gurna, a group of small hamlets scattered over the necropolis, opposed eviction and resisted relocation. For decades they were accused of theft and destruction of the objects and buildings on the site with no proper evidence; they became the scapegoats for Egypt's efforts to stop the illicit circulation of antique objects. While Fathy's village has also become heritage, conflict between the authorities and locals has not ceased even today. In the 1990s, international institutions such as UNESCO, the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development joined forces with the Egyptian Ministry of Culture "to transform Gurna into a site, that was clean, well lighted and sign-posted, with wide roads and ample parking, and people-free: in a word not just an ancient heritage site, but a modern one."[35] When the plan was implemented in the late 1990s, it led to riots and shootings between the villagers forced to move

and government forces. Timothy Mitchell evaluated Gurna as part of a programme of nation building, part of which was based on taming the "uncivilised," symbolised by this village. The tourism industry also supported this notion strongly; the 1982 World Bank report on visitor management commissioned by a US consulting firm supported the concept, which resulted in Gurna's population being removed and its houses destroyed, with the exception of a few to provide the tourism industry with gift shops housed in vernacular buildings.[36] It was only in 2006, when the final evictions took place, that ICOMOS judged the demolition of Gurna unacceptable within contemporary conservation theory, differing from UNESCO and other international institutions in the 1990s, which were all in support of this demolition.[37] In 2008 the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS issued a joint report describing the demolition as damaging to the authenticity of the site and threatening its Outstanding Universal Value status. Despite this, further parts were destroyed in 2009.[38]

The change in the international conservation discourse in regard to the preservation of intangible heritage within the context of place, and consensus between experts from different disciplinary backgrounds, was reflected for the first time in the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003.[39] ICOMOS reactions to the evictions in Gurna in 2006 were clearly directly linked to the convention, which recognised the territorial aspects of intangible heritage conservation related to communities living in historic sites based on their interaction with the nature and the place as part of their community history and tradition. The convention also describes the concept of revitalisation of intangible heritage, which includes the reintegration of displaced communities with their original localities. This is exactly what is now happening in Jordan, a country with a number of outstanding achievements in heritage preservation. The Um Syhoun project aims to restore relocated Bedouin tribes who formerly lived in the caves of Petra. The Bedouins, who had been moved from their original location to the village of Um Syhoun on the border of Petra National Park, lost their income source related to place as a result of this relocation. A major goal of the project is to create interaction spaces using the Southern Hill and to stimulate Bedouin traditional skills and practices in an environment shared with visitors by reestablishing traditional Bedouin routes.[40] With the growing appreciation of intangible heritage as a part of built heritage conservation and local communities becoming an integral part of preserved sites, often also providing an additional attraction for tourists, more and more countries are now interested in bringing back the lost community aspect to the sterilised historic place. In cases where this is no longer possible, a number of countries depending on tourism have introduced the eternal "heritage village," which sometimes includes provision of simulated communities. Most of these attempts are well meant, and, to some extent, these efforts have helped conserve the built heritage; however, in most of them, the built heritage derives from total or partial

Figure 5.3 A ceremony in Petra, Jordan, linking its antique heritage to the present and making it a national symbol. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

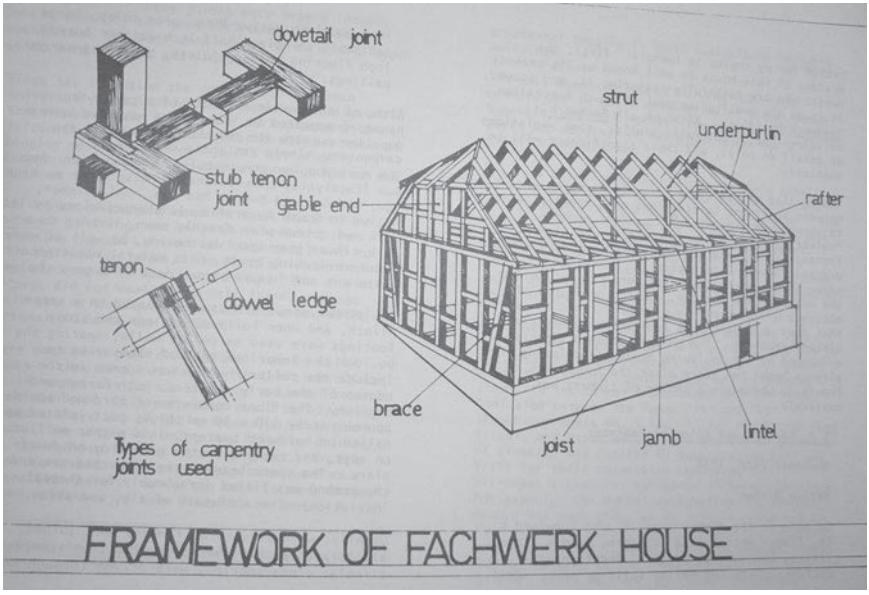
simulacra, such as in Bastakiya. Especially popular in Arab Gulf countries, they constitute an interesting part of the historic building conservation discourse today.

THE LAST RESORT: THE HERITAGE VILLAGE PHENOMENON

The term *heritage village* has no exact definition. It is used by the media to describe a range of sites varying from restored abandoned towns such as Colonial Williamsburg to open-air museums containing a collection of vernacular buildings unrelated to the site. Colonial Williamsburg, with more replicas than historic buildings, pioneered in the 1950s to 1960s the production of authentic replicas via archaeological interpretation of historic construction techniques.[41] In doing so, the simulacrum was elevated to the level of the historic original next to it and paved the way for experimental archaeology. Sites where original buildings are supported through simulacra and open-air museums with relocated buildings both have a claim to be regarded as specific forms of heritage conservation. There may be some truth in this, although in the case of open-air museums, "critics have likened it to putting buildings in a zoo."[42] A third form developed mainly in the 1960s to 1970s as a direct consequence of the popularisation of industrial archaeology in abandoned industrial settlements, following a social conservation

concept of stopping the emigration of the inhabitants. Recently some of these sites have gained World Heritage Site status—for example, the Welsh mining town of Blaenavon, which, suffering from constant demographic loss, was awarded World Heritage Site status in 2000.[43] Since that date, the increase in visitors has resulted in the return of its inhabitants to work in tourism-related jobs.[44] Notably, these communities are no longer working in the production but in the service sector, a typical effect of the postmodern age in Europe. Industrial production has moved mainly to Asia and Africa, with Europe returning its early industrial heritage to a tourism asset. Australia partially follows a similar pattern but concentrates on pioneer history and early settlers. Following the opening of Swan Hill Pioneer Settlement in 1964, the first museum village in Australia, most heritage villages have displayed the pioneer theme with assembled buildings, following the open-air museum concept; industrial villages such as Coal Creek Heritage Village in Korumburra, Victoria, are rare occurrences.[45] A new trend can be followed in the development of ethnic themed villages representing ethnic diaspora, such as the German village of Hahndorf and the Golden Dragon Chinese Precinct in Bendigo.[46] Established in 1839 by Lutheran religious refugees from Prussia, Hahndorf is Australia's oldest surviving German settlement. The first buildings in the village were originally constructed using traditional German timber framing techniques with wattle and daub infill panels (*Fachwerk*), later adapted to the Australian climate by using local solutions. Therefore, in many buildings, the evidence of the building's German origin is hidden behind the façade applied by later generations.[47] This causes disappointment to some visitors, as expressed by one who wrote on a website, "they say that you can still see the old German influences at Hahndorf, but I found it a bit of a disappointment that you cannot see it much."[48]

Today's visitors are so used to hyperrealist, simulated heritage villages that a properly designated area does not satisfy them anymore. Hahndorf is a state heritage area designated by the South Australian Heritage Act 1978–1980.[49] According to South Australian conservation legislation, a state heritage area is a clearly defined region with outstanding natural and cultural elements significant to South Australia's development and identity.[50] In this specific case, the significance relates to the town's German heritage within the context of Australian settlement history. Despite some changes made for the sake of tourism, such as Bavarian restaurants which bear no relation to the Prussian origins of the village, Hahndorf is a successful example of a heritage village that accepts change diachronically instead of freezing the asset in a specific period and avoids the transformation of a designated historic area into a theme park. It also provides a perfect example of community participation in historic preservation, starting with the establishment of the Hahndorf Branch of the National Trust of Southern Australia in 1976 to change the attitude of the planning authorities, who tried to convert the town into a "commercial area" and did not listen to the cultural arguments



Figures 5.4 and 5.5 Hahndorf, German heritage in South Australia. A successful example of how diachronical change in a heritage village can be reflected without freezing it in time and making it a theme park. Drawing Italo Vardaro, courtesy Hahndorf Business and Tourism Association.

of the Trust. The members of the Trust, according to Anni Luur Fox, were ahead of their time in wanting to conserve the streetscape and not just isolated grandiose monuments.[51] In this case, community involvement secured the application of a proper scientific approach to Hahndorf's heritage assets and emphasised once more the importance of public involvement in historic preservation, a topic discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. Fox reports that the Trust still acts as a control mechanism to ensure that Hahndorf is neither spoiled nor becomes a theme park—a hard job![52]

However, especially in countries which have erased their heritage and now regret it, the term *heritage village* usually means a completely simulated entity or simulated site where only small parts of the buildings are original and the rest has been reconstructed. This phenomenon is especially true among the Arab Gulf countries and their neighbours such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Abu Dhabi in United Arab Emirates, "where nothing has been left, except a single watchtower, as a testimony of the past," according to Mohamed Amin Mohamed from Cairo University, now offers a heritage village designed as a living history simulacrum exhibiting Bedouin nomadic traditions.[53] Perhaps Mohamed's comment on the loss of Abu Dhabi's heritage is slightly exaggerated, as the country also offers as historic attractions on its official website a 200-year-old fort, one historic palace and an archaeological garden.[54] However, on Trip Advisor's website, visitors complain that even some of these limited sites have been closed.[55] On the other hand, Abu Dhabi is trying vigorously to make up for these losses. Following archaeological discoveries made on the island Umm Al Nar, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan promoted archaeology, which led to the establishment of the Abu Dhabi Islands Archaeological Survey. Since 2006 the Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage (ADACH) has been in charge of all archaeological, cultural and historical project coordination.[56] ADACH contains two divisions—the Archaeology Division and the Historic Buildings Division—and has adopted an ambitious strategy with aims such as the establishment of a cultural heritage database and the integration of this database within a cultural heritage geographic information system (GIS).[57] ADACH has also introduced an "emergency conservation programme" through which surviving single historic houses in remote parts of the country are being protected with temporary wooden frames for structural support, as in the case of Abdullah bin Salem House in Qattarah Oasis.[58]

In the case of other Arab Gulf countries, the small emirate of Fujarah recently built a mud-brick village around its historic fort to entertain cruise visitors, and Dubai, which has the advantage of possessing the revitalised Bastakiya, still offers a heritage village to visitors. Hatta Village or Dubai Heritage Village is built on the original location of an old settlement as a "recreation of a traditional style mountain village set in an oasis"; the village is flanked by two historic towers, but everything else, including the

oasis, consists of simulated objects.[59] Sharjah, known as the cultural capital of the United Arab Emirates, started restoring Sharjah's old city, designated a Heritage Area, in the mid-1990s.[60] A major part, particularly the Arabic Calligraphy Square, has been built using interpreted historic reconstruction techniques similar to those used in Colonial Williamsburg. The interpretation has a strong emphasis on using the traditional materials of coral stone, gypsum, mangrove and palm leaves.[61] During the year, Sharjah Heritage Area hosts a number of reenactments presented as living heritage to attract visitors. According to Picton, the preservation and reinvention of Emirati heritage is an economic asset, "with many tourists drawn to the UAE not only for shopping and sunshine, but also the perceived exoticism of Arabian society and culture."[62]

Neighbours of the United Arab Emirates have also been actively building their own heritage villages in the last twenty years. The kingdom of Bahrain, which does not fully promote its unique Muharraq neighbourhood as a genuine heritage asset, takes pride instead in a heritage village built at the Bahrain National Museum. This simulated village is dedicated to the promotion of traditional crafts and support of artisans. Kuwait has recently built a heritage village on Falaika Island, a unique archaeological site with ruins of a prehistoric culture dating back to 3000 BC. When the island was invaded by Iraq during the Gulf War, its residents had to migrate to the mainland as Iraqi forces had mined its coast. Now the island has been cleared of mines and

Figure 5.6 Rijal Alma, a heritage village in Aseer, Saudi Arabia, is also being used as a national symbol by indicating an early urbanisation phase in the desert, contradicting Western theories of Middle Eastern nomadism. Image courtesy Aylin Orbaşlı.

opened to tourists. Tourism agencies are now promoting Falaika Heritage Village as the "only truly heritage village in Kuwait."[63] Kuwait has a number of genuine and carefully preserved heritage assets (see Chapter 4), so the necessity of a simulated "true heritage village" can only be explained through the tourism industry's preference for simulacra. As we have seen in the case of Hahndorf in Australia, tourists may be disappointed if they do not see a perfect simulacrum, which they prefer nowadays to the real object. In addition to the heritage village, the island also has a "Heritage Beach," which offers tourists jet skis, water skis and banana rides.[64] It also should be noted that Falaika Heritage Village contains a restored palace, the palace of Sheikh Abdullah al Salem al Sabah, a previous ruler of Kuwait from the ruling Sabah family, so the restoration of his palace emphasises Kuwait's national identity on the island. Another country promoting heritage villages is Saudi Arabia, and the country has decided to invest in tourism. In July 2006, five heritage

Figure 5.7

villages were identified to be built in different parts of the kingdom as part of the country's tourism promotion strategy. It was prescribed that they should look like "traditional old Arabian townships featuring regional architecture, craft, costume and cuisine."[65] In addition to these governmental projects is private enterprise such as the Dammam Heritage Village, a five-storey building with themed rooms representing different regions of Saudi Arabia.[66] With Dammam's geographical location on the cruise route, the owner probably developed this concept to attract cruise tourists to Dammam.

Conversely, there are interesting heritage village projects in the region promoting authenticity in regard to both building stock and residents. Saudi

Figures 5.7 and 5.8 Lawatiya quarter in Muscat, Oman, is a good example of how residential areas in historic towns can be separated from tourist areas, providing social sustainability and protecting the original residential function of the district. Images courtesy of Ackey Chrysovulos.

Arabia also promotes the conservation of authentic historic villages. The Rijal Alma project is a heritage village with authentic houses in which local residents have initiated rehabilitation work and thus provides a community participation example in historic preservation. The village, located in Aseer province, won the Prince Sultan bin Salman Prize for Preservation of Urban Heritage in 2006. HRH Prince Sultan bin Salman is the president of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities and a political figure in the Arab world famous for promoting heritage tourism and building conservation. According to the prince, heritage villages and towns are not only economic assets but also "vivid locations in which the present youth could live side by side with this national history."[67] The houses of Rijal Alma are reminiscent of the Yemeni vernacular tradition in mountain villages; however, they also display particular Saudi characteristics such as non-ornate, minimalist façades, in accordance with the religious tradition of the country, and thus provide a unique heritage asset for the country's tangible and intangible heritage.

Another country with a totally different approach to simulated history space is Oman. In Muscat, the renovated Lawatiya quarter presents a very interesting approach to heritage tourism with its planning concept separating the hyperreal tourist space from local private space. According to El Amrousi and Biln, in this case, the municipal government has managed to convince local families to return to their restored residences to "incorporate pre-restoration social traditions."[68] The main gates of the residential quarter, following an old Arab tradition, the gates which Napoleon had demolished in (and perhaps removed from) Cairo, now control in Muscat the boundaries between the front space for tourist consumption and the private space for residential purposes.

With the exception of South America, where the heritage village phenomenon, particularly the simulacra concept, is nearly absent, heritage villages serve in a number of countries not only to simulate lost built heritage but also lost or neglected intangible heritage. Sometimes hyperreality designed to satisfy tourist assumptions reaches superreal forms, as in the Maori cultural village outside Christchurch in New Zealand, which offers its visitors a "delicious Maori buffet dinner."[69] In Asia, a country that presents different forms of heritage villages and sometimes mixed concepts is India. For example, Hasta Shilpa heritage village at Manipal, a university town in India's Karnataka state, is an open-air museum with predominantly relocated buildings; however, it also contains built heritage items in situ and full reconstructions of lost buildings. Another part of the world busily constructing heritage villages is Africa. African countries in the post-colonial and post-apartheid era use heritage villages not only as economic assets but also as objects to help reconstruct their national identity and lost history. Beth Hayward put forward, through her case studies in South Africa, two themes which dominated these constructed historic environments: tribalism and primitivism, both supporting the Western tourist imagery "of a

mysterious, primitive locale" as a market product.[70] She contended that Lesedi near Johannesburg and Dumazulu in Kwazulu-Natal Province incorporated representations of timeless African beehive huts with various tribal decorations. She cited Shakaland, where a cultural village was based directly on a film set for *Shaka Zulu*, a 1987 television miniseries released later as a feature film.[71] However, it should be remembered that mud huts do not solely represent South Africa's pre-apartheid heritage. They showcased a vernacular tradition, helping to accentuate the duality of the grim apartheid heritage consisting of prisons, captivity islands and farmsteads as products of slave labour as presented in Chapter 3. In the case of some other African countries, we see a trend of searching for the archaeology of pre-colonial towns, not consisting of mud huts but stone palaces and well-constructed large earthen or stone houses which are no different from their contemporary European counterparts. To emphasise the difference between the mud hut and stone town, there is now a trend to construct hyperreal vernacular heritage villages next to those ruins neglected by European colonisers. Ndoro and Pwiti give an example of a simulated Shona village by the Great Zimbabwe ruins as a model of nineteenth-century life in the country.[72] The authors considered that including this village in a World Heritage Site such as the Great Zimbabwe ruins was misleading, especially because the personnel dressed in Western-style clothing and used modern tools in craft manufacturing presentations, which have negatively affected the value of the World Heritage Site. This simulation again emphasises the African desire to showcase the difference between the African historic stone town and the mud village. There is an emerging pattern in the African heritage discourse that is reflected in the veneration of stone constructions; a distinctive choice of a cultural representation, which sometimes accompanies redefining lost national identities.

CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS AND HISTORIC BUILDING CONSERVATION

With the rising importance of heritage tourism as an industry, decision makers in the building conservation sector are becoming influenced more and more by the cultural representation choices of their countries. This emerging pattern is especially visible in Africa, as reflected in the veneration of stone buildings and towns such as in the case of the Zanzibar Stone Town Project. The veneration of stone even occurs in Zimbabwe's name, which derives from a term meaning "stone houses" (see Chapter 4). In Kenya, Lamu Old Town is referred to by tourism and letting agencies as Lamu Stone Town to distinguish Lamu's coral stone houses from the mud-and-wattle houses of the later built surrounding area.[73] Stone holds special importance for Africa as a reaction to colonial theories that diminished Africa as a primitive, early agricultural society devoid of urban culture.[74] Stone constructions

Figure 5.9 Great Zimbabwe Ruins. Courtesy of Peter Howard, www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites/Peter.

were regarded by European colonial rulers as a sign of high-level civilisation, built by "more civilised races than Africans" and have therefore often been associated with biblical origins in Mesopotamia or the culture of Arab settlers from the Gulf region.[75] For example, an article written in 1952 discussed an assertion linking the origins of Ghana and the ancient Mesopotamian Akan Kingdom and, like most publications of the time, investigated urbanisation patterns in the context of the discovery of "a great town with buildings in stone."[76] The emphasis on stone in terms of the Mesopotamian connection is quite contradictory, as most of the Mesopotamian ancient empires used clay tiles in their monumental buildings, not stone. Of course, stone also implies wealth, especially in Europe; timber-framed houses were often enhanced with stone façades. This European value assessment was transposed to Africa through colonial administrators. Portuguese writers

associated the Great Zimbabwe Ruins, a major stone town site in Africa, with exotic origins from Egypt, Phoenicia or elsewhere and declared the stone relics to be King Solomon's gold mines. The latter is a view in favour of the African origins of the site, albeit connected to Jerusalem through Queen Sheba, a view still defended today by local tradition.[77] McGregor reflected, in her research about Zimbabwe's lesser-known stone heritage sites, that "despite repeated rejection by professional archaeologists from 1905 in favour of interpretations of the 'essentially African' origin of the ruins," colonial rulers continued to support early theories defending the non-African origins of the ruins.[78]

Interestingly, this discussion is still going on, although African heritage preservation authorities contest these colonially inherited ideas with their support in research and conservation directed at stone towns. On YouTube, a discussion between an author, probably from the Indian subcontinent, and another defending the significance of Great Zimbabwe, revealed that African heritage is still being assessed through its building materials. The first author argued that Great Zimbabwe consists of "just some mud buildings" and the site should not be called Great Zimbabwe, because it is "mediocre Zimbabwe, . . . sadly not a great achievement" and continued that if mud buildings could define greatness, "Harappa in Pakistan should be called 'Great Harappa.'"[79] The second author, defending Great Zimbabwe, emphasised the stone quality of the site: "I don't know where you get the mud houses from, it was built from stone (no mortar); it is the only building of this size ever to be built in the world with no use of mortar."[80]

This controversial platform has politicised current research and conservation strategies. According to Chirikure and Pikirayi, post-1980 research has suffered from a selective conservation moratorium in favour of dry stone walls and earthen structures.[81] While earthen structures symbolise the earliness of African urbanised civilisation—because they are, in most cases, city walls of pre-colonial urban settlements, such Oyo-Ile in Nigeria—the favouring of stone walls constructs a post-colonial answer to colonial civilisation theories. These selective conservation strategies are also reflected in international research outputs. For example, an unpublished UNESCO research report about Great Zimbabwe and Khami monuments stated that both contained stone walls and *daga* structures.[82] However, only the stone walls were chosen as the subject of the report, which first discussed issues such as construction materials, working methods, stability and weathering, suggesting conservation strategies and photogrammetric survey methods, with proposals for immediate, short-term and long-term action. On the other hand, these measures sometimes clash with local traditions, as the management of archaeological sites usually occurs without the involvement of the indigenous local population.[83] In the region surrounding the Great Zimbabwe ruins, a negative collective memory still associates today's archaeological work with the early "desecration" of their holy sites. While the memory of the destruction of ancestral heritage by European colonial

researchers of the nineteenth century has resulted in a sceptical view of current conservation activity, the appropriation of the site for tourists causes further disruption for the local population.[84] The example of the Great Zimbabwe ruins shows us that the conservation of stone buildings in Africa is an effective tool of cultural representation in the age of global tourism; however, it brings new challenges for conservation authorities and heritage managers.

A very good example of the representation of national identity in the area of urban conservation can be followed in the case of the restoration and conservation of Dir'iyyah in Saudi Arabia. The ruined city of Dir'iyyah has been described by William Facey as the "chief archaeological symbol of Saudi Arabian nationhood."[85] It is where the Wahabi religious movement, which shapes the present-day Saudi Arabia approach to governance, began as a state philosophy. The religiopolitical act between Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abd al Wahab, founder of the Wahabi sect, and the then ruler of Dir'iyah and founder of the Saudi dynasty, Mohammed Ibn Saud, affects today's conservation philosophies in Saudi Arabia, as we see by the importance attached to the restoration of Dir'iyyah. It also presents us with another case of stone veneration. Facey's emphasis on the uniqueness of Turayf, the citadel of Dir'iyyah, is based on the amount of stone used in its construction and probably reflects also the official view of the Saudi conservation authorities. According to Facey, unlike other towns in the region, Dir'iyyah is notable for the use of local limestone to construct whole walls instead of stone being used only for the construction of foundations, as elsewhere.[86] Saudi Arabia is directing more and more research towards conservation projects dealing with the historic use of stone in the country, as we see in Aylin Orbaşlı's article about the conservation of the coral stone buildings in Saudi Arabia's northern Red Sea coast.[87]

Another emerging trend in the historic building conservation discourse linked to national cultural representation can be seen the importance attached to vernacular practices and local crafts. Research at the national and international level focusing on conservation techniques seeks more partnerships with indigenous peoples and practices, as we have seen with Trevor Marchand's research in Mali and Yemen (see Chapter 2). This trend began with the conservation of natural sites, as identified by Stevens in the 1990s, later also adopted by building conservationists.[88] In the case of Dir'iyyah, research focused on locating the master mason's house in Turayf so that his name and craftsmanship could be commemorated within the Saudi national context. Similarly in India in the Sevagram Ashram Complex in Wardha, where Mahatma Gandhi had lived during his mature years, a few of Gandhi's followers have kept the mud floor tradition alive, periodically reviving the top layer of the floor with new mud paste, using like for like material.[89] Mud in India is considered a renewable material and cannot be treated like other renders, which can be preserved and consolidated. Moreover, living in mud houses is considered a social stigma of the poor, so the tradition is

Figure 5.10 Sevagram Ashram Complex in Wardha, India, where Mahatma Gandhi lived during his mature years. It has been preserved thanks to the efforts of the community, and now the conservation architect Vikas Dilawari has developed a proposal based on reviving mud flooring and country tile roofing using bamboo matt traditions with the help of residents; it is a project in pipeline where the philosophy proposed is to follow the process rather than product. Image courtesy Vikas Dilawari.

dying. Conservation architect Vikas Dilawari therefore proposed a project when he observed the old residents in the Ashram to document their practices and revive them with their participation.[90] According to Dilawari, further practices include *rangoli*, traditional Indian stencil painting on door thresholds using a natural dry powder to keep ants away from the house, and a practice used by Gandhi of putting stone pebbles in the surrounding open space to prevent snakes from coming near the house, which works excellently.[91]

Sometimes countries also try to emphasise, as part of their cultural policy, that traditional repair techniques do not clash with contemporary conservation philosophy and practice. For example, an article about the conservation of Chinese timber structures emphasised that contemporary timber conservation techniques have been part of the Chinese tradition and do not clash with international philosophies.[92] The article discussed the concept of minimum intervention by comparing it with the Chinese tradition of seasonal repairs applied to timber structures, found in the China Principles, the current Chinese Conservation Charter (see Chapter 2). In other cases, a

selective listing strategy may be accompanied by a preferred choice of materials. As Amit-Cohen showed in Tel Aviv, the municipal authority in charge of listing gave a clear preference for buildings representing the International Style, emphasising the progressive status of the city.[93] With the least-preferred period being the Ottoman, the modernity of 1930s Tel Aviv competing with contemporary European towns was also underlined through the choice of white, the colour of modernity.

Cultural representation policies may also adjust in parallel to changes in the international building conservation discourse. Sampaio, who divided the time between the 1980s and 2000s into two periods by attaching postmodernism to the 1980s and globalism to the 1990s, saw this divide as the cause of changing conservation attitudes in her case study of São Cristovão in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. According to Sampaio, while the postmodernism of the 1980s encompassed a memory cult in the conservation discourse as a reaction to modernism, the globalisation model of the 1990s focused on "opportunities of economical rehabilitation."[94] This may be true for Brazil; however, as we have seen previously in this chapter in other parts of the world, postmodernism and globalism affect the heritage preservation sector simultaneously. This article also referred to the industrialisation of this formerly wealthy residential area at the end of the nineteenth century. Although it is not very clear from the article whether any of these early industrial buildings were preserved, a social landmark symbolising modernity that was associated with this later development, the modernist proletarian housing project by Reidy dating back to 1947, was listed in 1985.[95] The appreciation of industrial heritage, early workers' villages and social housing projects has developed alongside a growing interest in the history of the less glamorous social classes. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, some industrial towns such as Blaenavon have meanwhile gained World Heritage Site status.

LOST AND FOUND: INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

> Cities do not only consist of churches and noble palaces.[96]

The four historical gasometers in Vienna, built between 1886 and 1899, which became obsolete from the 1970s, were planned in 1995 for residential purposes. Four planners submitted proposals for the reuse of these listed buildings. The importance attached to this industrial heritage in Vienna is obvious from their choice of architects, whose names included the most celebrated architects of our era, such as Jean Nouvel, Wilhelm Holzbauer and the Coop Himmelb(l)au. One is Manfred Wehdorn, a renowned architect and professor at the Technical University of Vienna, whose quotation opens this section. It was Manfred Wehdorn who introduced the author, as a young architect visiting Vienna for the first time in the early 1980s, to the term *industrial archaeology*.

Marilyn Palmer contended that industrial archaeology has not one but two main meanings: one matching the classical description of the discipline of archaeology as the interpretation of the surviving physical evidence to understand post-human activity and the other an attempt to ensure the survival of industrial monuments of the past for future generations.[97] The latter was described by Palmer as a preservation movement, and she also thought

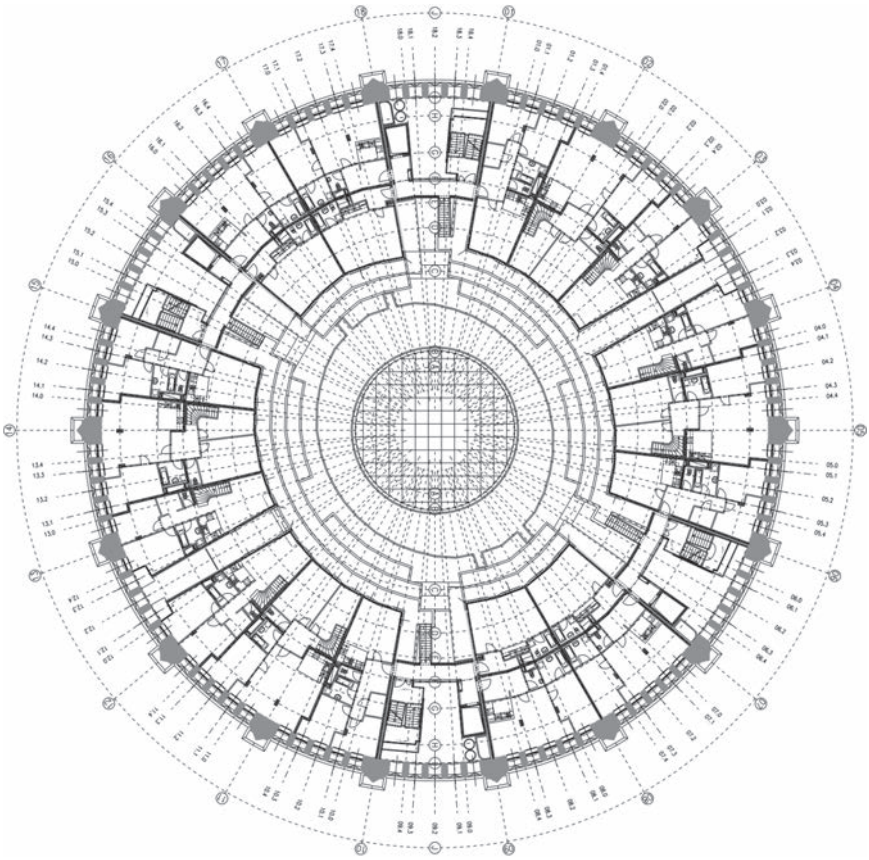


Figure 5.11 The gasworks were built by the City of Vienna between 1896 and 1899, the largest in the European continent at that time. The project was based on a study by the architect and restorer Manfred Wehdorn conducted from 1989, planned in accordance with a proposed world exhibition in Vienna and Budapest, which did not occur. Seven years later, the city of Vienna decided to revitalise the gasworks by converting them into residential units. After a two-phase competition, the firm of Manfred Wehdorn and Wilhelm Holzbauer was chosen as one of the three firms awarded the project. Wehdorn approached the design by introducing three main principles for this conversion: clear order of new functions, creation of the highest possible living quality and use of simple architectural language. Information and image courtesy Manfred Wehdorn.

Figure 5.12 Azerbaijan's national pride: Oil company building in Baku. Hand-drawing by Manfred Wehdorn, courtesy Manfred Wehdorn.

that in some countries such as Britain the two meanings are still considered as synonymous. She sees this as a problem, which was not important in the 1950s and 1960s, but today industrial archaeology should be accepted as a separate discipline and distinguished from industrial heritage, which Palmer attaches to the second meaning of the term. Palmer's quest presents an example of a typical struggle of Western civilisation to find an exact definition for each discipline, most of which goes back to the Enlightenment. Does archaeology in its broader meaning not preserve heritage, and are not the buildings valued as archaeological heritage being conserved? Both Wehdorn and the author believe strongly in the importance of industrial heritage being understood as part of the contemporary preservation movement to embrace all built heritage assets together, instead of trying to separate them more and more from each other.[98] Actually a much more complex issue is

behind this evolving discussion about developing separate criteria for the preservation of modern heritage, which also includes industrial heritage. In a conference in 2006, Simon Thurley, chief executive of English Heritage, pointed out the dangers of isolating the preservation of modern heritage as a separate discipline. Thurley affirmed that modernist buildings present special problems to conservationists, such as their construction materials often being examples of mass production, replaced several times during their life span, which challenges the application of authenticity and originality criteria.[99] Should we develop separate principles for the preservation of modern heritage, "the boundaries of which are constantly moving forward with the dividing line between modern and contemporary constantly blurred"?[100] Such a separation would lead to negative or positive discrimination. Instead, we need to redefine and expand the criteria of the current conservation discourse with special emphasis on confronting values and significance criteria by accepting that "meaning lies not only in the physical substance of the building, but also in its ideas," as defined by Canziani.[101] In agreement with Wehdorn and Jenkins:

> conservation principles, our value-based tool, where used properly in the planning process, can lead us to make sound and beneficial judgements for the future, not only about castles and abbeys but also about Crystal Palace Sports Centre and Geoffrey Chaucer School.[102]

This volume defends the view that there should be no precise boundaries between disciplines as part of the current preservation discourse, as we have seen in the case of industrial archaeology; instead, there are a number of overlapping areas from which interdisciplinary projects can develop under certain circumstances.

One would expect conservation industrial heritage to have begun in early industrialised countries. Indeed, in the 1930s early modernists such as Le Corbusier defended the preservation of industrial heritage (see Chapter 4). However, in the urban revival craze of the 1970s, several industrial buildings were sacrificed synchronically with the development of strategies to ensure their survival. Even eminent architectural historians of the period such as Robert Furneaux-Jordan, who appreciated industrial heritage, did not defend their conservation; rather, they dismissed these buildings as romanticised structures replacing the harsh reality of the bygone Victorian era.[103] It is no wonder that in this atmosphere even railway buildings, the most popular assets of industrial heritage, with large numbers of railway enthusiasts trying to save them, have been demolished and replaced with new buildings. The demolition of Euston Station is a good example, and Grand Central Station in New York was barely saved thanks to the efforts of prominent defenders such as Jacqueline Kennedy (see Chapter 3). It is interesting to note here that Grand Central Station had been designated in 1967 as a landmark to be protected by law, but this status was overturned

in 1975 by the New York Supreme Court, which testifies to changes within the industrial buildings preservation discourse during the 1970s.[104] Therefore, the revival of the preservation philosophy, introduced earlier by the modernists, occurred more or less in parallel with the internationalisation of historic preservation guidelines. Today the value of industrial heritage has been appreciated by a wider public, so that institutions such as E-FAITH, the European Federation of Associations of Industrial and Technical Heritage, promotes cooperation between volunteer associations campaigning for the preservation of industrial buildings and objects.[105] This type of public enthusiasm is not only limited to postindustrial countries—especially those where economic revival followed oil revenues, and early oil industry buildings and artefacts became matters of national pride. In addition to countries such as Azerbaijan (see Wehdorn's sketch in Image 5.9) and Iran, the symbolism of oil led to the conservation of this special heritage in a number of Arab countries. While Bahrain decorated its first oil wells with symbols, in the case of Oil Well 239 with a hoopoe, both Bahrain and Kuwait and most Arab Gulf States show pride through their oil museums.

The process of revaluing industrial heritage in a global context can best be followed through railway buildings, for which the railway heritage of India provides a good case study. R. R. Bhandari, in his article about the architectural heritage of Indian railways, gives an idea of the wealth of assets in this context, ranging from simple train stations to whole cities such as Jamalpur, Freelandgnaj and many others founded entirely by railway companies.[106] Although in India heritage preservation legislation and related management strategies and conservation practices differ from state to state (see Chapter 3), with railways they are centralised, as most sites belong to Central Railways (CR) of India. This central institution, in charge of the running and maintenance of Indian railways—a mammoth task—is also the main stakeholder of India's railway heritage assets. Starting from the 1980s, initiated by discussions about the role of railway buildings in India's industrial heritage by national and international conservation experts, CR began to relieve the pressure on historic railway stations. In 1997, ACC Heritage Cell was commissioned to reduce pedestrian pressure on Chhatrapati Shivaji (formerly Victoria) Terminus.[107] Consequently, pedestrian access was moved underground and the entrance to this underground passage was marked with a "minimal-fibreglass domed structure, subject to much controversy."[108] Built during 1878 to 1888 by British architect Frederick William Stevens, the central station building of Chhatrapati Shivaji is one of the most cherished heritage assets in Mumbai and, since 2004, a World Heritage Site, which explains the public exposure of this building.[109] World Heritage Site designation created another difficult stage in the building's conservation history; the application was first rejected in 2002, followed by a conservation project to remove *paan* stains from its columns, and the debris and hoardings that obstructed its façade.[110] This is a good example of international conservation principles clashing with local cultural traditions; should

the Indian conservation authorities restrict the use of the popular material *paan*, which is so valuable in most parts of Asia that it is even included in wedding gifts, for the sake of the "cleanliness" of one of their World Heritage Site assets in public use? There is no simple answer to this question. However, the situation reminds the author of a current discussion fuelled by Danish authorities who banned traditional British Marmite, because its production process does not comply with Danish food regulations and may lead to unilateral European Union action, Denmark being part of the EU.[111]

The transnational character of colonial industrial heritage is another interesting aspect of a postmodern conservation discourse which attaches more and more importance to documentary evidence to conserve modern and contemporary heritage. This would provide physical evidence and avoid problems arising from the shortcomings of current conservation principles already discussed in this section. Recently some Australian websites have discussed whether the plans of this building had been swapped by mistake with Melbourne's Flinders Street Station, an idea rightly dismissed by Mumbai experts, as the architect Stevens spent most of his life in Mumbai in situ, where his original drawings are preserved.[112]

On the other hand, this discussion is another sign of the growing popularisation of industrial heritage in a transnational context. The enthusiasts of railway heritage in Europe have established nongovernmental organisations to visit, protect and maintain historic railways in former colonies and protectorates of their respective countries in cooperation with post-colonial, national governments. For example, the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Society was formed in 1997 in London to demonstrate both international and national concern in India about plans to close the historic Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in the early 1990s. This led directly to the railway being inscribed by UNESCO in 1999 as a World Heritage Site. Today, with over 860 members in twenty-two countries, this nongovernmental organisation provides historical articles and practical information for all supporters, tourists and local users.[113] The work of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Society and the surrounding conservation discourse will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Railway heritage enthusiasm is not a recent phenomenon. Songs, stories, films, magazines, clubs, children's toys and children's books have created a special social group since the invention of the steam locomotive, sharing a global interest, although Ian Carter regarded this engagement with railway heritage as being particularly British.[114] Carter dated it from the selling of model locomotives at the start of the twentieth century, followed soon after by the establishment of steam preservation groups. On the other hand, Martin Cooper's published PhD thesis, *Brazilian Railway Culture*, revealed that steam preservation enthusiasm was not limited to Britain.[115] With a rising interest in genealogy in recent years, steam heritage in the transnational context has become personalised. Michael Jacobs, who set off to follow in the footsteps of his grandfather, a railway engineer who had worked in

Chile and Bolivia, explains that he wanted "to know more about the legacy of Western engineers" in these two countries, "to see what had become of the railway line on which so many of his grandfather's physical and mental energies have been spent."[116] The fact that Jacobs's research was supported by railway companies and enthusiasts in both countries provides further evidence that interest in railway heritage is a global phenomenon.

Another area of industrial heritage subject to growing popularisation is mines and mining towns. Similar to steam heritage, most colonial mining towns and mines focus on tourism. One aspect of the discourse which most colonial and non-colonial narratives share is a critical assessment of international capitalism as a force absorbing native "labour and natural resources" for the profit of a few.[117] A website about the Kimberley Mine Museum in South Africa, an open-air complex with the world's "largest man made hole" in its centre, known as Big Hole, states that the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and later gold in 1886 attracted colonists who "because of their superior technology were able to lock the indigenous population into the role of labourers."[118] In addition to machinery and engineering knowledge, one of the imported items in Kimberley was a prefabricated construction imported from England in 1877 to be used as a house, increasing the transnational significance of the site within the context of the history of industrial architecture.[119] The number of surviving prefabricated buildings transported to the colonies is very low. In other, mostly non-colonial, mining theme parks such as Dawson in Canada, "the lure of gold the fascination with wealth" is used as a theme to attract tourists.[120] Although the main gold dredging activity has stopped, placer mining looking for alluvial deposits in old streambeds is still a small industry in the region, establishing an additional asset. Parks Canada has been active in the restoration and preservation of the remains of the original mining camp as part of an ongoing project in the Dawson Mining District.

Among historic mines, the case of Potosi in Bolivia is quite unique. Silver production, which goes back to the sixteenth century, produced through the labour of indigenous people forced by the Spanish colonial forces to perform "18 months of labour in the mines every seven years," declined during the nineteenth century; however, mines still operate near the city.[121] Moreover, most of Potosi's mines are now run by the miners themselves, who have leased the mines from the state and formed cooperatives. It is these miners, most of them descendants of the indigenous Quechua miners who laboured in the mines from the sixteenth century onwards, who organise and run mine tours for tourists. So Potosi offers heritage tourists a mixture of past and present, a truly authentic experience supported by intangible heritage, such as family history and collective memory, although the concept also involves a little "staged authenticity."[122] This staged authenticity has different levels. When Michael Jacobs, following the railway track built by his grandfather, expressed a desire to visit one of the partly working old

mines near Potosi, he was advised by the director of the local conservation organisation, Proytecto de Ruceparatión de sus Áreas Históricas, to avoid them and was instead offered a more accessible modern mine.[123]

On the other hand, preservation of old mines involves a number of risk factors. Jacobs's guide, one of the old miners of the cooperative, prophesied that Potosi's mine Cerro Rico, with its irregular pattern of horizontal and vertical shafts, would collapse onto the city. According to Michael Heitfeld, rehabilitation or reuse of abandoned mining sites has special risks such as rock falls, unknown underground openings and ground subsidence and involves specialist expertise. One important aspect is the interpretation of old maps and their transformation into a modern coordinated system to assess possible risks with GIS-based maps.[124] As readers may remember, one of the problems faced during the rescue operation at the mining accident in San José Mine near Copiapó, Chile, on August 5, 2010, where thirty-three men were trapped for sixty-nine days, was the inadequacy of the outdated mine shaft maps, which makes Heitfeld's work very important.[125] Currently Heitfeld and his group are developing a method for estimating the maximum size of possible collapse features.

Bolivia stands out in conservation history as one of the oldest examples of the conservation of industrial heritage. In 1939 the Bolivian government commissioned the architect Mario J. Buschiazzo (1902–1970), a pioneer of restoration and conservation of historic buildings throughout the Americas, to restore the Potosi Mint House.[126] The government at that time clearly had pride in Bolivia's mining heritage. However, currently, this interest seems to have shifted to the pre-Hispanic identity of Cerro Rico as a sacred mountain of the indigenous population. Pascala Absi and Pablo Cruz argue that this behaviour represents denial of the march of imperial capitalism aiming to rewrite the history of the country. When Potosi gained the status of a World Heritage Site in 1987 due to the significance of the colonial and industrial heritage of the city, the Bolivian government extended the heritage status to the hill itself by declaring it a national monument. Finally, in 2000 UNESCO agreed to give the mountain the title of Messenger of Peace, with the result that the emphasis has now moved from colonial industrial heritage to pre-colonial religious heritage. Bolivia's approach in this case is similar to Argentina's approach towards the Quebrada de Humahuaca valley. In the World Heritage Site nomination document, the Argentinean government attached special emphasis to pre-Hispanic and pre-Incan settlements and defined the historic and working mines as "some few extractive industries." Absi and Cruz discuss the uncomfortable position of the miners, "between the hammer and heritage" regarding the site in Potosi, and point out social and economical problems occurring as a result of giving a working mining area heritage status.[127] Time will show whether the cultural tourism industry will become strong enough to provide sufficient income for the local population.

CASE FILE: AUSTRALIA IN ASIA

As the discussion about the origins of the Chhatrapati Shivaji (formerly Victoria) Terminus in Mumbai and Flinders Street Station in Melbourne highlighted, both tangible and intangible links bind Asia with Australia through shared colonial heritage. This relationship is not only focused on the Asia-Pacific region, usually connected through East Asia, Southeast Asia and Australia; it also extends to other Asian countries, as we saw in Mumbai. Debates have evolved mainly around the reciprocal influences of both continents, based on attempts to develop, through a new joint colonial or provincial architecture, a spiritual and cultural unity, as argued by Hardy Wilson in the first decade of the twentieth century.[128] This unifying framework still exists in recent architectural self-criticism characterised through mentioning developments in Asia and Australia in the same context:

> Asian and Australian cities have often been the repository of "one-off" landmarks by "brand" architects, many of whom have cynically recycled the designs that made their name in their homelands.[129]

This joint bicontinental framework is further enriched through research in interior design, as reflected in Jessie Serle's article, "Asian and Pacific Influences in Australian Domestic Interiors 1788–1914," which provided more material for a joint cultural background.[130] The strongest links between Australia and Asia, however, have arisen within the field of heritage preservation and historic building conservation, in particular since the mid-1980s. Since Miles Lewis and Susan Balderstone, two pioneers of the new conservation movement in Australia, participated in the Tianjin Urban Conservation Study in China in 1991–1994, Australia has become a driving force as a catalyser of conservation movements in the Asia-Pacific region, if not earlier.[131] In 1996, with the support of the Australian government, a group of Australian heritage professionals set up AusHeritage, a network to facilitate Australia's heritage and conservation services internationally in the overseas arena. Although members of AusHeritage have since been engaged in other continents, most of their enterprises have been and still are related to Asian heritage. In July 2011, Indonesian conservation experts and Ministry of Culture and Tourism representatives attended a study tour in Australia facilitated by AusHeritage on benchmarking conservation management and methodologies in Australia. On April 18, 2011, Australian and Malaysian heritage organisations signed a memorandum of understanding for cooperation in cultural heritage. A second set of forums and workshops took place in Penang, Malaysia, as part of a series of four. Last but not least, AusHeritage offered assistance to a project related to the conservation of the memorial house of the late Indian politician Kumarasami Kamaraj in T. P. Road in T. Nagar, Chennai.[132]

The Kamaraj Memorial House also provides a very good example of the connection between heritage tourism and conservation projects. The house appears on the websites of local tour operators such as Tourism Chennai, with the agency promoting how the poverty-stricken minister managed to climb the social ladder and complete his education privately, as witnessed by the number of the books in the house.[133] This is a case of a national pride asset being turned into commercial value through heritage tourism. This postmodern phase of heritage tourism has had an effect on conservation projects on a global scale. Irrespective of local and national policies, more and more countries have started to see urban conservation as a magical means of supporting their fragile economies and responding to the needs of the eager global tourist in seeking new places. In some cases, dependence on international tour operators and commercial funding sources leads to manipulative intervention in heritage tourism strategies and causes unequal distribution of the tourism income to conservation areas and World Heritage Sites. For example, in Malaysia in the late 1990s, American Express, which sponsored the development of heritage trails in Melaka and Georgetown, took part in decision mechanisms locating interpretive signage and content of printed materials. The engagement of the company has resulted in the development of the private sector and an increase in the income of residents living on the chosen routes. As current research shows, it has caused disappointment and in some cases resentment among families left off the route, who live within the area managed by the World Heritage Site Management Plan, who are subject to the restrictions but not the benefits.[134] This case shows that it is essential for local and regional governments to cooperate with each other and with the central government to develop effective and inclusive heritage management strategies based on local resident participation to avoid conflicts caused by the tourism economy.

Postwar Asian countries provide typical case studies for this trend of rediscovering their historic town centres. For example, Doi Moi, the 1990s renovation policy in Vietnam (see Chapter 3), affected the revitalisation of Hanoi's Ancient Quarter, which was subject to a sudden boom and building activity following a period of stagnation. The introduction of a pluralistic market economy led to a revival of retail commerce in the historic building quarter, consisting mainly of "tunnel" or "tube" houses with narrow fronts and deep interiors; their masonry façades bearing typically European decorative features.[135] The irregular pattern of the streets dates back to the medieval period, with trade streets specialising in a particular craft still reflected in the spatial concentration of certain goods in certain streets and street names.[136] This structure, where rural migrants from the same region organised themselves in guild streets, is similar to guild streets in medieval Europe, as Waibel emphasises, but also to market and housing areas in the Middle East such as Cairo.[137] In both Hanoi and Cairo, the street gates separating these districts were dismantled by the French, who became irritated by the strong ethnic and often tribal character of these entities, which also

reflected an aspect of autonomy, with streets having gates shut at night.[138] While the Hanoi quarter lost its autonomy under French central administration, ethnically it became more diverse through Chinese immigration.[139] The following century was mostly characterised by a period of war, poverty and displacement, in which the Ancient Quarter was saved, unaffected by the building boom sweeping over the post–World War II world. On the other hand, lack of funding resulted in the rapid deterioration of the historic building stock and infrastructure.[140] In 1990 UNESCO started, in cooperation with the Vietnamese planners at the National Institute for Rural and Urban Planning (NIURP), the Vietnamese Ministry of Construction and the Australian Embassy, a long-term rescue project in which William Logan (see Chapter 2) acted as the first UNESCO consultant to work on Hanoi Ancient Quarter.[141]

Figures 5.13 and 5.14 Melaka Heritage Trail, Malaysia. These images reflect the country's diverse heritage on a heritage trail where all the communities are represented. If the signage problems mentioned in the text could be overcome and a more participative inclusion of the residents ensured, it would become a successful and positive example for similar heritage trails in the region. Images courtesy Mohamed Hafizal, PhD candidate, University of Portsmouth.

Logan is one of the foremost Australian experts working on Asian heritage management. Before his work in Vietnam, he was involved in UNESCO's 1986 Bangladesh Campaign to save the Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur and the Mosque Complex at Bagarhat, followed by work on the Sri Lanka and the Kathmadu Valley campaigns. In the 1990s, he set up an interdisciplinary Heritage in Asia Research Group at Deakin University, which became the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and Pacific, with other scholars such as Colin Long and Andrea Witcomb who were involved in Asia-related research and consultancy projects. Later Logan continued his work for UNESCO by updating the Moendajaro (Pakistan) Master Plan, organising training workshops for Pacific Island heritage site managers, giving advice on cultural heritage to the Vietnamese Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism regarding the 2009 Revision of Cultural Heritage Law and the Decree 2001 and running workshops for UNESCO's Hanoi Office. His most recent work includes UNESCO and ICOMOS missions to Hué (Vietnam), Luang Prabang (Laos) and Lijiang (China). Logan's work in updating master plans, running workshops for World Heritage Site managers and helping to revise national preservation laws is especially valuable, because it has provided solutions to problems such as language barriers, jargon issues and the lack of management skills mentioned in Chapter 2.

The Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and Pacific, chaired by Andrea Witcomb, has the mission of supporting the region's cultural heritage by raising awareness of global threats such as rapid urbanisation and economic and cultural globalisation. A typical example of the latter issue we saw in problems caused by American Express and signage problems in Melaka's Heritage Trails in Malaysia. One of the important outcomes of the work of the Deakin University's Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and Pacific is their contribution to the preservation and conservation of the region's industrial heritage. This can be seen in their collaboration with Thailand's Chulalongkorn University to develop an interpretation plan for the Thai-Burma Railway and to write a book exploring the history and significance of this important industrial heritage asset.[142] More importantly, the work engages staff and students from both universities, which in turn raises awareness about possibilities of further regional heritage cooperation between the countries of the Asia-Pacific region among younger generations and bringing future experts together.

Conversely, with a recent struggling global economy, not only Australasia but all the countries and regions of the world are faced with the problems of diminishing funds for historic preservation, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

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132. Kamaraj abode conservation assistance from AusHeritage—21 March, 2011; http://www.ausheritage.org.au/news/2011/03/21/kamaraj-abode-conservation-assistance-from-ausheritage—21-march-2011/ (accessed September 28, 2012).
133. "Kamaraj Memorial House," *Tourism Chennai*, http://www.tourismchennai.com/kamaraj-memorial-house.html (accessed September 18, 2011).
134. Interview with Hafizal Mohamed, the author's PhD student working on the topic of heritage trail management in Malaysia; University of Portsmouth, UK, September 17, 2011.
135. William S. Logan, *Hanoi: Biography of a City* (Singapore: Select Publishing, 2000).

136. Waibel, "Die Altstadt von Hanoi: Ein Abbild urbaner Transformationsprozesse," *Geographische Rundschau* 55, no. 1 (2003): 32–38.
137. In addition to Waibel, a number of German experts, such as Klinkenmüller and Tegethoff, and French and Vietnamese experts who commented in the 1990s on Do-Moi. A list of this literature is available in Peter Herrle, ed., *Doi Moi im Wohnungsbau* (Berlin: TU Berlin, Habitat Unit, 1998), 13. The Habitat Unit's work in Vietnam and other countries will be explored in Chapter 7.
138. In Cairo it was Napoleon Bonaparte who ordered the street gates to be demolished; in Hanoi it happened in the late nineteenth century despite the value attached to these gates by the local population. See also the case of Oman earlier in this chapter.
139. According to Logan, Chinese arrived in Hanoi 800 to 900 years ago, when the first Chinese traders set up their stores. Under the Confucian-based imperial system, trading was considered low status and therefore developed outside the city walls; William Logan, e-mail message to the author, March 22, 2012.
140. Logan, *Hanoi: Biography of a City.*
141. E-mail interview with William Logan, August, 23, 2011.
142. News Archive 2007: Thai-Burma Railway Field School; http://deakin.edu.au/arts-ed/chcap/chcap-news/news-07.php?print_friendly=true (accessed September 28, 2012).

6 Conservation Funding in Another World

> A key structure of the capitalist world-system is the division of the world into three great regions, or geographically based and hierarchically organized tiers.[1]

According to the author William I. Robinson, within this system, the core, the centre of power, originally comprised Western Europe and later expanded to include North America and Japan. Although a fairly recent publication, it is surprising that Robinson's categorisation of "powerful and developed" centres did not include Australia; this exclusion shows that periphery can exist also in the mind. The cultural inferiority attached to the periphery (see Chapter 2) includes not only former colonies. Clearly there are also other factors such as geographical position and collective memory that may explain the absence of Australia and New Zealand in most publications about historic building conservation. Closeness to the United States, usually paired with Britain across the Atlantic, assigns Canada and Japan to the core, while Australasia, much of it now in the power centre, is still in the periphery of interest.

Robinson's third category was the semiperiphery, comprising states and regions moving between the core and the periphery. Recent developments in Europe and the United States show that this movement is now so accelerated that the boundaries between the first and the third category are becoming blurred. Previously stable economies have collapsed, and economic power no longer necessarily secures social welfare; human rights and cultural sophistication, among the main thrusts of the modern capitalist discourse, are thus unstable. In this globalised new world, conservation bodies of a number of developed countries try to motivate developing countries by providing financial support and technical help for their preservation projects, while global finance encroaches on World Heritage Sites in Europe and North America, endangering their integrity. For example, the Wirral Waters Development in Liverpool, part of the global investment project Liverpool Waters, which is building skyscrapers on both sides of the River Mersey, is causing concern for its potential impact on the Liverpool World Heritage Site. The first phase of the scheme, £25 million for

a 50 percent stake, came from a Chinese businesswoman, Stella Shiu, as the first overseas investment in the project, which has already received planning approval.[2] UNESCO has threatened Liverpool with removal of its World Heritage Status, but some business figures in the city think that withdrawal of status would be "the best thing that could happen to Liverpool."[3]

Overseas investment in Liverpool Waters and the reactions of the business community in Liverpool to its World Heritage Site status signal a period when current management strategies related to the preservation of built heritage may prove insufficient for declining economies. The World Heritage Convention requires signatories to be responsible for their own heritage. However, this does not include joint management strategies for cross-cultural movements in an increasingly globalised world. Robert Pickard pointed out, in his book about funding issues related to architectural heritage, that property tax determined by the market value of the land in its relation to the development potential of nearby sites has encouraged investors to demolish historic buildings to increase redevelopment value.[4] He added that tax incentives related to the taxes paid on the purchase of protected property, which require the owner to respect the obligation to conserve the building, can help prevent demolition. The same principle could apply to World Heritage Sites by introducing tax incentives for multinational redevelopment schemes requiring the investor to protect buffer zones around World Heritage Sites. Another precaution to avoid the violation of buffer zones could be to adopt a system based on the transfer of development rights, by which "a property owner may sell or transfer a right to develop land on which a 'historic landmark' stands" by agreeing to use it in a nonrestricted area.[5] According to Pickard, this system is common in North America, and there is evidence that it is increasingly being used in South America. For example, in Mexico, the height restriction issue in Mexico City's historic centre could be managed by transferring development rights from one structure to another. This would help the intermediate institution acting between the government, nongovernmental organisations, the private sector and inhabitants of the historic centre, the Fideicomiso del Centro Histórico (Historic Centre Trust), to avoid conflicts between interest groups.[6] Certainly it is possible to find further financial and fiscal measures embedded within World Heritage Site Management Plans, provided there is a consensus on the need for new strategies.

There is an indication that Robinson's semiperiphery has been replaced recently by the term *emerging world*. McRae believes that, while the developed countries were suffering from global recession, "the emerging world as a whole continued to grow."[7] Indeed, more and more countries of the emerging world are supporting transnational conservation projects, especially in those countries with which they have historic and cultural ties. One of the strongest members of the emerging world is

China, whose foreign aid activities in one of the economically weakest countries in Southeast Asia, Cambodia, includes financial support for historic preservation in addition to infrastructure, high-profile development projects and agriculture.[8] Since 2000 China has been involved in the Angkor Wat Conservation Project, along with France, Japan and other countries. In the first phase, 2000 to 2008, China sponsored the conservation and restoration of Chausay Tevada Temple in the Angkor Archaeological Park, costing 14 million yuan (about US$2 million). The second phase of the Chinese government's assistance—to safeguard, conserve and restore Angkor Archaeological Park—will fund the restoration of Ka Teo Temple, estimated at 40 million yuan (about US$6 million). The restoration work will take eight years to complete (2011 to 2018).[9] Within this project China is also funding the training of Cambodian archaeological experts by organising training seminars run by Chinese archaeologists.

According to a report by the US Congressional Service, cultural aid such as funding heritage preservation and other nonmilitary inducements including trade, diplomacy and investment, fall into the category of "soft power."[10] As the report emphasised, China, the new soft power in Southeast Asia, provides new challenges to US foreign policy, further evidence of historic preservation's role in the political arena (see Chapter 3). Bronson Percival, in *The Dragon Looks South*, saw other factors in China's emerging soft power in Southeast Asia, such as an infatuation with new China and economic progress, and cooperation in nontraditional issues such as sharing the mutual benefits of tourism and education.[11] In this context, Angkor Wat is not only a World Heritage Site but a monument of national pride that attracts Cambodians and tourists in equal numbers. Therefore, China has followed other investors in this honourable enterprise, a rare conservation project in a postwar country trying to recover, where priority is usually given to health and infrastructure. As Patrick Stough believes, the Cambodian people and outside investors are more concerned with the economic development of the country than with the preservation of structures that could be put to better use.[12] He agrees that preservation projects that receive a great deal of attention, such as Angkor Wat, are prized because they represent the country's national identity and attract many tourists. Indeed, Angkor Wat is a showcase with great publicity potential. The fact that China does not give financial aid to any other historic preservation project in other countries in Southeast Asia receiving Chinese grants and benefiting from Chinese technical knowledge such as Burma (Myanmar), Laos and Vietnam, supports the view that conservation funding in bilateral aid projects can be highly selective.

One catalyst of conservation funding in bilateral aid projects is cultural, and a new rising star in the emerging world is building a good example. Following the dissolution of the United Soviet Socialist Republics in 1992,

Turkey has been active in providing financial support to restore damaged and neglected architectural heritage in the post-Soviet Central Asian republics. These projects include the restoration of the tomb of Hoca Ahmed Yesevi near the town Türkistan in southern Kazakhstan, the tomb of Sultan Sencer in Bayramli-Merv in Turkmenistan and Zincirli Medrese, a medieval educational building in Ukraine. All these projects have been monitored by the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), whose establishment dates from 1992, the year of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The restored monuments are all memorials belonging to a history shared by Turkish-speaking peoples and their neighbours. TIKA expanded its activities after 2000 to include the restoration and conservation of Ottoman buildings in southeast Europe in Bulgaria, Kosovo and Bosnia.

TIKA was affiliated first to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then to the Prime Minister's Office in 1999, an indication of TIKA's increasing importance. John H. Stubbs and Emily G. Makaš, in their comprehensive book about architectural conservation in Europe and the Americas, rightly emphasised Turkey's interest and TIKA's role in the restoration of Ottoman heritage in southeast Europe.[13] However, the scope of the book probably did not allow them to analyse the reasons that led to the establishment of TIKA, whose first focus was pre-Ottoman, the joint heritage of Turkish-speaking nations in Central Asia, a detailed account of which will follow. To dedicate a special budget to Central Asian projects, TIKA acted as a special institution under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because the budget of the Ministry of Culture in charge of all cultural projects in Turkey would not have been sufficient for this type of extensive and complicated work. This example shows that it is not easy to understand the nature of national budgets dedicated to architectural and archaeological conservation in different countries. Therefore, the next section will explore selected forms of action and financial assistance, to make a semiglobal comparison of national budgets and evaluate operational systems rather than figures, which may vary from year to year.

SEMIGLOBAL COMPARISON OF NATIONAL CONSERVATION BUDGETS

Pickard agreed that, even in economically stronger countries, there were recognised limits to state budgets supporting built heritage.[14] For example, according to Emre Kongar, former undersecretary to the Ministry of Culture of Turkey, in 1992 to 1995, the budget allocated to this ministry was less than 1 percent of the total budget allocated to all ministries. Moreover, within this budget, the percentage allocated to the preservation of built heritage was only 3 percent.[15] In recent years, the budget for the Ministry

of Culture has increased, but in 2003 the Ministries of Culture and Tourism were merged so that heritage preservation in Turkey is now under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, a larger institution.[16] Minister Ertugrul Gunay stated, in the annual budget commission meeting for 2011, that through structural revisions by adding revenue assets both from the ministry's own properties provided by an internal body called Döner Sermaye İşletmesi Merkez Müdürlüğü (DOSIM) and also some other state departments such as Devlet Su İşleri (DSI, the General Directorate for the Administration of Water Resources), the budget dedicated to archaeological excavations and research had increased from 1,668 Turkish lira (YTL) in 2003 to 24,906 YTL in 2010.[17] This represented a considerable increase over eight years. The minister also announced that the total budget of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism had been increased by 35 percent in 2011 in comparison with the previous year. On the other hand, there is no clarity in the structural budget plan regarding the funding of activities dedicated to the historic built environment, as raised by Kerem Altun, a minister of parliament from Van constituency.[18] When the 2012 budget was finalised, it was confirmed that the dedicated sum of 1,705,076 YTL was higher than many other ministerial budgets, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is evidence of raised cultural and heritage awareness in Turkey.[19] But in the absence of a structural plan, the distribution of the budget between single items, especially between tourism and culture, is not clear.

As with most institutions in Turkey, including state-funded universities, DOSIM is an internal body where a pool of capital is created to transfer the institution's asset incomes, such as museum revenues and monument annuities, to a pool used for heritage preservation and other dedicated activities. By raising finance for heritage through monument annuities, Turkey resembles other countries of the eastern Mediterranean region such as Croatia, where the direct or indirect consumption of a monument for economic benefit by private individuals, companies and institutions is liable to rent and tax.[20] On the other hand, fundraising support for the depleted revolving fund originating from the DSI is fairly unique to Turkey, where DSI's dam construction projects are often criticised by nongovernmental organisations and conservation experts for being unsympathetic to archaeological heritage. Such an example has occurred Hasankeyf, an ancient city near the Tigris River, about to be largely inundated by the Ilısu Dam, a project supported by credits from three European countries.[21] Rescue excavation of movable historical and archaeological works has been funded by the Ministry of Culture, which benefits from DSI income in fund-raising for historic preservation.

In contrast to Turkey, mostly in budgets of emerging national governments, preservation of built heritage takes precedence, emphasised in the structural budget plans. In Egypt, during government restructure following

the 2011 uprising, the budget of the Ministry of Culture was reduced severely by its division into a Ministry of State for Antiquities Affairs and a Ministry of Culture. This division resulted in the Cultural Development Fund losing 83 percent of its resources, amounting to LE100 million (Egyptian pounds) annually, most of which has now been allocated to archaeological excavations and the restoration of monuments of Ancient Egypt instead of cultural events such as art exhibitions and film festivals.[22] According to Victor Kotsev, a journalist and political analyst based in Tel Aviv, the minister of state for antiquities affairs, Zahi Hawass, former director of the Cairo Museum and famous archaeologist, is a national and international celebrity "banking on the country's ancient history as a powerful unifying factor of national identity."[23] This example testifies once again to the role of politics in heritage preservation (see Chapter 3) by giving priority to funding a selected period. Pharaonic heritage has been the basis of Egypt's national identity since the early twentieth century independence movement was memorialised in stone in Midan Mustafa Kamil in Cairo: in a statue, the modern hero's hand rests on a pharaonic bust.

It is expected that the new Ministry of Antiquities Affairs will not only be in charge of ancient Egyptian heritage but also of Islamic monuments, as these were originally under the auspices of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, of which Hawass has been the secretary general since 2005. One of the projects run by the Supreme Council was the Historic Cairo Restoration Project, which is funded by the Aga Khan Trust's Historic Cities Support Programme and whose strategy is based on combining traditional design with new technology. In the early 2000s, this strategy was criticised by conservation experts for its methods and lack of community participation. The large amount of funding, estimated at $350 million, caused some residents to believe that the real aim of the project was in fact the enhancement of tourism and commerce, raising fears of displacement, to which they had already been subjected (see Chapter 3).[24] External funding for conservation projects provides great support for emerging local governments short of funds; however, it also causes, in a number of cases, suspicion of ulterior motives and resistance due to lack of communication with the local public, a matter discussed further in this chapter.

India is another country prioritising the funding of archaeological heritage. The Archaeological Survey of India (see Chapter 3) represented the largest component in the budgetary allocation of the Ministry of Culture for the period 2011–2012.[25] Similar to some Western European countries such as Britain's Architectural Heritage Fund and Netherland's National Restauratiefonds, in 1996 India set up the National Culture Fund (NCF) to enable and promote public–private partnership "to replenish the Indian culture" and to "enable the Government to mobilize extra budgetary resources from the Government, Non-Government agencies, private

institutions and individuals" to fund conservation and preservation of heritage sites, monuments and intangible heritage assets.[26] Recognition of the shortage of funds for heritage projects was signified in Europe by the Architectural Heritage Year in 1975, which led to the establishment of the Architectural Heritage Fund in 1976 in the UK and the National Restauratiefonds in the Netherlands in 1985.[27] This trend was followed in Turkey by the launch of TIKA in 1992 and in India by NCF in 1996. However, while the Turkish TIKA dedicates its funding solely to transnational projects, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the Indian NCF, similar to its European counterparts, receives international and national funding for the conservation of national monuments, ranging from the world-famous Taj Mahal to lesser-known objects such as the Konark Sun Temple and Lodhi Tomb. The list of sponsors for NCF projects includes international institutions such as World Heritage Fund, a number of private organisations such as Indian Hotels Company Ltd and Apeejay Group and foundations such the Harnpi Foundation and Indian Oil Foundation. In addition, NCF receives support from state-owned companies and corporations such as the Steel Authority of India Ltd and M/S State Trading Corporation.

In India the strong federal structure is also reflected in heritage preservation (see Chapter 3). Each State Department of Archaeology has its own budget under the respective State Culture Ministry, reporting to the Archaeological Survey of India, which, in turn, has its own budget under the Central Cultural Ministry. As far as the Archaeological Survey of India goes, each regional head (superintending archaeologist) presents regional budget requirements annually to a committee at the zonal level and at the central level in the capital, Delhi. Each superintending archaeologist is nominally under the charge of the zonal head (regional director) attached director generals at the centre. Each director general is in charge of a different aspect, such as excavation, building conservation, archaeology, museums and epigraphy, and one director general overall reports to the minister of culture of the central government of India.[28] Pakistan has a similar decentralised structure, with a federal structure and each province having its own budget. In addition to the National Fund for Cultural Heritage, other funds for the preservation of built heritage are established at national levels.[29]

Another country in Asia where the preservation and conservation of historic buildings has priority in cultural budgets is Malaysia. The Malaysian Plan is presented every five years by the prime minister of Malaysia. Since the 2000s, conservation of built heritage has attracted serious attention from the federal government, reflected in the 8th Malaysia Plan (2001–2006), which allocated a specific budget of 85 million Malaysian ringgit to conservation and preservation activities in the country. This amount was increased to RM 100 million in the 9th Malaysia Plan (2006–2011). However, according to Mohamed Hafizal, in the absence of a detailed

structural budget plan, where funds allocated to specific sites and buildings are clearly identified, it is inevitable that operational activities will suffer.[30] However, despite the increase of cultural tourism in Southeast Asia and its recognition as a cultural resource, financial resources dedicated to cultural and heritage preservation in ministerial budgets of joint culture and tourism ministries sometimes cause dissatisfaction to tourism authorities about "culture getting the biggest portion."[31] This is the case in Malaysia's neighbour, Indonesia. A newspaper article celebrating the budget increase of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism from US$177.7 million in 2010 to US$229.3 million in 2011, at the same time criticised the amount dedicated to tourism as only 22.5 percent, without assessing the impact of culture on heritage tourism.[32] Indonesia has been subject to a number of natural disasters in recent years; therefore, international institutions such as UNESCO have focused on the rehabilitation of damaged heritage sites and their inhabitants, with some of these projects also being supported by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. A more detailed explanation of UNESCO projects in Indonesia will be provided in the following sections. A number of Asian states, including Indonesia, attach more importance to the preservation of natural sites and are less interested in built heritage (see Chapter 3).

A preference for the preservation of natural sites in funding strategies seems to be an emerging trend now characterising changing attitudes in a number of countries. In addition to the above-mentioned Asian cases and natural heritage focus in island states such as the Bahamas and Cuba, there is now also a shift in Australian strategies, where, due to administrative restructuring at the national level, the word the word *heritage* has been dropped from the department in which it sits. The Australian Government Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts has become the Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. The name indicates a prioritisation of natural heritage and intangible heritage over tangible heritage, which is also reflected in the organisational structure chart from September 2011. The chart contains only two heritage-focused offices attached to assistant secretaries, Heritage Branch North and Heritage Branch South, under the deputy secretary of the Biodiversity Group, which shows that the main task of these branches is the preservation of natural heritage; moreover, these branches are attached to the secretary of Heritage and Wildlife.[33] According to William Logan, UNESCO Professor of Heritage and Urbanism at Deakin University, this signifies a significant downgrading.[34] Tom Harley, former chair of the Australian Heritage Council, agrees; he is concerned that funding changes and administrative reshuffles will result in the government not being able to meet its stewardship obligations on the National Heritage List. Harley also believes that the heritage division of the department will lose at least a portion of its staff, and those remaining will be left with inadequate resources.[35]

According to Logan, the situation in Australia worsened suddenly in 2011, partly in response to the global financial crisis and partly to the shift in government priorities towards development, addressing climate change and other higher-priority matters.[36] Logan's comment is confirmed by the Minister for Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. The minister, the Hon. Tony Burke MP, declared in his media release on the 2011–2012 budget that the ministry will support work to protect endangered ecological communities by investing $84.2 million over four years for the Environmental Stewardship Programme to support landholders for reducing grazing and controlling weeds in an ecological context. The budget further dedicates $10 million over three years to developing national wildlife corridors linking national parks and reserves with private land, and an additional $4 million over four years will be invested to control crazy ants. The only budget item dedicated to heritage in general is $8 million over two years to help communities manage and conserve important heritage places, including those affected by natural disasters, which highlights the fact that budget priorities will be given mostly to wildlife rather than to built heritage. In the light of this budget distribution, the heading of the media release, "Gillard Government Delivers Boost for Environment and Heritage," appears paradoxical.[37] While Egypt is currently underlining its national identity by increasing financial support to archaeological heritage, Australia seems to aspire to a national identity that promotes a global sustainable natural environment. Remembering the French atomic tests in the Asia-Pacific region and Australia's reaction to it a decade ago, this new identity search makes more sense, with Australia standing as an alternative example promoting an ecological model against Europe and North America; however, it may result in the neglect of Australia's built heritage.

On the other hand, Australia's neighbour New Zealand has developed this year to a different direction. The work of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage in the 2012/13 financial year is expected to cost $25.526 million. 38 With $10.224 million Heritage Services seems to receive the highest budget allocation among the five sections related to breakdown of costs of operational services of the Ministry. Even considering that these services include managing new memorial projects, national monuments, war and historic memorials, administration and legislation aid grants, research, writing and publication of New Zealand's history and reference works and New Zealand's annual contribution to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, the amount dedicated to historic building conservation seems quite high.

The absence or undermining of heritage in structural budget plans for the preservation of historic buildings seems to be a problem shared by a number of countries around the world. Even with a structural plan, its

implementation may suffer from a number of factors such as inadequate resources and failing coordination between government units. For example, in Kenya's 2008–2012 Draft Strategic Plan, the Ministry of State for National Heritage and Culture featured gap analysis of the failures of the previous Strategic Plan (2004–2008), which highlighted factors such as poor planning and inadequate resources arising from treasury ceilings and budgetary cuts.[39] Gap analysis is a useful practice that provides a sound assessment of implementation problems. On the other hand, the section of the current strategic plan dedicated to strategic objectives nominated, among activities to be supported, music, dance, national archives, documentation services and other assets of intangible and natural heritage but did not include funding strategies for historic building conservation.[40] Financial support for architectural heritage was only mentioned in the plan under the category of "National Flagship Projects," where the ministry agreed to participate in the development of World Heritage Sites as major tourist destinations. The major architectural heritage asset mentioned in this section is Lamu Old Town; there is no mention of Mombasa Old Town and other listed monuments in Kenya, conservation projects started in the 1980s with international support (see Chapter 4). The only reference to built heritage is in connection with two projects: the construction of a heritage house, allocated 50 million Kenyan shillings, and the construction and completion of museums and heritage sites, allocated 341 million Kenyan shillings. Both the heritage house and "construction of heritage sites" indicate financial support for simulacra, whereas Kenya's real buildings will receive very little or nothing. There may be further budgetary allocations to these assets in the budgets of other national institutions such as the National Museums of Kenya or local municipalities, but the absence of preservation of the built environment in the ministry's objectives reflects the fact that the planning problems mentioned in connection with the previous plan may continue in this plan.

If we look elsewhere in Africa, in contrast to Kenya, "arresting the decay of natural and built environment including key historic sites through conservation and preservation" is one of main strategic aims of the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation Agency of Nigeria.[41] Historic preservation in Nigeria is the responsibility of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, a "parastatal" of the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism which administers national museums, antiquities and monuments throughout Nigeria.[42] In the 2011 federal budget, the commission was allocated the highest amount (3.4 billion naira) within the total budget of the ministry (19.7 billion naira), which comprised approximately 6 percent of the ministry's total budget. An additional sum of 116 million naira was allocated to the Institute of Archaeology and Museum Studies.[43] Tanzania's approach is similar to that of Kenya's: the internal audit of the Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture

and Sports for the year 2011 showed an emphasis on arts, language and film, with no reference to the conservation of the built environment or heritage preservation at all.[44] Interestingly, its external funding also focused on the arts; for example, the Danish Strategy for Support to Culture in Tanzania, 2008–2011, solely supported the arts, dedicating a sum of 5.6 million Danish krone for this purpose.[45] We saw in Chapter 4 that Tanzania's capital, Dar es Salaam, received in the past external funding to save and reuse its German colonial buildings. Without continuity in financial support for further maintenance and upkeep, any conservation project will fail sooner or later.

Within Africa, one of the countries leading heritage awareness is South Africa. The budget plan of the Ministry of Art and Culture is well structured and shows clarity and transparency in regard to the sums allocated to various cultural institutions and departments. In the allocated budget plan of 2011–2012, "heritage institutions and museums" were proposed to receive R763,702 million, which seems at first more than the sums allocated to any other sector. However, the National Language Service receives R101,570, and the National Archives and Language Services receives R694,542, totalling R796,112, indicating that language as a heritage asset is of great importance in South Africa, and the support given to it equals the support given to built heritage.[46] South Africa also promotes culture as an industry and income source, and the 2011 policy aims to work with other public funding agencies such as the Industrial Development Corporation. This policy of utilising state-owned funding agencies can be compared with Turkey and India. However, Minister Paul Mashatile did not mention built heritage among income-generating cultural industries, which he itemised as natural heritage, music industries, craft sector, visual arts, film industry and book publishing in his budget speech for 2011–2012.[47] In Africa particularly, but also globally, the monetary value of built heritage as an income generator seems to be difficult to recognise, with budgets dedicated to the building of simulacra for the sake of cultural tourism rather than to conserving the authentic object, as in Kenya.

South Africa has also pioneered in Africa the revolving fund idea, previously applied in Europe and Asia, as in the Netherlands, UK, Turkey and India. The African World Heritage Fund was established in 2006 by being registered under the South African Trust Law; it is administered by the Development Bank of Southern Africa and audited by the auditor general. The work of the African World Heritage Fund will be discussed in detail later in this chapter in regard to funding issues related to World Heritage Sites.

When we look at the Americas, a similar pattern appears in a number of countries in regard to their historic preservation budget cuts in response to the global financial crisis and also strategic changes in their priorities. These changes, which we have seen in other parts of the world,

seem to point to a global phenomenon of the twenty-first century. For example, in March 2011, the Heritage Canada Foundation expressed disappointment at the 2011 Canadian federal budget for failing to capitalise on the economic potential of historic places, with tax incentives in support of historic building conservation absent from the proposed list of new tax measures. The budget focused on natural heritage, with $5.5 million over five years for Parks Canada to establish the Mealy Mountains National Park in Labrador, and on energy conservation, with $400 million for the ecoEnergy Retrofit-Homes programme to support the development of energy-efficient homes.[48] Funding was available for selected federally owned historic bridges but not historic places. However, in the United States, Canada, Brazil and India, where governmental administration is based on a strong federative structure, studying federal budgets does not suffice in assessing the amount of funding going to the preservation of the historic built environment, because several other institutions in states, state budgets and municipal budgets provide funding for historic buildings and places.

In the US, President Obama's fiscal year 2012 budget request proposed $2.9 billion for the National Park Service, an increase of nearly $138 million over the previous budget.[49] The highest item in this draft is $360 million for the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund; there is also $61 million for the Park Service's Historic Preservation Fund, which provides States and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices with funding to expand and accelerate their historic preservation activities.[50] Conversely, funding for National Heritage Areas was cut by $8.8 million. National Heritage Areas are designated by Congress as places where natural, cultural and historic resources combine to form a "cohesive, nationally important landscape"; these entities support historic preservation, natural resource conservation, heritage tourism and educational projects.[51] Furthermore, Save America's Treasures ($25 million) and Preserve America ($4.6 million) grant programmes will also end. Save America's Treasures used to provide grants for preservation and conservation work on significant artefacts, including historic districts, buildings, structures and objects, while Preserve America's matching-grant programme supported community participation in historic preservation planning.[52] In both cases, grants were not available in fiscal year 2011, because public law 112–10 did not include funds for these grants and the same will happen in 2012 if the budget is approved by Congress. This confirms once more that historic building conservation is being sidelined more and more in national budgets in favour of natural conservation and environmental conservation.

Conversely, Latin American governments have recently become increasingly appreciative of historic building conservation, despite the challenges they face in dealing with property owners and illegal urban developments.[53] It is too early to assess whether they will continue financial

support for architectural preservation and conservation projects in the global economic crisis. The Brazilian Minister of Culture, João Luiz Silva Ferreira, stated in July 2010 that with the Brazilian economy growing nearly 10 percent every year, "economic development places the country in a level of increased responsibility (to preserve world heritage)" and declared his country's commitment to create a UNESCO Regional Centre for Heritage Management in Brazil and train managers from South American and Portuguese-speaking African countries.[54] The centre, named after Lucio Costa (Centro de Formação Lucio Costa para Gestão do Patrimônio), has started important transnational conservation projects whose details will be discussed in the next chapter. Brazil is a country representing an early awareness in historic preservation, with modernist architects such as Lucio Costa in the first decades of the twentieth century becoming the country's leading preservationists (see Chapter 4). The establishment of the National Heritage Agency and its later transformation into the Institute for Historical and Artistic Patrimony (IPHAN) secured Brazil's architectural heritage when many buildings were disappearing in Europe as a result of World War II and subsequent urban renewal projects. This awareness was reflected in the Brazilian Ministry of Culture's budget in the 1990s, with architectural conservation encompassing more than a quarter of the total.[55] However, Brazil declared in 2011 that it would cut $30 billion from that year's budget to help its central bank contain inflation.[56] Time will show whether the UNESCO enterprise and other historic preservation projects will be supported to the same extent in the future. Despite these difficulties, it is very promising that Brazil sees the work developed by IPHAN to be fundamentally important to the country, with the value of heritage being to look after the identity and history of a nation, as expressed by the minister of culture, Ana de Hollanda in a meeting in February 2011.[57] The minister, who announced cuts in her budget due to governmental budget adjustments, emphasised that IPHAN will still be prioritised, its funding considered an emergency. This shows that, unlike some other countries, Brazil still retains architectural heritage as one of the main assets of the country to be preserved for future generations.

Another Latin America country leading historic preservation awareness is Mexico, which Stubbs and Makaš describe as a country "at the forefront of cultural heritage management not only regionally but also globally." Another country in the region showing increasing awareness of its architectural heritage is Colombia. Funds allocated to culture within the country's global budget for Recreation, Sport, Culture and Communication amounted to 28.3 percent for 2010 and 26.8 percent for 2011.[58] The Colombian tax system enables tax relief for expenditure in heritage registered buildings, and FINDETER, a central government credit bank for financing infrastructure and public works, manages a special fund for heritage conservation.[59] Countries such as Chile and Peru, where a Ministry of Culture

has been established recently, are also becoming more active in the area of historic building conservation. However, funding is always the crucial issue, leading Chrystelle Barbier of the *Guardian* to ask whether the newly appointed Peruvian minister of culture, Susana Beca would obtain a real budget.[60]

In South America the support of the other government agencies, especially national banks, is becoming more important in obtaining support for heritage preservation and historic building conservation, as in the case of Colombia. In addition to the Colombian FINDETER, banks such as the Brazilian Development Bank in Brazil and the National Bank of Mexico (BANAMEX) in Mexico also have a tradition of supporting architectural heritage projects. The Brazilian Development Bank is a federal public company linked to the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade and takes a special interest in sponsoring architectural heritage.[61] Its Mexican counterpart, BANAMEX, shares the same interest and funds historic preservation through its nonprofit agency Fomento Cultural BANAMEX. Several architectural conservation projects in Latin America have been funded by the International American Development Bank in Washington, DC, which will be discussed later in this chapter in a transnational context. In addition to central state agencies such as Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National Institute of Anthropology and History) of Mexico and the National Heritage Fund of Brazil, more federal governmental help may be provided through separate federal state budgets, for which the restoration of a small church in Olinda the Pernambuco State in Brazil provides a typical example. Matched funding for the conservation master plan in Olinda, where the church is located near one of its poorest favelas, was raised through the state fund of the Pernambuco State, Fundação do Patrimônio Histórico e Artistico de Pernambuco.[62] This example shows that amounts dedicated to architectural conservation by federal government budgets cannot be assessed only through cultural ministry budgets; one should also consider state budgets, which deserve special study but are beyond the scope of this book. Additionally, in many countries, fiscal measures such as tax rebates provide evidence of further governmental support to seek and promote the involvement of the private sector in historic building conservation.

PRIVATE SECTOR AND CONSERVATION FUNDING

As expressed by the Heritage Canada Foundation, tax incentives for private-sector investment in historic buildings and sites provide a lifeline in a number of countries to fund the preservation of architectural heritage.[63] Therefore, much research about conservation funding for architectural heritage, due to its interdisciplinary context, focuses on issues such as tax rebates, tax incentives and tax credits as it also concerns property developers,

planners and economists. In the early 2000s, academic discussion no longer focused on the benefits of these fiscal measures but on improvement strategies. For example, Paul Gleye suggested that tax credits in the US should move away from the "the costlier the project, the bigger the benefits" approach, to an emphasis on "the more sensitive the project, the bigger the benefits."[64] The first concept made it unfeasible to perform modest rehabilitation and thus discouraged one of the most important principles of the current building conservation discourse: the minimum intervention principle. Paul Gleye, professor at North Dakota State University, confirmed in 2011 that the US had moved towards minimum intervention; for example, the National Park Service now promotes restoration of historic window frames rather than replacement and has become stricter on issues such as relocating building entrances.[65] However, as the administering body, the National Park Service has not applied these new principles to its tax credit programme, with the result that, in the US, a fiscal system supporting historic preservation has not yet become the prevailing conservation philosophy.

Another article from 2000 discussed the incentive effects of municipal tax credits, giving examples from a number of municipalities in different Canadian states. The authors cited the municipal tax credit programme for the city of Winnipeg, where, in a programme targeting heritage buildings, investors with large tax liabilities were unable to use the programme to escape all their tax liabilities, whereas investors with small tax liabilities were able to avoid paying tax over a ten-year period.[66] The authors attributed this arrangement to the municipality aiming to reduce its tax loss; however, if one considers that the programme involved less than half the expenditure of the investors with large tax liabilities, its actual aim may have increased the participation of wider public in historic building conservation by supporting smaller investors and was therefore a political decision, which again demonstrates the influence of politics on historic preservation (see Chapter 3).

In South America, both Brazil and Mexico stand out as countries offering income tax discounts; in Brazil owners of historic buildings who restore their own property can deduct the related costs from their income tax. Similarly, investors who invest in cultural projects, including conservation and restoration of historic buildings and sites, are entitled to tax rebates.[67] Mexico also offers a deduction of 77 percent of investment in conservation projects from annual federal taxes; further tax incentives are associated with investment in real estate projects of historic value.[68] Tax incentives are an effective method of motivating the private sector to participate in historic preservation; in its absence, a capable sector of the community shies from contributing to the historic built environment. This becomes a special problem in countries like Russia, where a major shift from a strongly state controlled economy to privatisation has occurred in the last decades. In

Russia, owners of privatised residential and commercial structures have a legal obligation to maintain the current condition of the property, but the government offers no tax benefits or other kinds of fiscal and financial support for the maintenance and rehabilitation of these structures.[69] The situation is even more difficult in the post-Soviet Asian states such Uzbekistan, Türkistan and Tajikistan, where most of these economies in transition struggle to find funds not merely for the upkeep of their major monuments but also to pay for conservation-related training facilities. They now depend mainly on international and transnational support for their revival.

Finally, a global survey published by the United Nations in 2000 revealed valuable details about the role of tax incentives in the promotion of conservation-related activities in this period.[70] The report showed that the majority of tax incentives granted by developing or emerging countries, in addition to conventional sectors such as manufacture, mineral reserves and exports, were increasingly tourism and leisure. A detailed analysis of the report confirms this. Uzbekistan, for example, offers tax exemption for historic building conservation within the context of tourism (see Chapter 5) by referring to historic buildings as "cultural objects of sightseeing."[71] Full tax relief for restoration projects certainly provides practical support for the survival of the country's historic monuments. Another interesting case is Lebanon, where, during the postwar period, SOLIDERE, the company established in 1994 for the development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District (see Chapter 4) was exempt from tax on profits for ten years. A country that stands out in the report by using fiscal measures to support heritage preservation is Cameroun, where activities of approved nonprofit organisations of a social, cultural, religious, educational, recreational and philanthropic nature "consistent with the objectives of the organisation in question" have been exempt from value-added tax (VAT).[72] Thailand and Ecuador also offered tax incentives for environmental conservation, but it is not clear whether this definition includes the built environment.

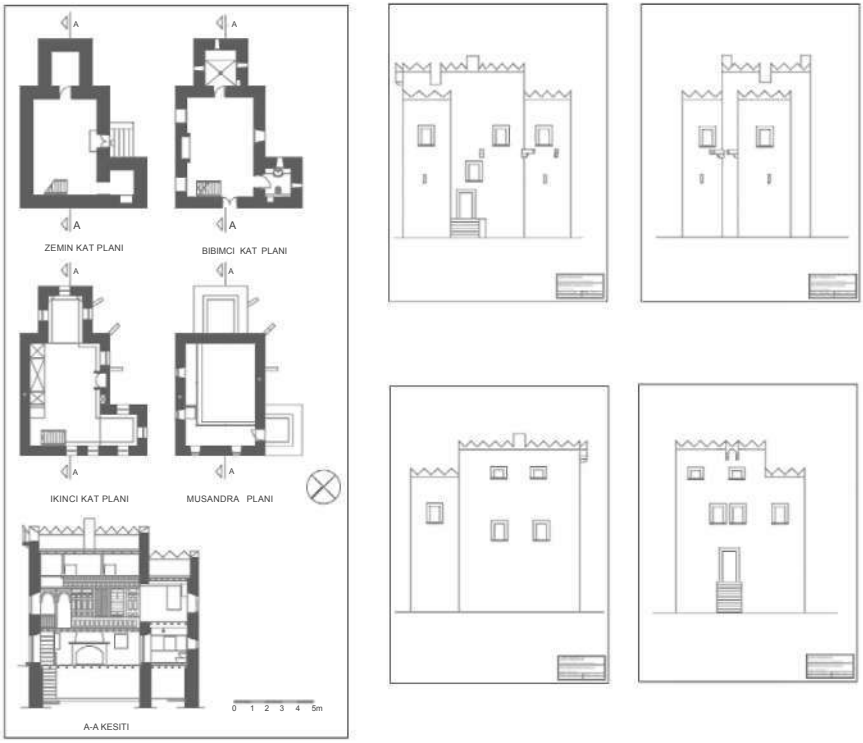
During the ten years following this report, a number of countries, such as Britain, have introduced or improved tax incentives to support heritage preservation, particularly by introducing VAT exemption schemes. However, paradoxically on March 21, 2012, the British Chancellor of Exchequer made a surprising announcement that VAT exemption would be withdrawn from listed building works.[73]

One of the countries that adopted such fiscal exemptions in the first decade of the twenty-first century was Turkey, with an extension to Law No. 5226, Clause No., 19 of July 27, 2004, being validated since January 1, 2005, by Law No. 5281, Clause No. 43/14-b.[74] The clause offered VAT recovery on expenditure incurred during historic building survey, restoration, rehabilitation projects and purchase of related materials. Since the

introduction of this fiscal measure, the number of historic conservation–related projects supported by the private sector has increased considerably. In the tourism sector especially, more investors now prefer to invest in historic buildings to benefit from these new fiscal measures, a fact that again emphasises the role of tourism in historic building conservation (see Chapter 5). In addition, public discussion of these fiscal measures has raised private investors' awareness of the importance and value of historic buildings and sites, even before the introduction of VAT exemption. A positive development can now be seen especially in remote locations offering boutique hotel facilities, as in the case of a restored tower near the popular tourist resort of Bodrum.

The Mustafa Paşa Tower, or rather tower house, is an interesting building as it sheds light on lesser-known aspects of Mediterranean tower houses, the most famous of which are in San Gimignano in Italy. The Mustafa Paşa Tower dates from 1601, a much later date than its Italian counterparts, which shows that this type of defensive residential unit had been employed

Figure 6.1



Figures 6.1 and 6.2 Mustafa Paşa Tower near Bodrum, Turkey, a restoration by the architect Ahmet İğdirligil saving this important building with minimum intervention and use of original building materials. Image and drawing courtesy Ahmet İğdirligil.

in a much wider area and until a much later date in the region than was originally believed. After the building was listed in 1972 due to its significance, it changed hands several times and was bought finally in 1996 by Vedat Temiz, owner of a tourism agency. Temiz commissioned a renowned regional architect, Ahmet İğdirligil, to restore the tower, which had a massive crack in one of its dry stone walls and had lost all its timber floors. A meticulous restoration followed, including reconstruction of the wall with original material, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the timber beams supporting the floors and reconstruction of the bridge over the ditch by finding and using the original foundations.[75] Following this restoration and that of the ruined bath house in its garden in 2003, smaller plots surrounding the building were purchased to develop a tourist complex by restoring their ruined vernacular buildings. The complex now functions as a culinary centre offering organic food, with the tower being the first single-room boutique hotel in Turkey.[76]

This example shows that historic monuments, especially defence structures like castles and towers, can be reused for residential purposes by private investors, a common practice in many countries. A number of UK television programmes related to property management concentrate on castle conversions. Channel 4's *Grand Designs* recently featured an episode about the restoration of Peel Castle in Yorkshire, and UK property websites offer castles for sale.[77] However, in many countries, historic hotels are monuments in their own right, managed and continuously refurbished by the private sector. The Oberoi Group's Mena House Hotel in Egypt is located on a prominent site overlooking the Pyramids of Giza. The hotel keeps its historic building intact as a unique asset, in addition to modern extensions, and maintains an archive of material about its building and social history.[78] Similarly, La Mamounia in Marrakesh is an art deco structure designed by Prost (see Chapter 4), recently renovated by the famous interior designer Jacques Garcia. The renovation glossary emphasises the importance of expertise and craft techniques passed down from generation to generation by referring to *maâlems* ("those who know" and "those who pass on") and focuses on performance-based transmission of skill-based practices (see Chapter 2).[79]

Another important aspect of strategies motivating private investors towards heritage preservation depends on developing successful public–private partnerships, especially in the area of urban revitalisation projects. According to Florian Steinberg, a senior urban development specialist of the Southeast Asia Department of the Asian Development Bank, open-minded and informative city management, offering public–private partnership alternatives, reduces the uncertainty of investors and stimulates private investment for rehabilitation and conservation of the built urban heritage.[80] Steinberg emphasises that this approach replaces uncertainty with investor confidence at a base level, as demonstrated by case studies from Hanoi (see Chapter 5), Jakarta and Manila by discussing issues such as increased land values in the context of public revenue, modernisation of commercial activities and transfer of development rights, a mainly American concept previously discussed in this chapter. The book also presents an interesting public–private partnership pilot project for upgrading housing in Hanoi's Ancient Quarter, an adaptive reuse concept for heritage structures in Jakarta's Old Town (Kota Tua) and a revitalisation concept of the Walled City (Intramuros) of Manila, whose administration operates as a quasi-municipality and quite uniquely reports to the Department of Tourism rather than the City of Manila.[81] All three case studies were written by local experts and academics, making this publication really valuable.

The main success of the Asian Development Bank lies in enabling local and national governments in Southeast Asia to recruit assistance from external development agencies to participate in a fund ultimately used for historic preservation. This intermediate body is an excellent medium for

uniting public- and private-sector actors who would otherwise never come together. A similar medium for protecting Asia's heritage has been established under the auspices of the UNESCO Regional Adviser for Culture in Asia and operates as the Streetwise Asia Fund for Urban Heritage Conservation. The fund provides a framework for local communities "to seek additional financial assistance by way of tax-deductible donations from the private sector, government or donor organisations."[82] It offers small project grants of up to US$10,000, with approximately eight to ten projects per year, preference being given to projects using local labour and local and traditional skills. The fund is administered by the National Trust of Australia, which is another signifier of Australia's leading role in Asian historic preservation discourse (see Chapter 5). The launch of the fund in 2005 coincided with the Australian conservation architect Elizabeth Vines's book *Streetwise Asia: A Practical Guide for the Conservation and Revitalisation of Heritage Cities and Towns in Asia*.[83] All of the book's proceeds were donated to the fund. Vines, its driving force, believes in the success of local conservation projects with modest grant funding from public–private partnership funds.

The main stakeholders representing the private sector in urban revitalisation projects are property investors and estate management companies, who are both wanted and unwanted by conservation experts. While rehabilitation and refunctioning of historic properties purchased by property developers usually boosts the economy, supports revitalisation and promotes income growth, it may also violate sustainable preservation principles and cause political problems such as displacement of the original residents, often due to inefficient management at local authority level. In addition, negative reputations of speculators and capital landowners and even local and regional authorities, still promoting the destructive modernity concept of the urban revival approach of the 1980s (see Chapter 4), concern heritage managers. These concerns are often shared by property developers, who must overcome this uncertainty to invest in this unfamiliar terrain involving constraints. Professional bodies of property developers in some countries, such as the UK Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, encourage their members to develop an interest in historic building conservation by organising seminars and publishing guidelines, which is a very encouraging step for the involvement of this important section of the private sector in historic preservation. However, in a number of countries, destructive property investment in the 1980s style still threatens heritage sites and conservation areas, including World Heritage Sites. For example, in the mid-2000sthe head of UNESCO Italy stated that one of Italy's World Heritage Sites, Val d'Orcia, risked losing its status after property companies began marketing newly built homes in the protected area, using World Heritage status to increase their value. Malcolm Moore, who reported this incident, commented that many World Heritage Sites suffer from "rapacious property developers, inept councils and a never-ending

flow of tourists."[84] However, all three stakeholders may provide vital support for World Heritage Sites, which increasingly suffer from lack of funding, within a framework of good management strategies and efficient fiscal measures. Controversially in many countries, lack of funding affects the preparation and implementation of the new management plan requirements recently introduced by UNESCO, an issue to be discussed in the next section.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES

Before the Beijing Olympics in 2008, Chinese authorities realised that they needed 3.2 billion yuan (US$320 million) to conduct preservation work on their five major World Heritage Sites, including prime locations such as the Forbidden City and the Ming Tombs, which were expected to attract both national and international visitors. All the sites relied on ticket revenues, inadequate for such a major task, to support maintenance costs, so their respective local governments and management institutions raised ticket prices considerably, upsetting visitors.[85] According to field research in 2008–2009 on the Chinese sites on the World Heritage List, funding such important sites is expensive for local governments that cannot depend solely on fluctuating tourism income; they also risk tourism overexploitation if they try to increase the number of visitors.[86]

With the rapid expansion of the financial crisis in Europe, European countries have started to complain that UNESCO funds for World Heritage Sites are only available for developing countries but not for developed countries. Oliver Martin of the Historical Section of the Federal Culture Office of Switzerland has argued that, although the sites are of universal value and belong to the whole world, countries are expected to be solely responsible in funding the preservation of their own sites, with no UNESCO money available for this purpose.[87] Such issues may become discussed more in Europe in the current climate. For example, the official UK government website giving information about World Heritage Site status emphasised that this status does not bring any financial awards from the government or UNESCO; only developing countries can apply to the World Heritage Fund for assistance.[88] If one looks at the World Heritage Convention, it becomes clear that State Parties ratifying the convention have agreed from the start "to (dedicate) the utmost of their own resources" to ensure the protection of their World Heritage Sites.[89] Only where it is "appropriate"—in other words, if they are unable to cover minimum expenses—can they obtain low-interest or interest-free loans repayable on a long-term basis. In "exceptional cases and for special reasons," non-repayable subsidies are granted; it is not UNESCO's task to provide funding for World Heritage Sites except in emergency situations.[90]

There seems to be a widespread misconception among the general public and scientific community about UNESCO's funding capacity. Mechthild Rössler, chief of the Policy and Statuary Implementation Section of UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, believes that researchers who criticise the lack of UNESCO funding in regard to the protection of World Heritage Sites should be more aware of the basics of this international convention and UNESCO's responsibilities. Universities should make full use of all documents uploaded on the web page at whc.unesco.org and may wish to request observer status at World Heritage Committee meetings to fully understand both the lack of funding and the lack of capacities in the World Heritage system.[91] In fact, most of UNESCO's support to World Heritage Sites consists of the provision of experts and technicians, training local staff and specialists and the supply of equipment.

(a)

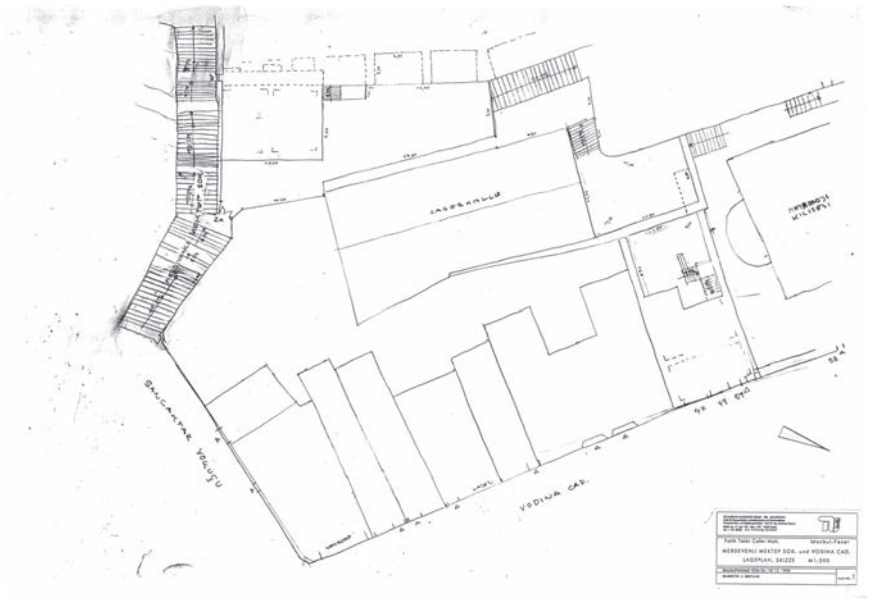
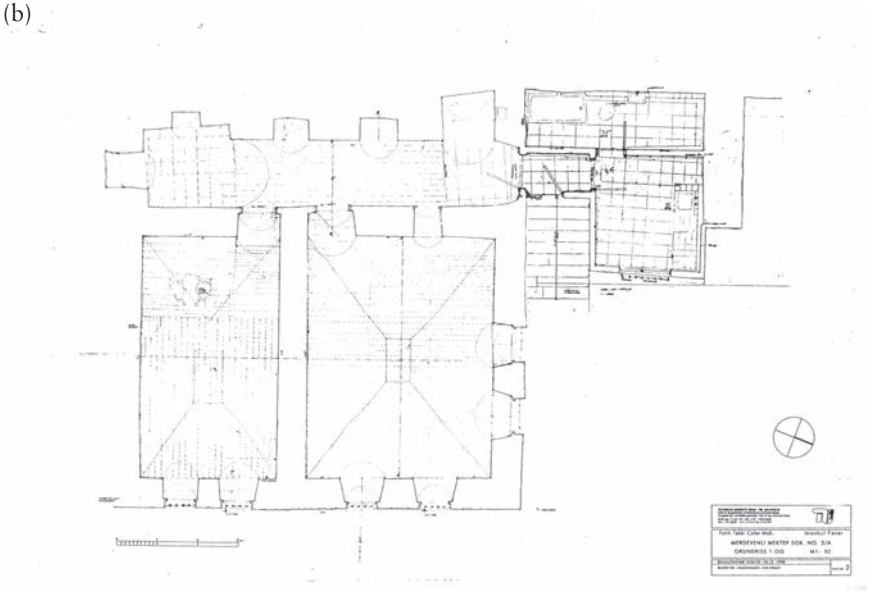
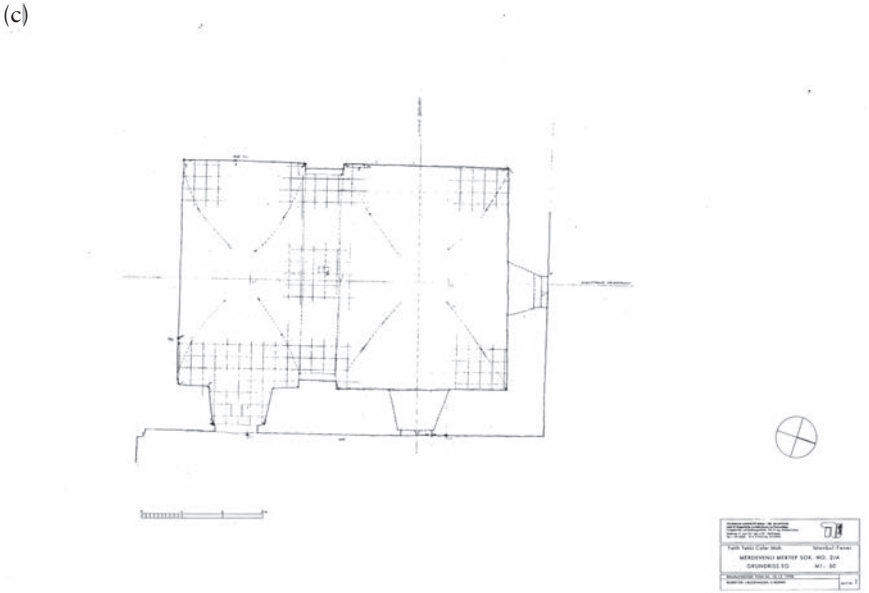


Figure 6.3 The author has been involved in the survey of the Kantemir House in Fener in the late-1990s phase of the Fener-Balat project, an important building where the family of the famous historian Dimitri Kantemir once resided. The survey was led by Professor Johannes Cramer (Berlin Institute of Technology, Chair for History of Architecture and Urbanism) and Professor Stefan Breitling (Berlin Institute of Technology, now professor in Johannes Friedrich University in Bamberg) and students of the Berlin Institute of Technology.[148] The image here shows the work conducted by the Berlin Institute of Technology team, courtesy Berlin Institute of Technology (Technische Universität Berlin), Chair for History of Architecture and Urbanism (Fachgebiet Bau und Stadtbaugeschichte).

(b)



(c)



However, it is the public rather than academics who should be aware of UNESCO's role, which could be enhanced by media campaigns and more transparent funding policies. For example, the author, who participated in the Fener-Balat Rehabilitation Project in Istanbul in the late 1990s, following the 1996 Habitat II Conference in the city, witnessed the project being called the "UNESCO Project" both by social media and a number of the residents of the district, although UNESCO funding predominantly comprised expertise and training facilities, and most of the complementary funding for physical rehabilitation came from European Union funds.[92] It was further observed that the UNESCO label triggered a sudden increase in property prices and gentrification issues, which can be followed in both academic literature and the press, reflecting public debate.[93] The project had a second phase in the 2000s, when the local municipality gave priority to the private sector, with the result that the private sector now holds 58 percent of the shares, with local property owners holding the remaining 42 percent.[94] The second phase also proposed newly built replicas to replace original buildings, justified by earthquake risk management, and created a totally new landscape—both aspects that were seriously criticised by academics and conservation experts.[95]

While the UK's annual contribution to the World Heritage Fund amounts to around £130,000, providing considerable support for a number of projects in poorer countries, there is less capacity among European countries.[96] The obligatory contributions of State Parties to the fund are kept comparatively low to enable more countries to contribute. Financially stronger countries add voluntary contributions to the fund; for example, in 2010 twelve States Parties from developed countries were expected to contribute an additional sum of US$1,301,886.[97] A recent statement by UNESCO's director-general on the withholding of funds by the US presaged even more difficult times following further budget-tightening measures due to the financial crisis in 2011, which mainly affected Europe and the US, but with further global consequences. The statement emphasised that "UNESCO . . . hopes that a resolution to the funding issue will ultimately be identified," without which UNESCO will have difficulty in maintaining its current level of activity, with immediate effect in critical areas. It relies on the "U.S. Administration, Congress and the American people to find a way forward and continue support in these turbulent times."[98] The withheld funds are clearly the voluntary additional funds and not the obligatory contribution, as the US maintains its membership in UNESCO, but these measures will have direct consequences on funding to poorer countries. In addition, there is also the issue emphasised by Rössler that the number of World Heritage Sites has increased considerably since the introduction of the convention, but the budget has remained more or less the same. The looming danger

of more developed countries following the example of the US by reducing or withholding their voluntary contributions may make the situation even worse.

The difficulties discussed in Chapter 2 of a number of countries in protecting their World Heritage Sites—especially in Africa and certain parts of Asia, which depend on external funds—signal that action needs to be taken soon. UNESCO is certainly working hard on this. However, as stated by Kodzo Kavua of the University of Ghana during a 2011 UNESCO conference about the future of World Heritage Sites in Edinburgh, most African countries are suffering from "workshop and seminar fatigue."[99] The World Heritage Site Convention binds countries, so UNESCO depends on central governments to disseminate information and funding. This often does not work, at least not as efficiently as hoped, with the result that participants accuse each other of dereliction. A way out of this could be to establish more intermediary institutions to organise the direct participation of nongovernmental organisations and local authorities, with UNESCO supporting practical projects, raising awareness of local traditions and vocational skills such as the stonemasons in Djenné and sharing the responsibility of coordination with stakeholders, including the central government and the intermediary institutions. This would create a buffer zone between the central government, local stakeholders and UNESCO, as we shall see in the successful case studies in the next section.

Such institutions could also help to increase the participation of local universities in respective countries, an issue raised in the interview with Rössler, who noted the lack of such participation.[100] On the other hand, the valuable work of local universities goes unnoticed or underutilised, as universities cannot report directly to UNESCO. They can disseminate their work through international nongovernmental organisations such as ICOMOS and can certainly also participate in UNESCO meetings. However, most university members and site managers in Africa do not have the funds to do this and, in most cases, are not even able to obtain the relevant visas, as happened to Ali Ould Sidi, World Heritage Site Manager of Timbuktu, Mali. Sidi had been invited to make a presentation to the World Heritage Sites Conference in Edinburgh and could not acquire a visa, despite being sent to three different countries by the visa authorities for this purpose.[101] Luckily, a group of young researchers supported by the African-European Young People Initiatives managed to attend the conference. At the same conference, a geographic information system risk management project by Ademuwagum Adelou Damiel attracted much attention. Following up encroachments on Nigeria's World Heritage Sites, his project provided a good example of how the wealth of knowledge obtained by local universities and its dissemination through an intermediary institution, maybe in this case the African-European Young People Initiatives, would provide a greater appreciation of African heritage.

Another area where both universities and intermediary institutions make a major contribution to the success of such heritage preservation projects is the preservation of transnational heritage. A number of World Heritage Sites in financially less viable countries are managed through transnational donations from financially stronger countries—usually countries that have a historic or cultural link to the country receiving the donation. For example, Spanish and Portuguese governments have directed a number of donations to UNESCO's World Heritage Centre towards their former colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean.[102] In some cases, the binding element between the donor and target of the donation depends on a shared identity. Japan, as an island, is helping other smaller island communities. On August 10, 2011, the Japanese government approved a total budget of US$1 million for a capacity-building project to support the conservation of World Heritage Sites and enhance the sustainable development of local communities in Small Island Developing States (SIDS). The project has identified three SIDS regions: Africa, Pacific and the Caribbean.[103] Governmental interests may also be linked to memorial issues, as in the case of the Israeli government joining recently in supporting the preservation of Auschwitz-Birkenau.[104]

FUNDING OF TRANSNATIONAL HERITAGE AND BILATERAL PROJECTS

> It is interesting to observe how the majority of conservation, restoration and rehabilitation projects for historical, colonial monuments in Bolivia are and have been financed by the Agency for Spanish Cooperation.[105]

Authors Pascale Absi, Pablo Cruz and Robert Finestone believe that recovering its colonial heritage gave Spain a tool in the 1990s, the early years of Spain's entry to the European Economic Community, an opportunity of showing its peers past achievements as an indication of future capabilities. They further argue through the example of the mining town Potosi (see Chapter 5) that a "staged heritage" concept has been introduced there by denying the fact that it still operates as an industrial site, transforming the plight of the Potosi women who protested on the peak of the Cerro Rico at the mechanisation of the mine to a folkloric tale. According to Absi, Cruz and Finestone, the women had been trying to defend their hand-picking jobs, through which a narrative of Cerro Rico as a holy mountain within the context of indigenous traditions was created. If this is the case, the next question should be whether heritage tourism turning miners into tour guides can generate enough income for this community to survive. This is one of the challenges of transnational conservation projects, especially in industrial sites in non-postindustrial countries.

The case of Potosi is just one of countless case studies showing that transnational funding for heritage, especially for colonial heritage, can be a double-edged sword. Such funding may touch old wounds, lead to accusations of misinterpretation of the fund receiver's cultural traditions and create tensions between local and national interests. Sometimes international donors may be accused of having hidden agendas or favouring their own country by creating jobs and trade opportunities for their own nationals. For example, the Turkish columnist Yılmaz Özdil recently criticised German international support organisations such as Deutsche Gesellschaft für International Zusammenarbeit, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KFW) for paying a salary of 1,000 Turkish lira to local experts while paying 1,000 euros to German experts, more than double the Turkish salaries. Furthermore, he argues that the materiel necessary for infrastructural projects is bought in most cases from the donor country to support the donor's export economy; otherwise, "the taxes of the hard working Germans would not be spent by the German Government for Turkey," especially during the current European economic crisis.[106] On the other hand, most institutions such as KFW, a German development bank, do not conceal the fact that, when funding bilateral community projects in developing countries or regions, their main aim is to support their national companies to compete in the global market.[107]

Among the three German organisations involved in bilateral support projects, GTZ is the most active in historic preservation. GTZ has been providing support for conservation projects for many years in a variety of countries, including Nepal, China, Syria, Yemen and Rumania, at the local and national level on behalf of the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation. GTZ's aims include awareness raising through community participation, strengthening urban management by building local capacity, offering free technical help and financial consultancy to communities for emergency work in conservation through small credit facilities and grant programmes, improving the residential environment by means of public greening, calming traffic and promoting cultural tourism.[108] One of GTZ's principal strategies is an emphasis on the bilateral nature of the projects. For example, the Shibam Project in Yemen started when Yemen was on the threshold of holding its first democratic elections so that GTZ could find motivated partners in the newly established and now more powerful district governments. The German contribution during the ten-year project starting in June 2000 and ending in June 2010 was 6,850,000 euros.[109]

An interim report compiled for one of the first GTZ projects, the Bhaktapur Development Project in Nepal, gives excellent insight into the adjustment needs of European construction management principles working in non-European countries. The training needs of the local workforce to

acquire restoration skills made it impossible to use the usual payment system based on quantitative work. In addition, financial administration during the construction period had to be regulated to conform to the Nepali audit system. Moreover, during the selection of the workforce, issues such as group, professional or caste rivalry within the context of the traditional guild system had to be considered for the sake of an effective working environment.[110]

The report revealed a number of issues with which a charity or a governmental aid institution may be confronted in transnational projects when trying to understand the local culture and work conditions. The need for intermediary institutions in international projects is reflected in the Bhaktapur case, where the German partners, working with a central organisation—in this case, the Nepali government—faced certain difficulties which could have been avoided through the involvement of a nongovernmental, intermediary institution taking over the responsibility in dealing with local issues. A successful example of such a project can be seen in the conservation of the historic Al Alami House in Gaza Old Town. In this project, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) partnered with the Iwan Centre for Architectural Heritage located in Gaza. The project was part of a bigger scheme which employed in its first phase more than three hundred jobless workers and craftsmen and thirty engineers and architects, with a total budget of around $60,000. This first phase included the cleaning of eighteen abandoned historic sites, partial maintenance of ten historic houses and the complete conservation of the Al Alami House, to be used as a centre for Palestinian Heritage. The project was so successful that the ICRC signed a new contract with a budget of $120,000 with the Iwan Centre to start a second phase to begin on March 27, 2010.[111] The project was successful mainly because payment of the workers' wages was undertaken by the ICRC after monitoring the accomplishment of each agreed phase in the presence of the community leader and the ICRC site manager. The involvement of the community, supported by a local institution, ensured the success of this project.

South Sudan became the 194th UNESCO Member State on October 27, 2011; in November 2011, Palestine was admitted as UNESCO's 195th member.[112] UNESCO membership provides for new states a framework for the protection of their cultural heritage and opens a route for international recognition, which once more shows the importance of the role heritage preservation plays in politics (see Chapter 3). For example, Europa Nostra, one of the largest European nongovernmental organisations working with the European Union, ICOMOS and UNESCO, has acted as a bridge during the early years of the integration of Baltic and Eastern Mediterranean states into Europe to support the recognition of these states by raising their awareness levels regarding their links to European heritage.

Europa Nostra, a pan-European heritage nongovernmental organisation confederation, acts as an ambassador to provide an intermediary function in transnational projects between these countries and others. In the case of the conservation of Rosia Montana in Rumania, a mine dating from Roman times, Europa Nostra liaised with a Canadian company to support the project with $70 million.[113] Europa Nostra also spreads its message beyond Europe by encouraging Asian countries to set up continent-wide civil society organisations with heritage conservation agendas.

European conservation funding institutions seem to take a special interest in Asia. The European Union funded the Asia Urbs Programme to work in sustainable urban development projects involving local authority partnerships from Europe and Asia with a budget of 42.3 million euros over six years. One of the heritage-led regeneration projects in this framework was based on the linking of three walled cities: Xingcheng in China, Obidos in Portugal and Portsmouth in the UK. A special transnational focus in Asia in the context also exists between the UK and India, naturally due to their long shared history. However, a closer look reveals that Scotland has played a leading role in transnational UK projects in India; its vital engagement in that colonial history is a long-overlooked fact. According to Dean Nelson, in New Delhi the Scottish government, keen to emphasise its independence from London in foreign affairs, has begun a campaign to renovate a number of imperial buildings in India to remind the world that "Scots were heavily represented in Her Majesty's Government's vast imperial civil service and as businessmen and architects."[114] Indeed, the Scottish Asian Business Awards, launched in 2006, emphasised the importance of business connections between Asian countries, especially the Indian subcontinent, and Scotland; historic preservation often provides an important tool in supporting this concept.[115] In 2009 Michael Russell, Scotland's culture and external affairs minister, declared that the support given to the preservation of the Scottish buildings in India should not be regarded just as an act of altruism; the rehabilitation of this shared heritage is part of "the things make Scotland visible abroad" and build science and trade relationships.[116] The Scottish Ten, an international project launched by the Scottish government in 2009, showcases Scottish technical expertise in the digital recording of ten World Heritage Sites, five outside Scotland. It chose as one of the five international case studies the recording of Rani Ki Vav or the "Queen's Stepwell" near Patan in Gujarat State in India. This demonstration of technical expertise and equipment is used to advertise Scotland's innovative science in a country where it also has economic interests.

However, not all Scottish conservation projects in India have followed economic interests. The intellectual effects of the Scottish Enlightenment were not limited to knowledge transfer in technology and business relations; Scots contributed to the development of the Indian resistance

movement through the influence of Scottish philosophers. According to Michael Fry, Scottish Enlightenment philosophers such as David Hume laid the foundations for Indian independence by helping Indians to create an Indian identity.[117] Many of the Scottish intellectuals and missionaries who came to India to spread these ideas and many other Scots who came as traders, artisans, soldiers and colonial administrators never left and are buried in the Scottish Cemetery in Calcutta, an important centre which served first as the headquarters of the East India Company and then as the administrative capital of the British Raj. For decades the cemetery lay almost forgotten until the establishment of the Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust in 2008 to commemorate and build on historic links between Scotland and India. The Trust identified the restoration of the Scottish Cemetery as its first task, as a "reminder of Scotland's role in spreading the Enlightenment thinking around the world."[118] The Kolkata Scottish Cemetery Project was conceived by James Simpson at the request of G. M. Kapur, director of the Calcutta chapter of the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH). The Scottish government, St. Andrew's Church Kolkata, the Church of North India, Kolkata Municipal

Figure 6.4 The Kolkata Scottish Cemetery in India dating from 1820 will become the focus of a craft skills training project initiated by the Scottish architect James Simpson and the Scottish Lime Trust. Image courtesy James Simpson.

Corporation, the West Bengal Heritage Commission, the British Council, Siri Gopalkrishna Gandhi, governor of West Bengal, the Scottish Lime Centre Trust, INTACH Calcutta Chapter, the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia and the British High Deputy Commission are among project supporters, showing the complexity of a transnational project, especially when cemeteries and war memorials are involved.[119] During the first year, the Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust benefited from donations amounting to over £46,000, the principal donors being institutions such as the Royal Order of Scotland, the Northwood Charitable Trust, Enders Analysis Ltd, the Binks Trust, the Carim Trust and the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia.[120]

The cemetery was established in 1820, extended in 1858 and became the principal burying place for Calcutta-based Scots and other members of nonconformist congregations until the 1940s. The field survey used to compile data on the cemetery was conducted following a standardised methodology of cemetery recording, a specialised subject area based on interdisciplinary research, as cemeteries are sources for both tangible and intangible heritage. The involvement of the Scottish Lime Centre proved to be most valuable because most of the earlier nineteenth-century brick monuments have been finished with details in moulded lime plaster. Most damage has been caused by overgrown grass whose invasive root systems caused cracks in the monuments. An important part of the project will be the introduction of a training programme to instruct Calcutta's craftsmen in traditional craft skills, which will provide new job opportunities and create expertise necessary for the preservation and maintenance of this shared heritage. Following visits to Calcutta by James Simpson in 2009 and several trustees, the trust believes in the wider benefits of a training programme for the city, which has a great number of buildings of shared heritage. The programme will target primarily sixteen-year-olds from communities living near the cemetery and aims to provide them with reading, writing and language skills in addition to craft training. Simpson is also currently working on a trans-European apprenticeship project to revive craft skills in building conservation.[121]

A common way of funding a transnational conservation project is by providing support through the transfer of new technologies, as we saw in the case of the Scottish Ten projects. Whether this happens through the cooperation of a university or charity with a central or local government institution in the partner country, as with the Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust, the aim of the support is knowledge transfer and cultural exchange rather than reinforcing trade relations. The restoration project of Qasr al-Mushatta, an Umayyad palace in Jordan, a transnational project involving the Technische Universität Berlin (Berlin Institute of Technology), is a good example of a university partnering with a local authority. Following the donation in 2005 of a model of the original

Figure 6.5 The Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Berlin Institute of Technology (Technische Universität Berlin) and Berlin National Museums are working together to document and evaluate the Qasr al-Mushatta, an important Umayyad palace in Jordan. The image shows members of Berlin Institute of Technology preparing to reconstruct the arches. Image courtesy Berlin Institute of Technology (Technische Universität Berlin), Chair for History of Architecture and Urbanism (Fachgebiet Bau und Stadtbaugeschichte).

façade of Mushatta Palace in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin to the Jordan National Museum in Amman, the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Berlin Institute of Technology and the Berlin National Museums in 2009 launched a joint research and restoration project to document and evaluate this historic site.[122] The project was funded by the German Research Foundation and the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany. Restoration work completed since 2009 includes the repair of historic brickwork by using old bricks from the site as much as possible and adding more courses to the tops of the walls with new bricks produced in similar format and material to the historic samples. Altogether some 100,000 bricks were employed. The work continued in 2010 by rebuilding the façade of the palace, beginning with the three arches. Eighty percent of the stones still on site were reassembled by local workers using traditional techniques. The project will be finished in 2012 following stabilisation of the vaulted rooms and implementation of a site management system.[123] This is a very good case study

demonstrating the value of practical and technical support by a partner institution leading to physical results followed by a management plan, as opposed to an a priori management plan which expects physical results in a later phase.

An emerging trend among transnational support institutions of European origin is the increasing attention paid to political correctness. For example, the International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage (ISCSBH, which began in 1990s as the Committee on Shared Architecture and Town Planning, in late 2001 transformed its focus on issues of "integrated conservation" to "investigating the interrelationship between preservation, modernization and redevelopment in different cultural contexts."[124] In 2007 the new title, initiated by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, followed a suggestion by the Sri Lanka Minister of Foreign Affairs that Dutch East India Company heritage in former Ceylon was "dual parentage" or "shared heritage." The first ISCSBH forum in the Malaysian historic town of Malacca, in which the socioeconomic functioning of this historic Malaysian town with Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch and British built heritage has been discussed, pointed out that transnational heritage can sometimes be

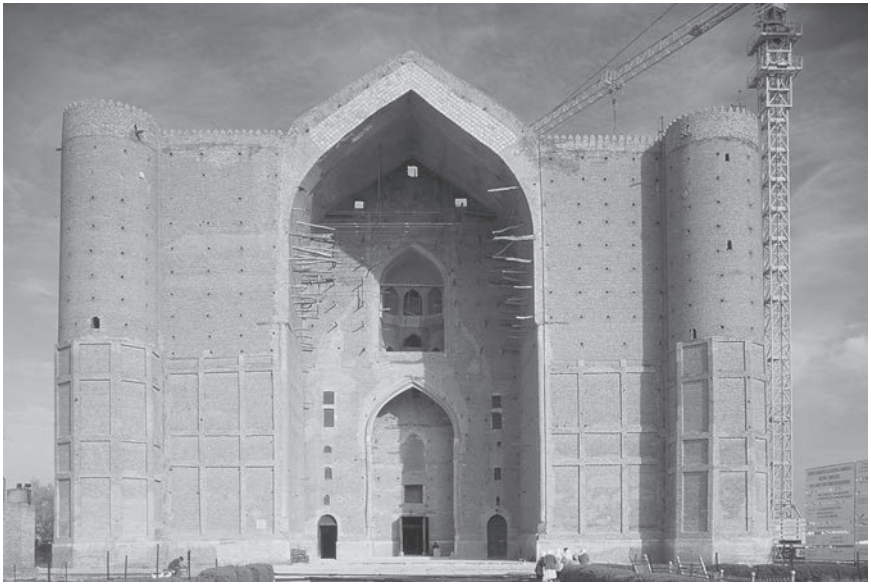


Figure 6.6 The Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Complex in the town of Türkistan in Kazakhstan was restored with the support of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency, following the signing of a bilateral agreement between Turkish and Kazak governments. Courtesy Azmi Köprücü, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of the Holy Foundations), Vakıf İnşaat (Construction Department).

multinational in one location with buildings built in different phases by multiple nationalities.

Another pattern emerges when a shared collective memory motivates governments to cooperate in the conservation of an iconic building symbolising this shared heritage, as in the case of the restoration of the Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Complex in the town of Türkistan in Kazakhstan. Hoca Ahmet Yesevi was a Sufi scholar born in this area at the beginning of the twelfth century whose work has linked Muslim Turkish-speaking nations for centuries. In 1990, the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, funded the restoration of his tomb and memorial complex under a bilateral agreement between the Turkish and Kazak governments. The tomb complex dates back to the Tamerlane period and is thought to have been built around 1395.[125] The tomb was restored during the Soviet period more than once; there were still structural problems when the project began following a number of earthquakes since the previous restoration and the high density of ground water. With the help of Istanbul Technical University experts, a jet grout system was used to consolidate the foundations, then a continuous footing was constructed. Once the foundations were stabilised, the existing cracks were injected with a mortar based on the original mortar components, and defective tiles were replaced, provided by the Kazak factory commissioned by the Kazak government to support this project.[126]

An important aspect of this project, similar to the Kolkata Scottish Cemetery Project, is the vocational training support provided by the external partner. Approximately fifty Turkish master craftsmen from different disciplines such as historic bricks, glazed tiles, carpentry and joinery not only worked in the project but also exchanged knowledge and information with Kazak craftsmen in building conservation and transferred their knowledge to their Kazak partners. Furthermore, TIKA contributed to the region by reviving tile quarries from the Tamerlane period and using these bricks in replacement. TIKA did similar projects in the Ukraine: Zincirli Medrese, a historic educational building, and in Kosovo the tomb of the Ottoman Sultan Murat Hudevendigar, which bears similarities to the Calcutta project because it has required the development of a special methodology for the conservation of a royal burial site in the host country.

As we have seen in all the examples in this section, transnational projects are usually more feasible than international projects in gaining practical results, consolidating the theoretical framework provided by international institutions to support and enhance the practice. Conversely, colonial defence structures are difficult types of buildings within the context of transnational cooperation. Colonial forts often symbolise for post-colonial nations the difficult heritage of colonialism. In Africa, particularly, this is usually combined with collective memory of slavery. Despite this, many countries find ways to cooperate with their former colonists to save this heritage.

CASE FILE: FUNDING OF COLONIAL DEFENCE STRUCTURES IN A TRANSCONTINENTAL CONTEXT

In 2008 the author, as the project leader for a learning and teaching project, received funding from the University of Portsmouth in the UK to develop a research-informed digital teaching resource to establish an archive of forts and castles in non-European countries.[127] For three consecutive years, material was generated by postgraduate students studying historic building conservation as part of their assessment strategy, to be used by undergraduate students of the School of Architecture. One of the interesting outcomes of the project was the selection pattern of case studies. Out of twenty-four students, seven chose Crusader castles or Muslim Army castles built against the Crusaders. Five students chose non-colonial castles in Asia, predominantly in Japan, four students worked on North American forts, three students investigated Turkish castles and forts and five students chose as their case study a colonial defence structure. Most of the Asian case studies were chosen by international students from Asia; none chose a colonial fort in their home country. Another interesting pattern emerges when we look at the colonial castles and forts; four of the five students who chose colonial castles were UK students and one was from Europe. They all predominantly discussed trade and slavery aspects. Although these were the results of a pilot study, the latter fact points to a delicate situation where interest in colonial defence structures in former colonies seems to be predominantly on the side of the former colonisers when it comes to gathering information. Regarding their conservation, however, interests varied, partly also due to their location and origin. For example, although Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine, Florida, was originally built by the Spanish, it later played an important role in both the American independence movement and the Civil War and therefore was acknowledged as a US National Monument as early as 1900.[128] Research shows that, although aspects such as slavery, verified by this pilot study, are popular with researchers, material research and conservation issues are neglected, which indicates a lack of funding, means and motivation in terms of their conservation.

According to Jeremy C. Wells, who dedicated his MSc dissertation to investigating mortar formulae and their use in Spanish Caribbean fortifications, using the Castle of San Cristóbal in San Juan, Puerto Rico, as his case study, the lack of material investigation to support future restoration and preservation efforts is typical for Caribbean fortifications.[129] It is further interesting that none of the University of Portsmouth students who concentrated on two other Spanish Caribbean castles in Cartagena in Colombia and St. Augustine, Florida, realised that all these castles were built as part of a sixteenth-century Spanish Caribbean master plan by the same Spanish military engineer and thus missed one of

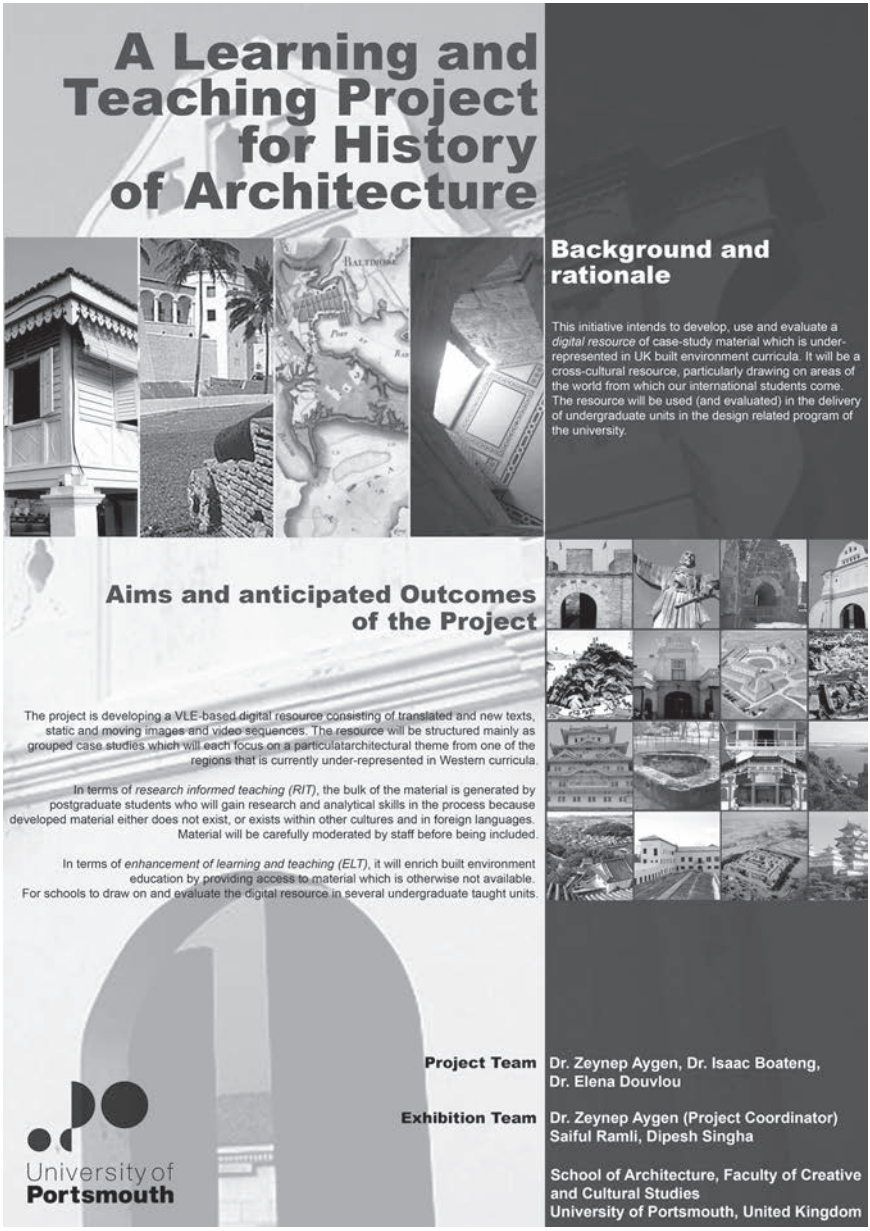


Figure 6.7 The poster for the Europa Nostra Conference at the University of Portsmouth, which the author presented with students Dipesh Singha from Nepal and Saiful Fazli from Malaysia in the Forts and Castles Archive Project. Involving home students and international students in the project has created an inclusive research environment through widening participation.

the main transnational binding elements of Spanish colonial heritage in the Americas.[130] Because the transnational heritage of several countries can be focused in one single country, as we saw in Malacca, at the other end of the spectrum, the transnational heritage of one single country may be shared between two continents, as in this case of Spanish defence structures in the Americas, which makes the management of this heritage more complex.

Another aspect of decay issues related to colonial castles in the Americas was given in a paper by B. J. Smith and his research associates concerning the decay of coastal forts in southeast Brazil and its implications for the conservation of colonial built heritage.[131] The article argued that, as a consequence of a European consensus accepting the significance of built heritage as means of affirming national identity, supported by wide recognition of economic value, most scientific journal articles concentrate only on the technical and environmental aspects of conservation (such as stone decay) and exclude social, economic and political parameters. In contrast, built heritage identified with a colonial past in non-European countries, predominantly in economically weaker ones, is "too recent to be accepted as the country's national heritage," which again explains the absence of technical studies, especially in the case of colonial defence structures.[132] For example, in Singapore the Tourism Product Development Plan of 1986 included an expenditure of $223 million to conserve all colonial buildings in historic enclaves such as China Town, Little India and Kampong Glam and the redevelopment of Fort Cunning, a former fort turned to a cultural centre.[133] However, the ruins of Fort Tajong Katong, one of the oldest forts constructed by British engineers in the nineteenth century, brought to light in 2004–2005 by the efforts of a local charitable organisation, the Mountbatten Citizens' Consultative Committee, have not been gazetted by the Preservation of Monuments Board. The board decided in 2008 to keep the archaeological remains of the fort buried. In 2010, responding to a question from Minister of Parliament Lim Biow, Minister Rear Admiral Lui Tuck Yew explained that there were considerable costs in undertaking full excavation, another example of difficulties related to the funding of colonial defence structures.[134] Even when funding for other colonial buildings is provided, funding for a relatively recent colonial structure may not be available.

Two of the five students choosing colonial castles in the University of Portsmouth project concentrated on African castles: the Castle (of Good Hope)[135] at Cape Town and Elmina Castle, Ghana. The intangible heritage of colonial defence structures in Africa has had an immense impact on both conservation polices and technologies as a consequence of their strong connection with colonial prestige and slavery. Although the Castle at Cape Town was predominantly built to guard the Dutch East India Company and

prevent attacks from land and sea, it also stood as a symbol of Dutch colonial aspirations by "securing the Dutch East India Company's mercantile empire" through this classic example of fortification based on the famous Vauban's design principles.[136] Therefore, problems related to its conservation derive from design and building material problems from the original building and the disparities between what was actually built in front of the Table Mountain and what was thought to be built by those sitting in the Dutch Company's central offices in Amsterdam.[137] Unlike this example in South Africa, Elmina Castle in Ghana symbolises all colonial defence structures that were built originally for defence purposes and later became slave detention centres, explaining the strong criticism of restoration approaches voiced by African-Americans.

According to Brempong Ossei-Tutu, the Ghanaian initiative of restoring the two major slavery-related castles—Cape Coast and Elmina in Ghana—as memorials to the transatlantic slave trade, had the ultimate aim of drawing African-Americans to Ghana to promote the travel industry.[138] However, most African-American visitors felt that the restoration erased authentic traces, a complex issue discussed in detail both in Ossei-Tutu's article and an article by Edward M. Bruner about the representation of slavery in the context of historic building conservation. Bruner explained that the restoration of particular rooms and locations, whose function had changed over time, also represented different aspects of transnational heritage. Should the restoration have emphasised the site of the Portuguese church inside the castle as one of the oldest Catholic places of worship in Ghana or its conversion by the Dutch in 1637 to a slave market? Bruner further argued that Ghanaians want castles restored with good lighting and heating to be attractive to tourists in general, while African-Americans are interested in seeing inhuman conditions, the filth, the smell and the darkness of the dungeons.[139] Bruner draws attention to a huge sign at the entrance listing international donors of the project such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Development Programme, Shell (Ghana) Limited, the US chapter of the International Council on Monuments and Sites, the Smithsonian Institution and a number of other US aid agencies and academic institutions. The United States is mentioned in the sign three times more than the Ghanaian government. Adding the fact that the local residents of Elmina are restricted from entering the castle grounds, Bruner asked who now owned the castle.[140]

Transnational funding of certain type of transnational heritage, as in the case of defence structures, is a delicate issue and can lead to misunderstandings and reactions. For example, Anthony Hyland, who is a monuments conservation consultant to the government of Ghana for the Central Region Integrated Development Programme and technical consultant to the Historic Preservation (Forts and Castles) project components funded

by USAID, defended the view that the historical integrity and authenticity of the Elmina Castle and other castles in the project has been protected.[141] However, at the May 1994 conference in the castle, a prominent African-American referred to Hyland as a "white slave master," reflecting the difficulties of being in charge of such a difficult task.[142] Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng and Christopher R. DeCorse, in their article titled "Ghana's Vanishing Past," referred to the inability of both foreign and domestic partners to recognise the value of Ghana's cultural resources. The USAID project, allocating an initial amount of US$7.8 million over five years, aimed specifically at conservation, management and public presentation of a number of Ghanaian castles, including two castles in the Elmina peninsula (São Jorge el Mina and St. Jago), is said to have generated more than US$75 million public and private investment in infrastructure and other tourist amenities. However, according to the authors, interpretation of the castles was based entirely on a limited number of secondary resources with no detailed drawings or architectural significance assessment of the buildings.[143] This discussion may shed more light on the African-American criticism of the project. As Kankpeyeng and DeCorse agreed, "even well intended efforts at preservation sometimes went awry."[144]

One of the main reasons for problems generated by transnational funding is the lack of community participation—particularly at a local level but also at transnational levels. As already pointed out at the beginning of this section, academic papers on colonial heritage, especially in the case of forts and castles, concentrate more on marketing strategies and resident attitudes from a cultural tourism perspective. Within this genre, a number of articles discussing the case of Ghana pointed out a lack of community participation in the framework of the Cape Coast and Elmina castle projects. For example Teye, Sönmez and Sirakaya found in their field research sufficient evidence of local residents not being involved in the project and "deliberately being physically separated from the decision making as well as the physical attractions."[145] The authors pointed out that little work has been devoted to examining resident attitudes in developing countries, especially at the inception stages of transnational cultural tourism enterprises. On the other hand, Agyei-Menash emphasised that infrastructure investment in the Cape Town project is lacking and deters tourists from staying longer in the locality, with the result that local benefit from the project is minimised.[146] Finally, Richards's article on diaspora Africans visiting Ghana's castle dungeons shows that preliminary research at the early stages of transnational conservation projects should also include transnational community participation, reflecting the intangible aspects of this shared tangible heritage which has an impact on conservation policies.[147] Transnational cooperation will also help countries overcome those boundaries dividing the world into core, semiperiphery and periphery, discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

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7 Public Participation

> European tourists usually perceive huts with thatched roofs . . . as authentic Africa, while cosmopolitan Cape Town, for instance, is considered not the real Africa. Can this myth be reconciled with the notion of community development?[1]

The authors of an article about the development of Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) in southern Africa, from which this quote is taken, argue that, although TFCAs focus on community participation and development, the concept they promote derives from a colonial discourse. According to the authors, this attitude was caused by international experts who gave technical advice on the project, focusing on transnational aspects of the buildings rather than local aspects, with the result that Africa's contribution to built heritage is mostly disregarded. On the other hand, TFCAs indicate a new trend of transnational participation emerging mainly in national conservation areas that sometimes combine cultural landscapes with buildings. Transfrontier community participation is a specialised version of the transnational projects discussed in Chapter 6. While the lack of transnational community participation leads to disappointment among certain visitor groups within a heritage tourism context, in contested transfrontier areas, it becomes a much more complex issue, dealt with later in this chapter.

Although the role of the community in heritage preservation and support given by the public in some countries has shaped the development of conservation legislation, this bottom-up aspect of the conservation realm has not been acknowledged for a long time. A brief look at the history of community participation in historic preservation reveals that whereas in some countries the inclusion of buildings of special historic or artistic influence into legislative systems developed in response to public pressure, in other countries the state was the first to develop conservation principles. In Great Britain, special building controls in respect of buildings of special architectural and historic interest formed part of town and country planning legislation since the 1930s, but the British public had expressed interest in the preservation of the historic environment since the early nineteenth century.[2] The Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths in the Vicinity of York

formed in 1824, the Manchester Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths (1826) and the later established Commons Preservation Society in London (1865) were not merely the first examples of citizen movements aimed at protecting free access rights for ramblers; they also represented the first public initiatives to stop the destruction of historic landscapes.[3] According to Darby, community involvement in landscape preservation was formed through opposition to rapidly modernising Britain, to protect continuity and tradition in landscape as a historical record of ruined monuments, ancient trees and "fairy stones."[4] In this context, it represented the first definition of what we today call cultural landscape. In no other domain of historic preservation can we see how closely historic preservation is related to the definition of national identity (see Chapter 4) and selectivity in collective memory, especially when it comes to the preservation of transfrontier cultural landscapes.

TRANS-FRONTIER HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND THE ROLE OF NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

The first TFCA in Africa, dating from 1999, was the Kgalagadi Trans-Frontier Park shared between South Africa and Botswana.[5] According to Draper, Sprierenburg and Wels, Western-dominated international conservation agencies introduced an "enforced primitivism" into African communities by promoting predominantly natural conservation areas and game reserves, rejecting an identity that incorporated built heritage.[6] The issue of internationally supported preference for nature conservation in Africa and other regions such as the Caribbean has already been discussed in Chapter 5, with the African response being a preference for the conservation of stone towns, causing problems of decay in earlier earthen structures. Moreover, the definition of these transfrontier projects as natural conservation areas is misleading, because most of them contain sacred monuments, sites, memorials and, most importantly, humans, as transmitters of the intangible heritage of these areas, which in fact makes them cultural landscapes.

A good example of the role of community participation in TFCA projects directed at the preservation of cultural landscapes can be seen in the revival of war-destroyed centres of cities divided between Germany and Poland. There are a number of double cities in the Germany–Poland border region such as German Görlitz and Polish Zgorzelec and German Guben and Polish Gubin. In Görlitz/Zgorzelec, citizens were invited to contribute to a joint dialogue strategy to revive the destroyed historic city centre as a memorial landscape described as a "bridge park."[7] In the case of Guben/Gubin, both sides of the divided city have lost their cultural centre, which had been a theatre island with an historic theatre building surrounded by a park. The rehabilitation project did not anticipate the reconstruction of the theatre building but rather the creation of a memorial landscape containing

the foundation walls of the theatre and the rehabilitated historic footpaths leading to it, which is now surrounded by a spontaneously growing wild landscape.[8] It is clear that the transnational cooperation between Germany and Poland did not aim to reconstruct their lost heritage but to give a new identity to these divided cities, creating a joint collective memory.

The preservation of transfrontier heritage is a fragile aspect of the heritage preservation realm and requires delicacy, patience and endurance. German-Polish transnational cooperation in the rehabilitation of divided city centres had its problems but is a successful example, partly due to the fact that these centres were no longer contested territories and both belonged to a united Europe. If the joint heritage asset is located in contested territories, it can have dire consequences. Recently Thailand withdrew from the World Heritage Convention over a disputed transfrontier temple, called in Thailand Phra Vihern and in Cambodia Preah Vihear. According to the 1962 ruling of the International Court of Justice, the temple belongs to Cambodia, but it is surrounded by territory contested between Thailand and Cambodia. The reason for Thailand's withdrawal was agreement by the World Heritage Committee that Cambodia should prepare and present management plans for this World Heritage asset. According to the political scientist Carl Theyer at the University of South Wales in Australia, its case would be stronger if both countries were involved in the management plan.[9] The case would be even more robust if the residents on both sides could be integrated into the management plan, because this temple must have a special meaning for all communities in the region, irrespective of their nationality. The importance of local community participation in historic building conservation has still not been fully adopted by policymakers. Stephen Fletcher and Jonathan Potts, who have developed a concept of ocean governance, insist that environmental problems in regional seas cannot be solved by nation-states working in isolation.[10] Similarly, conservation of historic buildings in contested territories needs to involve all stakeholders, a concept that should be supported by all international agencies.

There is evidence that the success of transfrontier conservation projects in contested territories and divided cities depends heavily on community participation. However, it is essential that the participation of local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is ensured by international NGOs. In most cases, first attempts for reconciliation through mutual heritage tourism and building conservation projects in contested territories are made by local NGOs and universities. At some stage, they usually seek the support of international NGOs to create more awareness of their project and to find international donors to secure funding. Sometimes, however, the internationalisation of a project marginalises local NGOs and causes them to lose their motivation, despite the goodwill of the international NGOs. This may be the case in attempts to preserve the walled city of Famagusta (in Turkish Gazi Mağusa) in Cyprus.

In 2010 two experts, Carlos Jaramillo and Michael J. Walsh, drafted a project using the preservation of Famagusta Walled City as a tool for remediation and reconciliation.[11] The idea was based on the submission of a nomination dossier for the recognition of Famagusta as a World Heritage Site. Since Famagusta is considered occupied territory by the international community, the draft management plan included a strategy to involve both the local civil society (a local NGO) and a European civil society (international NGO) as a nomination organisation, with the development of a funding concept to include private–public partnerships on both sides. The presence of one particular international NGO, Cultural Heritage without Borders, which has already directed successful projects in the Eastern Mediterranean region using heritage preservation as a tool for trust building among communities after the Balkan War, was thought to be essential. In 2007 a civil society dialogue project for the revival of Famagusta was funded by United States Agency for International Development (see Chapter 6) through the initiation of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot individuals from Famagusta. The Structured Design Dialogue Process colaboratories resulted in the development of a model whose descriptors included the total restoration of the walled city as a cultural tourism attraction centre.[12] In April 2008, under the guidance of Europa Nostra, another international NGO and a pan-European NGO federation for cultural heritage (see Chapter 6), the two mayors representing the Turkish-Muslim and Greek-Orthodox communities met in Paris and agreed jointly to support the preservation of Famagusta.[13]

However, as Carlos Jaramillo, one of the project authors who worked in Cyprus in May to December 2010 as an independent consultant for the United Nations Development Programme Partnership for the Future Programme (cultural heritage technical specialist) perceived, the preliminary study on cultural heritage in Cyprus had to be completed within a tight framework (time, expertise availability, project architecture and management).[14] One hundred and twenty technical assessments had to be completed in just four months, in the absence of an agreed-upon policy framework with linkage to both communities. Instead, underlying agendas from both communities arose as critical considerations in decision making. Ongoing disputes regarding heritage sites were resolved without due process and criteria, revealing unsolved issues of conflict and improvisation. Jaramillo, whose work brief included the "ad-hoc assessment of heritage sites in the walled city," Ottoman architecture and cultural heritage in the northern part of Cyprus, asserted that sensitivities included a lack of consensus on the use of place and building names, political, economic and administrative risks, no acknowledgement of heritage sites in the contested northern territory of the country, unresolved problems related to historic properties in private ownership and, last but not least, lack of genuine political will and feasible plans on both sides.[15] This scenario is common to most conflict/postconflict regions and, in Jaramillo's experience, requires alternative

approaches and creative solutions to such obstacles. Civil society and non-profit organisations are now called upon to play a different role, stepping in when regular approaches are ineffectual and stakeholders are uncooperative in finding resolution. Ultimately, according to Jaramillo, cultural heritage is a collective asset, not institutional property.[16]

Meanwhile, the project seems to have come to a halt. According to Hülya Yüceer from the Eastern Mediterranean University, one of the initiators of the project, most local NGOs have lost their motivation. Yüceer thinks that it is essential in this kind of project to establish a new NGO first, later to be joined by existing local NGOs concentrating on historic building conservation and avoiding the politicisation of the project.[17] However, in Famagusta the local administrative system could not be adjusted to establish a new NGO; neither did the existing system allow the project to be supported by international aid. This is a typical situation in contested territory, where authorities are cautious about international intervention and foreign NGOs. However, Yüceer has persevered and managed, together with the local municipality Gazi Mağusa Belediyesi, to secure the revival of the previously rejected funding opportunity provided by the Global Heritage Fund. Yüceer's success was due mainly to her downsizing the project by concentrating on one object, the Sea Gate, and combining it with a capacity-building initiative for training masons, technicians and architects in conservation techniques. With the lack and loss of practical knowledge (see Chapter 2) being one of the most important obstacles impeding historic building conservation, especially in postwar situations, this skills-related initiative makes the whole project feasible and sustainable.

A recent documentary film made to raise international awareness about Famagusta also reflected the impact of identity issues in heritage documentation.[18] In addition to a number of individuals from different nationalities, the film was supported by eight institutions, trusts, foundations and local authorities, but only one institution representing the Turkish Cypriots, the Famagusta Turkish Municipality.[19] The script was written and narrated by Allan Langdale, an expert on medieval and renaissance architecture in Cyprus, and the film is effective in raising international awareness about this important heritage site. However, probably due to Langdale's lack of expertise on Ottoman architecture, this was represented only by a bath building; it would have been more inclusive if there had been more in the film about the Ottoman period. It is true that Famagusta lost its importance during Ottoman rule, declining from a prosperous city to a military bastion, a process already begun in the Venetian period, and its architecture lacks the grandeur of the Ottoman buildings of Istanbul or Bursa. However, it contains all the key buildings of Ottoman life, a *medrese* (traditional school building, see Chapter 3), a Sufi convent and tombs of significant personalities of Ottoman history such as Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, an important diplomat and author of one of the first accounts on European life and customs ever written in the Ottoman Empire. Akmescid, while a small place of worship,

Figure 7. 1 The Mescid of Akkule, now converted to a tourist information centre. Inclusion of Ottoman heritage into the heritage discourse of Cyprus and its representation alongside other historic buildings may help communities to appreciate a joint heritage. Image courtesy Hülya Yüceer, Eastern Mediterranean University.

Figure 7.2 The Sea Gate of Famagusta, Cyprus. Courtesy Hülya Yüceer, Eastern Mediterranean University.

is also important for its architectural value. Adding these buildings would have made the film more inclusive and encouraged the cooperation of all sides. In addition, the film is completely based on buildings, with no humans, just two cats, a lot of pigeons and a glimpse of men sitting in cafés sipping tea. Maybe this was a diplomatic strategy to avoid further conflict; however, it should have been possible, through skilfully developed questions concentrating on heritage, to include interviews with residents and former residents to tap their collective memory of these buildings and unite them through being part of the place.

IDENTITY, GENTRIFICATION AND COMMUNITY

From the 1960s onwards, especially following the Venice Charter (see Chapter 2), the historic preservation discourse has shifted from attaching significance to one monumental building to the more inclusive concept of incorporating surrounding lesser buildings such as residences, shops, poor houses, graves and other less glorious buildings that represent the heritage of all the people. Parallel with this development the concept of community participation in historic preservation has been redefined, with the emphasis shifting away from elite groups and individuals concentrating on saving individual monuments to a more inclusive framework based on widening participation. The Bologna project, under the guidance of Leonardo Benevolo between 1961 and 1965, aimed to register, categorise and conserve the historic building stock in Bologna's historic core, concluding with an open public debate seeking the participation of Bologna citizens. Benevolo's projects considered monuments and dwellings to be of equal importance and suggested the preservation of the traditional typology as well as the present inhabitants.[20] The project was continued by Benevolo's assistant and colleague, Pierluigi Cervelatti; subsequent planning legislation in 1969 included clauses to protect low-income residents against gentrification. Further legislation in the 1970s regulated rents and established neighbourhood residents' committees. Another community participation project aimed at rehabilitating the run-down historic building stock in urban areas dating from the 1960s occurred in Pittsburgh, led by Arthur P. Ziegler. Similar to Bologna, the Pittsburgh example sought resident participation through the establishment of the Mexican War Street Area Neighbourhood Association.[21] However, while in Bologna the key developers of the project were the municipal authority and the university, in the American example it was a trust, the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, following the American benevolence tradition.

With growing importance attached to intangible heritage from the 1980s, ideas emerged within the conservation realm of integrating the occupants of these less glorious buildings into the research and recording phase of the conservation process by using memories and family documents, thus

widening participation. A country where collective memory and residential pride have been active elements of the community involvement in historic building conservation is Scotland. The Reidvale Neighbourhood Project in Glasgow, supported by the University of Strathclyde, activated the concept of "housing associations," community participation units in social housing dating from the 1970s, to be used for historic preservation. In this case, the housing association became a company whose shareholders were Reidvale residents. Following restoration of the buildings and gardens, the company took on responsibility for maintaining the restored housing stock and landscape, which stopped vandalism and increased pride in the neighbourhood's heritage. The residents thought the term *community participation* was too authoritative and adopted the term *tenant empowerment* for their initiative.[22]

One country that applied the concept of neighbourhood participation in urban conservation with the participation of both tenants and owners during the 1980s was Turkey. In Kuşadası near Ephesus, in the historic district of Camii Kebir (Great Mosque), the Middle East Technical University launched an urban conservation project led by Emre Madran in cooperation with Kent-Koop, a union of housing construction cooperatives formed by labour unions and associations of tradespeople and artisans.[23] The concept included the establishment of a local neighbourhood cooperative consisting of community members, property owners and local municipality representatives. Funded partially by the Tourism Bank of the Republic of Turkey, this project supported predominantly house owners looking for heritage tourism. In Bursa, one of the capital cities of the Ottoman Empire, the head of the municipal unit in charge of infrastructural projects, Basri Sönmez, and his chief architect, Şaziye Sezginer, have started a participatory project in Kale Street in the oldest neighbourhood of the city, near the city walls.[24] Before the municipal project, the 100- to 120-year-old traditional timber-framed Turkish houses with projecting upper floors had already been documented, including a photogrammetrical survey and a matrix of traditional typology by the Middle East Technical University in 1985. The Technical University of Istanbul, coordinated by Atilla Yücel and Metin Sözen, had also developed a participatory planning concept. With partial funding provided by the Aga Khan Foundation, a revolving fund was established to meet the expenses of owners and tenants, such as moving to a temporary accommodation during the restoration phase. This financial support was provided under the condition that owners agreed to continue residential use and differs in this aspect from the Camii Kebir Project.

The Kale Street Project was internationally acclaimed, receiving a European Award in 1987. International recognition of good historic preservation projects is a key asset for dissemination and reaching wider audiences. The European Award, presented by Europa Nostra in Brussels to the Municipality of Bursa during the award ceremony in 1988, brought not only

Figures 7.3 and 7.4 Osmangazi Street (before and after), another community participation project in Bursa by Basri Sönmez and Şaziye Sezginer. The project included locating cables underground, replacing asphalt with a traditional stone pavement, renovating the façades of the houses and greening the street, with the support of owners, tenants and shopkeepers. Images courtesy Basri Sönmez.

Figure 7.5 Bursa local newspaper *Hakimiyet* announcing the Europa Nostra Award with the headline "An Award Goes from Brussels to Bursa" explains in the text that the head of the municipal unit in charge of infrastructural projects, Basri Sönmez, received the award in the name of the municipality of Bursa. The reference to Brussels links Bursa, a capital of the Ottoman Empire, with its historic European silk trade partners. Image courtesy Basri Sönmez.

international recognition to Kale Street; it also captured the attention of local politicians, who saw its impact in national and international media.

Metin Sözen, on retiring from his post at the Technical University of Istanbul, has become more active in an NGO, Çevre ve Kültür Değerlerini Tanıtma Vakfı (ÇEKÜL), and has dedicated himself to raising awareness of participatory historic building conservation within local municipalities all over Turkey.[25] ÇEKÜL's work inspired a number of municipal authorities not only to restore important historic buildings in their towns and cities but also helped to raise the awareness of their citizens in historic preservation.

Figure 7.6 Involvement of the local authority in historic building conservation is one of the most efficient ways that community participation will increase residents' interest in historic preservation. The rehabilitation of the Bey Quarter in Gaziantep, Turkey, by the municipality of Gaziantep provides a good example. Image courtesy Gaziantep Municipality.

Figure 7.7 Göğüş Culinary Museum in Gaziantep promotes tangible and intangible heritage together by referring to the famous culinary heritage of the city in a historic manor house—another successful project by the Gaziantep Municipality. Image courtesy Gaziantep Municipality.

The Association of Historic Towns is one of the achievements of ÇEKÜL, uniting municipal employees in charge of the natural and historic built environment in more than three hundred cities and towns under the foundation's umbrella through meetings and seminars.[26] These meetings and seminars, in which interested citizens can also participate, are dedicated to specific themes, developments and new perspectives related to the historic preservation discourse, which have helped a number of towns to gain awareness about the value of their historic building stock. Gaziantep Municipality in southeast Turkey bought run-down monuments and restored them. It initiated street rehabilitation projects such as the Bey Mahallesi quarter, including the restoration of timber elements in front façades, the rehabilitation of the street elements and infrastructure and repairing the roofs of all historic buildings in six streets. An important campaign by the municipality is Let's Protect and Preserve the Historic Houses of Antep, whereby a number of roofs of listed buildings in the conservation area have been repaired through the support of the municipality. Because the roof condition is a decisive factor in the health of a historic building, this campaign—combining community participation, historic building conservation and raising heritage awareness—is of special value. Last but not least, the project also included the creation of a heritage trail to ensure that the municipal projects will generate a financial return for the city through heritage tourism.

Participation of municipal and regional authorities is an important aspect of community involvement in historic building conservation. In Japan's Gunma Prefecture, where advanced technology for cocoon and raw silk production was developed at the Tomioka Silk Mill and three related sites, this collection of industrial heritage assets is being nominated for inscription in the World Heritage List. They include Tomioka Silk Mill (silk reeling mill), Tajima Family House (silkworm egg production), Takayama-sha (silkworm raising and training) and Fu-ketsu (natural cold storage facilities for silkworm eggs).[27] This restoration and conservation project is funded jointly by the nation, prefecture and municipality. With the exception of the Tajima residence, all sites are open to visitors and guided tours are conducted by voluntary guides.[28]

In addition to these four prominent sites, the Gunma Prefecture has acknowledged the value of a number of further important buildings in its territory and developed a scheme to protect these assets to represent the silk production heritage of the region. This network comprises a variety of natural, religious and industrial heritage assets including a mulberry tree thought to be 1,500 years old, worshipped locally as a god of sericulture.[29]

Similar projects in the spirit of the Scottish Reidvale Project, with the objective of empowering community groups to become co-stewards in preserving their heritage to increase their pride in being part of it, began to be developed in Central and South America in the 1990s. The National Anthropology and History Institute of Mexico has, since the mid-1990s, designed projects aimed at full participation of communities, who receive

Figure 7.8 Tomioka Silk Mill. This restoration and conservation project in Japan's Gunma Prefecture is funded jointly by the nation, prefecture and municipality. Image courtesy Gunma Prefecture, Japan.

Figure 7.9 The Great Mulberry Tree of Usune. This mulberry tree is thought to be 1,500 years old and is worshipped locally as the god of sericulture. Image courtesy Gunma Prefecture, Japan.

training and design plans to conserve their cultural assets.[30] The pilot programme was initiated in the state of Oaxaca in 1995 and continued in the states of Michoacán, Guanajuato and Mexico. The programme used reflective workshops, targeting mainly rural populations, to strengthen the links of the community to their cultural heritage. It received financial support from institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank and BANAMEX's Social Fund (see Chapter 6). It also received funding from the Spanish Ministry of Culture, which again shows Spain's great interest in its transnational heritage (see Chapter 6).

Another important aspect of the 1980s community participation projects, especially in Western Europe, is the inclusion of immigrants within heritage preservation community projects. In run-down residential areas such as Kreuzberg and Wedding in Berlin (see Chapter 5) and Afrikaanderwijk and Bloemhof in Rotterdam, where most residents were immigrant guest workers from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam, all public institutions involved in the project have developed building rehabilitation concepts seeking the full participation of immigrant residents as well as other residents.[31] However, the participation of immigrant residents in historic downtowns has been neglected since the 1990s, following the increased value of properties in historic town centres and the boom in heritage tourism. In Istanbul's Tarlabaşı, where the gentrification process has begun (see Chapter 5), the main reason is the boom in hotel and tourist lodgings in this nineteenth-century downtown residential area. While in countries such as Turkey, with liberal economy and free market movements, gentrification stakeholders mainly consist of local authorities and the private sector, similar gentrification processes elsewhere may result from economies owned by the state, as in Zanzibar.

In Zanzibar's Stone Town (Mji Mkongwe), local residents have been driven out of their homes so their properties could be converted to other uses. According to Bissel, who wrote a detailed article on the topic, transnational donors and NGOs deferred to the state.[32] The story of the low-income, inner-city tenant being sent to periphery for the sake of gentrification, already discussed in Chapter 4, is much more complex in Zanzibar. These state-owned properties in the Stone Town had originally been confiscated from their wealthier owners during the revolution to house low-income tenants from rural areas. Now these neglected properties are being privatised and marketed for private interests. While in Istanbul's Tarlabaşı or Berlin's Kreuzberg, low-income tenants moved into the run-down building stock in historic inner-city areas by their own free will, in Zanzibar they were ordered to do so by the state and are now losing their homes again with the aid of transnational funding. Bissel shared the thinking of Draper and his associates that colonial theories that stone towns in Africa, including Zanzibar Stone Town, had been developed by "more civilized nations" (see Chapter 5) are still emphasised and used by today's expatriate planners.[33] Identity (see Chapter 2) in heritage preservation not only plays an

important role, as we saw in Famagusta, but whose heritage also presents a vital question and affects social issues.

Zanzibar showcases the third stage of the gentrification process, where, in a now-globalised world, the stakeholders of gentrification have changed completely. Neil Smith, who defined this stage of gentrification within the context of neoliberal urbanism, believes that this last stage represents a shift from sporadic occurrences resulting from state-sponsored, postwar urban renewal in Western cities (see Chapter 4), beginning in the 1950s.[34] These were defined by the sociologist Ruth Glass in the 1960s as part of a discreet process called gentrification.[35] This first stage was followed in the 1970s and 1980s by a second wave, making gentrification part of a wider process of urban and economic restructuring, while in the third stage, in the 1990s to 2000s, gentrification became a global urban strategy. Although this phenomenon shared characteristics in the old cities of advanced capitalism such as London or New York, it presented, according to Smith, a different picture in the rapidly expanding metropolises of Asia, Latin America and parts of Africa, "where the Keynesian welfare state was never significantly installed."[36] During this globalised gentrification, when projects are funded by the government, corporations or corporate–government partnerships, Zanzibar's low-income tenants from rural origins have no chance to resist.

While projects in the 1980s such as Kreuzberg, Reidvale and Kale Street stand for a resistance movement against the second stage of gentrification, where the process has moved from being sporadic to a more widespread phenomenon, the antigentrification movement is no longer effective in a globalised world. Global expansion of the stock and currency markets, supported by digitalised information systems, has created new gentrification platforms where stakeholders are not as transparent as during the second phase. In Istanbul in Tarlabaşı, the second phase is being followed by the third phase, where apparently the project is being run by the local municipality. However, the attraction of global capital and new Turkish legislation enabling foreign nationals to buy immovable property has provided the motivation for the municipal authority to invest in this project, in partnership with the central government. As happened in Zanzibar, it is the central government that moved out the tenants, but the project was funded internationally with charitable intentions—a great paradox.

One has also to look at the attraction factor. When the Kreuzberg antigentrification movement occurred, Berlin was a divided city surrounded by East Germany. This action would not have been possible in today's Berlin, one of the main capital centres of the European Union. It should also be noted that the three phases of gentrification correspond with the three phases of urban renewal (see Chapter 4). In both cases, the last phase took place within the context of globalisation, where cities such as Istanbul and Berlin could not be defined through their production capacity. The subjects of gentrification are no longer working-class residents, as in the first-phase; the new gentrification has moved from the centre to the central periphery,

aiming to make the utmost profit from the global city. The inhabitants of the central periphery in these postindustrial new financial capitals have traditionally been immigrants, minorities and jobless individuals. Most had no regular income and were the weakest components of the postindustrial society, unable to afford increased prices caused by the upgrading of their neighbourhood, one of the aims of the gentrification process. These unwanted, less advantaged groups were constantly moved to the outer periphery, a fact discussed in the next section.

However, if participation of less advantaged groups such as remote rural populations, low-income families, immigrants and minority ethnic groups is not desired, and these groups are driven away from their traditional environment, it causes homelessness, alienation and frustration. The squatting process, which Smith saw as part of the antigentrification movement following the second wave, disappeared in the first decade of the twenty-first century, because there was no longer anywhere to squat. Every inch of the global city has either already been utilised or is targeted to be utilised by the global movement. In post-Keynesian welfare states, the new disadvantaged masses pushed to the outer periphery have united with other protest groups and now protest in front of the buildings representing this global finance sector in London and New York. In the rest, where industrial production is still more or less intact, they travel excessively long distances to reach their workplace, a typical consequence of non-Western gentrification, as we shall see later in this chapter. Urban unrest could be prevented to a great extent through community participation and monitoring gentrification, which would be much more effective than zero-tolerance policies against protesters. Additionally, in postwar situations and contested territories, it is essential to integrate these less advantaged groups into historic preservation projects for the purposes of mitigation and normalisation, through helping them to regain their lost collective memory and reestablish the concept of belonging to a community following a period of isolation and fear.

PARTICIPATION OF LESS ADVANTAGED GROUPS

Sada Mire from Somaliland, a director in the Ministry for Commerce, Industry and Tourism, is the only native archaeologist in her country, which is becoming progressively stabilised following a long civil war. In recent years she has dedicated her work to raising heritage awareness in the country's war-torn population, especially among communities in rural regions, including women. For this task Mire has developed a special concept based on linking intangible heritage to tangible heritage called the Knowledge-Centred Approach,—a distinctive heritage perspective with a focus on preservation of knowledge and skill. Using local people's memory, identity and relationship with material culture and sites helps them to interpret the archaeological significance of their skills in evaluating the past.[37] In addition,

Figure 7.10 Qiblatayn Mosque, Zayla, Somaliland. Image courtesy Sada Mire, director of the Department of Tourism, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Somaliland, and teaching and research fellow, Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, UK.

Figure 7.11 Sada Mire speaking with the community of Godmo, Saanay, in Somaliland. Image courtesy Sada Mire, director of the Department of Tourism, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Somaliland, and teaching and research fellow, Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, UK.

she showed participants a number of images of local objects exhibited in UK museums. At first they did not recognise them, but when Mire asked what their heritage was, they started to talk about landscape and stories from ancestors and suddenly recognised the relevance of these objects to the landscape and to the stories. Mire's methodology derives from her belief that historic sites can only be protected by people who live close to these sites.[38] Built and material heritage in Somaliland includes rock paintings, Queen of Sheba–period writings, Qiblateyn Mosque (assumed to be the earliest mosque of sub-Saharan Africa), historic shrines reflecting to the country's Sufi culture and a number of local and transnational historic residential buildings of different periods. Mire faces several problems, such as a conservative religious movement based on the Wahabi belief opposed to venerating ancestors that threatens historic shrines and pre-Islamic sites, land mines, looting, unplanned development and the lack of equipment and infrastructure. Despite these problems, Mire is determined to save her country's heritage by enlightening less advantaged groups; in particular, her vocation as a woman working with other women is once again an example of the role of women in heritage conservation (see Chapter 3).

While Mire works predominantly with women, another group traditionally excluded from participative historic building conservation projects is children. A rare example involving children is the Banglow Project in Australia dating from the 1990s. Initiated by a design team led by Henry Senoff and consisting of students from the University of Sydney, local architects and planners, the agenda was based on developing a sustainable heritage preservation concept for this small town in New South Wales, working with the town's residents and with a strong emphasis on young people and children.[39] Another community participation project from the 1990s aiming for the integration of less advantaged groups into historic preservation actions was the Christmas in October initiative of the Preservation Resource Centre in New Orleans. From 1990 to 2000, volunteers from companies, schools and local authority offices contributed to the repair and restoration of historic properties belonging to elderly, disabled and financially weak owners.[40] Similarly, the Nakshay Project in India, proposed by Krupa Rajangam, to engage different community groups centred around the village of Somanathpur in a heritage project, in which the author acts as a mentor, targets the participation of a variety of groups, including craftspeople, local villagers, school children and visitors. The village has developed around the nationally protected Keshava Temple, culminating in the Hoysala style of architecture. While the aim is for craftspeople to be engaged in the restoration of the temple in a way enabling them to express their own perspective, each of the groups will contribute to the project by mapping their own heritage, significant to them in their collective memory. *Nakshay* means "map" in the local language, and the engagement of these groups in the mapping will support the preservation of the temple under the umbrella of the Archaeological Survey of India. Rajangam has already initiated a pilot project

consisting of two phases, where she worked with students from different levels.[41] A short film about these school sessions is available on the web.[42] Provided she finds funding, this project will provide a model for engaging underrepresented groups in heritage preservation.

It is difficult to find such community participation projects in historic town centres and central peripheral neighbourhoods in the globalised world of the 2010s. Most projects are related nowadays to ethnic rural communities such as Uluru in Australia, the Andes in South America or the villages of Somaliland, as we have seen in this volume. In the new metropolitan capitals of the globalised world, the stakeholders of this latest phase of gentrification are no longer visible. With funding, developers and contractors coming from different countries and backgrounds, the antigentrification movement cannot target resistance. Smith and DiFilippis gave an example in New York's Lower East Side, where the developer was Israeli and the major source of financing was from the European American Bank; off the shores of Bahrain's historic town Muharraq (see Chapter 4), the same process was repeated for artificial islands.[43] At the "Venice of Bahrain," contesting one of the oldest settlements in the region, recorded in sixteenth-century Portuguese maps, the consultants were a Malaysian-based Australian company. Dredging of the shore was carried out by a Dutch company, the first phase of residences was constructed by a company from Cyprus and a US hotel chain sought to manage the resort complex. The ecology of Muharraq Bay, already subject to land reclamation during the building of Bahrain airport, changed even more during this project whose long-term effects should be followed, along with the changes in the intangible heritage of Muharraq.[44]

A typical current phenomenon in the second and third phases of gentrification is the close relationship with the outer periphery, where the original inhabitants of the gentrified area are pushed. Especially in the case of less advantaged groups, the external periphery of the metropolis provides a more or less politically correct solution for the authorities, who claim to be providing alternate housing to these marginal sections of the society. However, this fragmentation causes excessive daily commuting times and expenses for these groups, often with the result that they can no longer afford the commute and they lose their jobs. The daily commute to São Paulo can take four hours in each direction; the same applies to Harare in Zimbabwe.[45] In 2005 the Zimbabwean government forced evictions on thousands of families in cities such as Harare, Bulawayo and Victoria Falls, which were emulated all over the country. During the operation, cynically named Operation Murambatsvina, which means in the Shona language "get rid of trash," thousands of dwellings and shops were flattened and their inhabitants driven to the countryside or outer suburbs.[46] This operation was not only a human tragedy but also destroyed an important section of the country's cultural heritage. While intangible heritage has now been recognised internationally, there are still no effective policies to protect the heritage of these disadvantaged groups, who can easily be dismissed as "trash." Once

they are dispersed by being forced to leave their traditional neighbourhood, their built and their social heritage die. They are also forced into economic death, as they lose contact with the city.

According to the renowned Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, unemployment in the outer suburb is a new sector of employment, as the inhabitants of these isolated settlements jump in and out of jobs constantly so that, for the sake of statistics, they appear employed.[47] Of course, these statistics are of interest to politically correct" governments; further unemployment resulting from forced evictions to the outer suburbs never appears in the statistics. Who are these people who become the target of forced eviction and gentrification policies? Although Tom Slater, in his response to Neil Smith, shows that it is not always the lower-middle-class or working-class objects of gentrification who are displaced, the eviction of other groups is the exception. Despite Slater's example of South Parkdale, Canada, where mainly early twentieth-century low-rise residential heritage was demolished, replaced by high-rise blocks for housing ethnic minorities during the Trudeau government, it is usually these ethnic minorities who suffer the most from gentrification, not only losing their traditional environment but also their collective memory as they are dispersed to external suburbs.[48] Among these, the most prominent case in Europe is the displacement of the Roma people, causing them to lose both tangible and intangible heritage.

The Eastern European Roma people, who usually followed a traditional lifestyle of nomadism or seminomadism, were subject to urban resettlement policies by the communist governments of Eastern Europe after 1940.[49] However, not all Roma chose the traditional nomadic lifestyle. In Barcelona's early twentieth-century working-class neighbourhood of Bon Pastor, a section of the population were settled Roma, and in İstanbul's Sulukule, Roma settlements date back many centuries. Both have been or will be destroyed by neoliberal gentrification policies. This destruction has not only caused distress, displacement and loss of income for the Roma; their respective countries have also lost a rich, unique heritage documenting the history of the settled Roma of Southern Europe at variance with their more common image as a nomadic community.

Roma, or, as they are referred to in some publications, gypsies, have been subject to resettlement policies since the development of the urban modernisation discourse dictated to the poorer sections of society how they should live. During this process, the human rights of these urban populations—such as their access to nature, spatial proximity to relatives and access to central town services—have been completely neglected. Furthermore, their tangible and intangible heritage has never been recognised, probably because it is the heritage of the "other." Roma settlements, usually referred to in urban renewal projects as shanty towns, have created a valuable range of self-built, vernacular urban heritage, illuminating the early stages of European urbanisation. Additionally, the modernist theory that urban populations living in shanty towns were living in substandard conditions to justify the demolition

of their houses was, in most cases, untrue. For example, in Barcelona, 99 percent of the people living in these areas declared in a survey that they not only had inside running water but also a bath or shower, a flush toilet, sewage services and electricity.[50] Still, the official definition of the Roma settlements usually implies marginality, theft, drug use and crime, a view shared by wider segments of the city. Both in Barcelona and Istanbul, this image has been a catalyst in the destruction of traditional neighbourhoods.

Another common characteristic of Roma rehousing policies is their removal to outer periphery, similar to other marginal groups, seen in Harare and São Paolo. In La Mina in Barcelona, constructed in the 1970s to accommodate several thousand Roma who had lived previously in traditional neighbourhoods regarded by city authorities as slums, a gentrification process began in the 2000s that caused a second Roma removal.[51] Although the project aimed for a diverse residential mixture combining new home owners and Roma, most of the Roma had to move out due to the higher home prices. When Roma lived there, the district was not connected to the centre, and mobility within the district was a problem. With the gentrification and removal of the Roma, the district was connected and designed to become the new Ramblas, similar to Barcelona's famous social meeting place Las Ramblas. The Roma did not merit their own Ramblas. They have been moved from their close-knit community and urban relationships in low-rise houses, in most cases with small gardens, to anonymous, disconnected tower blocks.[52] This is the fate in the age of modernity, and more so in postmodernity, that Roma share with other weaker sections of the society such as minorities, immigrants and working populations. This is seen once more in the Barcelona of the neoliberal urbanisation era, in the previously mentioned Bon Pastor, a popular, purpose-built working-class quarter dating from 1929.[53] Associated with the past, degradation, crime and gypsies, it became the subject of the "most destructive kind of gentrification," while demolition and the removal of current residents due to rising prices was associated with progress and modernity.[54] Whereas modernity at least sometimes aimed to give the less advantaged a better living environment, the neoliberal urban approach of postmodernity now moved these urban groups to make profit.

The forced eviction of Roma and the destruction of their intangible and tangible heritage show that it is not easy to recognise the heritage of the "other" as valuable. As the medieval mud-brick tradition of the Uyghur community in Kashgar has been dismissed by Chinese authorities as "mud and straw houses" and demolished through the argument of being earthquake prone, in the neoliberal economies of globalised metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, astronomical land prices lead to the nonglorious heritage of the less advantaged not being recognised.

In 2005, the ruling urban authority in Istanbul decided that one of the oldest permanent Roma settlements in the world, a living antithesis of the generalised travelling Roma image in the West, should be the target of urban renewal policies. Interestingly, it was at least partly for safety reasons, similar

Figure 7.12 A member of the Roma community, sitting hopelessly among his personal belongings, following his forced eviction and the demolition of his home in Sulukule, the traditional Roma neighbourhood by the Istanbul city walls. Image courtesy Najla Osseiran, documentary filmmaker and activist.

Figure 7.13 All residential heritage razed and only monuments left, this house was the last remaining. It is no longer there, and neither is the owner, who could not afford to buy one of the new residences. Image courtesy Najla Osseiran, documentary filmmaker and activist.

to Kashgar in another earthquake-prone zone of the world, although it is far from China. The 3,400 Roma living in the neighbourhood of Sulukule in the district of Fatih in Istanbul, descendants of a several-hundred-year-old community in the same location, were forced to sell their homes for very low prices to private investors and the Fatih Municipality. Despite local, national and worldwide protests, Turkish court cases against eviction and demolition, European Human Rights Court rulings and a UNESCO warning, following forced eviction and demolition in 2008, the unique heritage of Sulukule was razed to the ground and replaced with something completely different from the original. No former residents were able to buy a flat there, although they were offered affordable alternative public housing in a satellite city. The price and a two-hour trip to the city centre—where traditionally the Istanbul Roma sold flowers, cleaned shoes and collected disused metal garbage from houses—made it impossible to perform these odd jobs. Roma who made ends meet by owning houses or paying low rents in Sulukule were also unable to pay gas and electricity bills on top of the fares to Istanbul.[55] The satellite city provides no jobs, and they are now unemployed, like many others pushed to periphery, so they try to move back into the city, dispersed into different neighbourhoods. Their rich intangible heritage is prone to extinction through dispersal; what has replaced their lost physical heritage, their razed houses, is another issue, discussed in the next section.

NEOLIBERAL GENTRIFICATION: PROGRESS OF PASTICHE AND FAÇADISM

It is beyond the scope of this book and chapter to discuss the urban consequences of global market liberalism in its neoliberal connotations. To this end, Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, editors of *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, have provided a number of detailed discussions of the role neoliberalism has played in contemporary processes of urban restructuring by pointing out issues such as pressures of capital mobility and the contradictory relationship between neoliberalism and socialisation in contemporary city terms.[56] William Cross, in his review, saw an underlying optimism towards a modified form of neoliberalism "concerned with the needs of all urban citizens, not just those profiting by real estate and tourism" dominating most of the chapters and providing positive examples from North America and Western Europe.[57] This view was underlined by Paul Treanor, who regards neoliberalism as a phenomenon more of rich Western market democracies than poor regions.[58] Does this mean that democracy is only for the rich? Are all animals equal, but some are more equal than others in Orwellian terms? More in this line are case studies provided by Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge, who presented this new mode of global gentrification as the new urban colonialism.[59]

Looking at the dual social and moral philosophy this new area has adopted, there seems to be at least a partial truth in assuming so. Free trade, laissez-faire policies may work very well for certain countries and certain sections of the society, but even in the relatively rich member states of the European Union such as Spain, displacement and destruction can be funded by European money for "sanitation projects." Some researchers, such as Mark Davidson and Loretta Lees, who defended in their 2005 article the view that "new-build gentrification" does not result in the displacement of a pre-existing residential population in the same way as classical gentrification did, may be correct in terms of their own case studies, mainly from the UK and Canada.[60] European countries subject to EU legislation are not immune from forced mass displacement, as we have seen. The first 145 houses of Bon Pastor in Barcelona suffering forced mass evictions were demolished in 2007, two years after Davidson and Lees's article was published.[61] With globalised capital causing negative gentrification now invisible, even in progressive democracies, it becomes difficult to track the profit.

When one examines neoliberal gentrification projects in historic urban areas around the world, two emerging trends can be identified in nearly all countries with similar characteristics: the wider use of pastiche and the increasing popularity of façadism. While the first trend is closely linked with identity search in a more globalised world, the second trend has its roots in finding global consensus, with prevailing conservation philosophies aimed at finding a concept for maximum profit. Simulacra, used from Beijing to Berlin to restore lost spaces for tourism and commerce, are now widely accepted phenomena. Recently the Istanbul Council of Monuments ratified a reconstruction proposal for the demolished Taksim Barracks, a nineteenth-century building with pseudo-oriental features, which will provide shopping and recreation facilities in Taksim Square, one of the most important squares of the city. Reconstruction of lost buildings, which was usually unacceptable in previous decades despite rare exceptions such as Warsaw, has become in the last two decades common practice. Conversely, this type of simulacrum differs from the pastiche buildings appearing in gentrification areas. While reconstruction of lost monumental buildings is based usually on documental research and existing fragments and foundations, pastiche architecture in gentrification areas is usually used to give a completely new identity to a gentrified place. Davidson and Lees referred to this aspect of current gentrification as an attractive product for consumers "in which heritage and historic referents are part of the appeal."[62]

In some of these newly gentrified urban landscapes, such as Vancouver's Fairview Slopes, simulacra appear sporadically. When one studies property offers, there seems to be a trend especially in penthouses, where simulated Victorian styles signify a luxury symbol.[63] In others, even the previous function of the neighbourhood prior to gentrification can be simulated, as happened in the gentrified streetscapes of New York City according to Hae, who described the simulation of an intangible asset, New York's famous

nightlife, as a consequence of gentrification in a postindustrial era.[64] These sporadic simulacra usually occur in places where mass evictions did not occur. In projects where the original building stock was destined to be replaced to give a completely new identity to the gentrified landscape, a new history is usually written. In Sulukule, following the destruction of the Roma houses, Ottoman-style villas with pseudo-Ottoman features have been built, which have nothing to do with the historic character of the neighbourhood. More interesting is the fact that while genuine Ottoman houses in areas such as Zeyrek are crumbling, Fatih Municipality dedicates funds to building pseudo-Ottoman houses to replace the traditional Roma heritage of the city.

With Turkey becoming a stronger economy, gentrification-aimed urban renewal projects have commenced simultaneously in most major cities, to

Figure 7.14 Leipzigerplatz in Berlin shows a type of façadism where fake façades conceal empty sites. Image courtesy Peter Collier, Department of Geography, University of Portsmouth, UK.

Figure 7.15 A preserved façade in Santiago, Chile, behind which is a storage yard. The façade had to be retained because it is in a conservation area. Image courtesy Peter Collier, Department of Geography, University of Portsmouth, UK.

the extent that recently the popular television detective series *Behzat Ç* has used the theme as part of a plot referring to issues of displacement, forced evictions and mortgage—quite new concepts in Turkish media.[65] *Behzat Ç* is set in Ankara, but among all Turkish cities subject to gentrification projects, Istanbul takes precedence as a new global capital. According to one of the latest reports of PricewaterhouseCoopers, the top place to invest in property in 2012 is Istanbul, followed by Munich and Warsaw.[66] This shows that the forced eviction of Roma and other gentrification projects of similar nature in the city are no longer determined solely by the local or national economy, and the stakes are much higher. The effects of global capital mobility can be seen more clearly in the second trend characterising the new gentrification, façadism. Already discussed in Chapter 4, concerning İstanbul's Tarlabaşı, façadism recently became a global phenomenon in terms of new gentrification. Most images by Stephen Smith, whose online PowerPoint presentation shows a number of façadist examples from around the globe, depict tall glass structures towering above stone historic buildings of a much smaller scale, which highlights their disproportionate relationships.[67] Some pictures also indicate a new aspect of the latest third-wave gentrification, characterised

by the façadist conversion of public buildings and office blocks in central-city districts into mixed spaces with luxury residential and retail facilities. In 2005 Russell Street Police Headquarters in Melbourne was turned into apartments by adding a glass tower.[68] Through a similar process in South Africa, offices in Waal Street in central Cape Town were converted into residences by retaining their façades and changing their interiors. This development Visser and Kotze defined as new-build gentrification in central Cape Town, as it "replaced apartheid redlining on racial grounds by a financially exclusive property market" by creating a new segregation based on rich and poor.[69] Moreover, the main developer behind the project was a multinational property investor in Dublin, again emphasising the fact that this last wave of gentrification is led by global stakeholders in the context of a dual neoliberalism. Another region of the world where façadism is quite common is the Americas, as the picture below shows. However, the Americas, where in most countries façadism was less aligned to gentrification than in other parts of the world, also stand out for strong engagement in the integration of less advantaged groups, minorities and small towns in historic preservation and heritage projects.

CASE FILE: NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA

In the Americas in the last decade, the heritage of minority groups has been the rising star in the heritage preservation discourse, with most research dedicated to developing concepts for their effective participation, which in turn is reflected in legislation and practice. If one takes the Americas as an entity, one of the most important minorities are groups of Native Americans scattered over both continents. Starting from the 1990s, especially in North America, archaeologists have restructured their relationship with Native Americans. Ferguson, who showed in his article that Native American criticism of archaeology led to the Native Americans Graves Protection Act of 1990, discussed methods of forging new partnerships with the descendants of people who produced the American archaeological record.[70] Ferguson's research contended that more and more tribes have operated historic preservation programmes and contracted archaeology businesses designed to bring direct economic benefits to them, something that had not happened in the past. Although some tribal members consider archaeology a trespassing force, most tribe leaders have supported archaeologists in their aim of conserving their heritage, both in North and South America and do not see it as an alienating task. This is mostly due to a new generation of archaeologists who now see the tribal leader as an equal partner and no longer as an ignorant subordinate. A good example is the archaeologist Michael Heckenberger, adopted by Chief Afukaká of the Amazonian Kuikuro tribe, who had a hut built right next to the chief's own home.[71] Like Ferguson,

who worked before him on the built heritage of North American Zuni, Heckenberger is one of a new generation of researchers who have dedicated their work to prove the existence of a monumental urban built heritage developed by Amazonian tribes.[72] Western diseases devastated whole populations, leading to Western theories that there was no heritage in the Amazon equalling that of Europe at the time of colonisation, despite information provided by contemporary Spanish and Portuguese sources, a hypothesis that is now proven to be untrue.[73]

Accepting Native Americans as custodians of their own heritage has also led to transfrontier conservation projects in cases where a border separates a group of Native Americans in one country from their heritage sites in another.[74] This increase in transfrontier participation and transnational projects will mitigate the particular alienation of Native Americans in South America based on past negative experiences from future heritage preservation projects. Increased involvement of universities and use of new media technologies providing a more sustainable approach to the sites will support Native Americans and other communities in accessing their heritage in transfrontier situations. Ellen Hoobler's project providing a new database, geographic information system and imaging software of the ancient tombs of Monte Albán in Mexico offers a possibility for low-cost installation of two- and three-dimensional models in some of the Oaxaca's community museums network, allowing some of the 350,000 Zapotec speakers to access and understand their ancestors' heritage.[75]

Another minority group with rising awareness of issues regarding their participation in heritage preservation projects are African-Americans, whose transfrontier aspect we have seen in their reaction to the conservation policies used to restore Ghanaian slavery castles (see Chapter 6). According to Aileen Alexis de la Torre, who wrote an MSc thesis about African-American participation in historic preservation, their community in the US is hesitant to call themselves preservationists, based on the fear that their efforts in this domain will be associated with gentrification, perceived as an action causing the displacement of minorities.[76] Therefore, according to the author, who developed her argument through empirical analysis, although African-Americans are quite active in historic preservation, they choose to remain unseen, and their contribution to the bigger picture disappears. De la Torre's findings concurred with the interest African-Americans have shown in their transnational heritage. African-American participation in heritage preservation had very early roots, as Dolores Hayden detailed in her classical work *The Power of Space*.[77] Hou and Kinoshita agreed that community participation needs to negotiate different identities, values and interests in a globalised world valuing diversity in society, to challenge the institutionalised participation principles of the 1980s.[78] The new approach drops the authoritative managerial role of the expert and introduces instead co-management by involving diverse communities in decision mechanisms.

Whereas previously community participation in historic preservation was based mainly on informing communities about the planning decisions and sometimes enlisting their support in the actual process of conservation—as in the case of the previously described Reidvale in Glasgow—it now requires managers with skills based on a co-management approach in decision mechanisms, such as joint problem solving and social learning, knowledge integration and community-based multilevel conservation. These were the criteria introduced by Fikret Berkes for Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas, predominantly designated for the preservation of natural heritage; however, these principles are even more valid in developing new frameworks for community participation projects in historic areas with diverse communities.[79]

An important aspect of integrating diverse communities was recognised quite early by the American National Trust for Historic Preservation when its historic and traditional commercial districts, colloquially known as Main Streets, the cores of communities in North America, started to decline rapidly after World War II, especially from the 1970s onwards. The main street—the centre of every western film with its bank, post office and sheriff's headquarters, shops run by diverse community members in the ground floor with lodgers on the upper floor representing all sections of American society—could not compete with the shopping mall and suburban movement. Other contributors to the decline of Main Street included the federal highway system, which diverted traffic away from downtowns into newer communities, as well as a growing trend of people leaving the cities to live in suburban homes.[80]

Recognising the need to save this important aspect of American culture, in 1977 the National Trust for Historic Preservation launched a participatory programme to revitalise these traditional commercial districts, later adapted by the Heritage Canada Foundation in 1979.[81] The main strategy of this programme was the Four Point Approach, a trademark term controlled in the US by the National Trust (the Heritage Canada Foundation controls the trademark in Canada) that aims to make ultimate use of local resources through a self-help concept involving a combination of the area's heritage preservation, economic and organisational development, marketing and promotion and innovative design.[82] Programmes are substantially locally driven, funded, organised and run as independent nonprofits in the community, affiliated and coordinated by the Main Street Network at different levels.[83] In both the US and Canada, they may be supported by municipal councils and federal governments, thus providing an exemplary public–private partnership model (see Chapter 6). In Canada most federal funds supporting Main Street projects are drawing to a close, but in the United States federal support is still available, as in the case of Iowa.[84]

In 1991, five years after Main Street Iowa had joined the national Main Street programme under the auspices of the Iowa Department of Economic

Development, the author had the opportunity of visiting a number of Main Street towns in Iowa. Out of the three towns she visited, in 2004 Burlington won the National Trust award and became a great success story. The second town, Fort Madison, is still on the map of the Main Street Iowa website together with Burlington.[85] However, another case study, Maquoketa, at that time showing pride in being part of the initiative and engaged in a façade improvement programme supported by the Chamber of Commerce for Main Street's historic buildings, is not on the map; neither is the Main Street programme mentioned in the major town websites, including that of the Chamber of Commerce, which once contributed to Main Street Maquoketa.[86] The reason for this is that Maquoketa is no longer an active Main Street town and has not been involved with Main Street Iowa for a number of years.[87] This syndrome, which Heritage Canada Foundation alludes to as "Main Street Amnesia," may have reasons such as the organisation not being able to get community involvement and support, or a change of mind by businesses and other partners who prefer to rely on another approach or strategy for revitalisation.[88] However, showing superb heritage awareness and employing innovative business strategies, the statewide programme in Iowa has managed to secure funding to continue their work.

According to Susan Bradbury, despite its popularity, empirical research about the Main Street concept is rare.[89] Still, academic researchers based in

Figure 7.16 The Main Street of Maquoketa twenty years ago, when it was still involved in the Main Street Iowa Program. Image by Zeynep Aygen.

Iowa seem to appreciate Iowa's success in participating in the programme and the economic benefits accruing to the region. In addition to Bradbury's article evaluating the economic benefits of the Rural Iowa Main Street programme, Donovan G. Olson has also written a book about it.[90] Both publications were associated with a quite unique concept. Iowa's Main Street Program was born first in 1986, but four years after Main Street Iowa joined the National Program by offering membership to large cities, Iowa also decided in 1989 to give support to rural communities with populations under 5,000. Iowa is a case where the Main Street Program benefits from federal funds, although it relies mainly on volunteer labour provided by community members. Despite some politicians questioning "whether the concept of liveability applies in rural communities," in January 2012, the Iowa Economic Development Authority announced that $430,000 would be awarded to nine Iowa communities through a fund administered by the Iowa Downtown Resource Centre and Main Street Iowa.[91] The estimated total project cost of these nine projects amounts to more than $1.2 million, which shows the extent of local contribution. Federal funding is dedicated mainly to historic preservation, including the repair of front and rear

Figure 7.17 One of the ongoing and successful Main Street projects in Iowa: Burlington. The state of Iowa is one of the most active participants of the Main Street Program. Image courtesy Main Street Iowa, Iowa Economic Development Authority.

façades of downtown buildings, rehabilitation of their interiors, restoration of historic downtown landmarks, accessibility improvements in historic properties and renovation of upper-floor living spaces—in short, all measures aiming to ensure the survival of Iowa's built heritage for future generations.

The inspirational idea of Main Street has now survived for more than thirty years. Today the National Program has 1,133 designated Main Streets across the US. The concept has remained more or less the same, although there are some changes regarding implementation strategies, concentrating more on supporting economic development goals, but that is more about emphasising semantics than a change of approach, as expressed by Andrea Dono, program manager for research and training at the National Trust for Historic Preservation.[92] Dono thinks that some changes in volunteerism trends might ultimately alter the Four Point Approach. It seems people dislike sitting on committees to plan the work. Dono does not know whether this trend will last and force the National Program to change the way it operates. Does this trend imply that the beneficial support provided by community members to help each other and the less privileged, which has been one of the characteristics of the American community since its foundation, will disappear? Or is this reluctance in participating in committee meetings rather a consequence of contemporary digital technology, which isolates the individual locally while connecting the same individual globally? Still, Dono thinks that overall the foundation of the volunteer-driven, asset-based approach to historic preservation–based economic development is sound and will continue to stand the test of time. Engaging community members and building public–private partnerships has endured economic development trends and lays the foundation for lasting positive change.[93]

The Main Street idea, which the author had the privilege of observing in its initial stages (1991), is an excellent example of public–private partnership and has great potential for surviving in the future, despite possible changes in strategy, as pointed out above. It represents a combination of elements linking historic preservation to the economic survival of small communities in particular, which has been adopted in other countries in the Americas and around the world. Although they are not part of the trademarked National Trust Network, there are similar programs in Mexico, Italy, Japan and Taiwan. A new way of dealing with the reluctance of volunteers participating in committees could be the introduction of virtual community networks, which have the potential to motivate more participation in communities by creating and strengthening social relationships and using them as more integrated forms of heritage tourism development. Gretzel, Go, Lee and Jamal demonstrated how providing the technological means to open up communication channels has increased the extent of community participation in heritage tourism.[94] It also creates more heritage awareness, as has already

been demonstrated in this section, with Hoobler's project using new media technology and a geographic information system to allow Zapotec speakers more access to their transnational heritage. Using innovative communication technologies seems to be developing as an emerging strategy supporting community participation in the age of globalisation.

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Epilogue
Saving the World's Past

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, developments in the heritage preservation discourse indicate changes in approaches and strategies, a number of which have been discussed in this book. There is a clear tendency for increased regional participation and transfrontier cooperation (Chapter 7). Decision mechanisms have moved away from the hegemony of certain countries and became more inclusive, with countries such as China and India developing their own principles in opposition to current criteria, based on providing more support for craft skills (Chapter 2). The majority of current conservation policies in the post-colonial world reflect reactions to colonialism by excluding colonial buildings from statutory protection (Chapter 3). The destruction of historic areas by urban removal, previously justified through modernity (Chapter 4), is continuing in the age of globalisation but is now justified through progress (Chapter 7). There is an increase in the building of simulacra of lost historic buildings for the sake of heritage tourism, a phenomenon visible all over the world (Chapter 5). Most governments have cut their conservation funding as a result of the current economic crisis. However, in many parts of the globe, the private sector is becoming more engaged in supporting historic preservation (Chapter 6). Digital technologies are moving from being just a tool for recording and archiving to a medium for increased community participation (Chapters 6 and 7). Despite all of the problems, there is now a greater awareness of heritage conservation in the whole world, which is also leading to a concept of interpreting intangible heritage with tangible heritage rather than separating these two areas.

Most of these trends are reflected in current academic conference titles. For example, the conference theme of the Association of Heritage Studies in Gothenburg, Sweden, in 2012 is "The Re/theorisation of Heritage Studies."[1] The organisers have invited scholars across the globe to discuss emerging concepts in the field by emphasising the interdisciplinary nature of this subject area. Links between the previously divided East and West heritage domains seem to have been acknowledged officially, especially in the area of transnational defence structures (Chapter 6, Case File). The title of an international conference in Italy in May 2012, "Between East and West:

Transposition of Cultural Systems and Military Technology of Fortified Landscapes," reflects a growing appreciation of technological exchange, both in the historical sense and in terms of present research.[2] Similarly, an earlier conference in 2011 in Finland described the UNESCO World Heritage system as "a mechanism for transnational learning," highlighting once more the importance of working together across the globe.[3] However, the meeting also sought a discussion of the local and global consequences of cultural and geographical mapping, including the necessity of new implementation strategies for the World Heritage Convention in the future. Interestingly, the title of this conference had a strong local emphasis despite the global theme. The title, "Future of the World Heritage Convention—A Nordic Perspective," somewhat contradicted its aim of transnational learning on equal terms and gives, probably unintentionally, a Eurocentric and regionalist feeling.

Among all these conferences, one organised for 2012 to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention by the International Association of World Heritage Professionals clearly indicates that the subject of this book will symbolise the heritage discourse in future years. The conference theme, "Understanding Each Other's Heritage—Challenges for Heritage Communication in a Globalized World," is based on the Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue published in 2008.[4] This conference aims to bring together a wide range of experts to create an open exchange of views between individuals and groups "with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage," to take place "on the basis of mutual understanding and respect."[5] Clearly, there is a need for conferences and publications with a worldwide focus that can meet the demands of the rising global interest in heritage preservation and will create a more inclusive genre in the literature in future.

A recently published document marking the end of the fourth term of Australia's membership in the World Heritage Committee outlines Australia's key activities as a member of the Committee from 2007 to 2011. The document is a good example of Australia's globally inclusive approach and leading role in introducing operational reforms. The report also shows Australia's increasing engagement in inviting the world heritage community to work together. It extends beyond Australasia and gives practical assistance to regions of the world that "struggle to engage with and share in the cultural, economic and social benefits of World Heritage recognition and protection."[6] In this last field, Australia has played an active role as a partner in recognition and capacity building in the Pacific, one of the areas of the world least represented in heritage discussions, by introducing the PacificHeritage Hub and providing start-up funding. Co-sponsoring expert meetings addressing operational issues which require immediate action in countries such as Bahrain and Senegal, in addition to the other regional activities, Australia continues to stand out as a country pioneering widening participation in heritage preservation in the twenty-first century. On the

other hand, the Australian Greens are deeply concerned about the future of 13,000 heritage sites in the country currently listed on the Register of the National Estate, which ceased to operate on February 19, 2012.[7] This slightly paradoxical situation shows that there are always many levels in the heritage preservation discourse, and sometimes even different government departments in the same ministry may have divergent views, especially in selecting what to conserve for the future.

Another emerging trend in the heritage preservation discourse of the twenty-first century is adopting environmentally friendly technologies for the conservation and restoration of historic buildings.[8] Sustainability will clearly rate highly on the agenda of building conservationists in coming years. National Trust UK, having recognised this development, in 2012 organised a sustainability event with the title "Fit for the Future? Sustainable Energy and the National Trust," bringing together experts to discuss topics such as U-values (a measure of the rate of heat loss) of historic buildings, monitoring energy consumption and response to climate change.[9] According to Stephen Kane, deputy head of building at the National Trust, who has introduced priorities for action, including minimising energy waste through insulation and air change reduction and applying new technological principles in different levels, these will enhance sustainable conservation practice.[10] Introduction of secondary (seasonal) glazing in traditional or listed buildings or small-scale on-site generation of electricity are sustainable practices that encompass the sensitivity of building aesthetics.

Although sustainable upgrading of historic buildings is certainly less difficult than it appears, a number of conservationists are concerned about the consequences of this approach, which is actually positive because it introduces a control mechanism. Principles of using sustainable technologies in historic buildings have not yet been reflected in international conservation policies in the form of principles and guidance. However, they emerge sporadically in some countries, the US being one. In April 2010 at the Department of the Interior Conference on the Environment, Audrey Tepper presented her article on the "Challenges of Upgrading of Historic Buildings for Sustainability."[11] According to Joanne M. Foster in New York City, a conflict has long been perceived, with "older buildings being often seen as outdated energy logs." This view is challenged both by the author and by Lisa Kersevage, senior director for preservation and sustainability at the Municipal Art Society.[12] Kersevage has demonstrated that many historic buildings incorporate energy-efficient design features and has shown additional methods of incorporating new sustainable elements into New York's historic buildings. One is the use of solar panels on New York's flat roofs. Because they are not visible, they do not disturb the building's aesthetics—one of the main concerns in the new sustainability agenda for historic building conservation is preservation of aesthetics and authenticity, which we have already seen in case of the National Trust UK.

Kiribati, a raised coral island and thirty-three atolls in the Pacific, is a pioneer in developing management strategies for the possible effects of climate change on its huge stone monuments, human-made stone pillars called *Nnabakana*, "resembling giant human warriors built to scare away enemies."[13] Sea-level rise will not only endanger these unique monuments, but also the mythology surrounding them. Kiribati's tangible and intangible heritage is safeguarded as a joint entity by the elders of the community, who have expressed their support in developing a safeguarding strategy by drafting an action plan in cooperation with the UNESCO office in Apia and with financial assistance of the government of Japan. The Kiribati Culture Division recently surveyed the *Nnabakana* site and recorded that most of the stone pillars were cracked and toppled due to the harsh weather conditions affecting the site. When they presented the outcome of this research at the Pacific World Heritage Workshop in Apia, it resulted in financial assistance from the European Union to support a mapping exercise on the site in 2012.[14] This result is also evidence of the snowball effect of Australia's leading role in international recognition of the heritage of the Pacific and presents a positive example of how members of the world community can help each other to save the world's heritage by providing practical help.

While both sides of the Atlantic, Australia, New Zealand and parts of the Pacific are engaged in developing a physical sustainability discourse, the sustainability agenda in other parts of the world is directed more towards discussion of social sustainability principles. Djamal Boussaa, who compares the rehabilitation of Al Baled, the old city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia and the Casbah of Algiers (Chapter 4), demonstrates that a façadist approach, concerned primarily with image, has sidelined social sustainability during rehabilitation processes.[15] In Al Baled municipal incentive grants to house owners and local contractors providing building materials indicates, as Boussa points out, attempts towards a social sustainability approach. Another aspect of social sustainability is increasingly seen as recovery of lost craft skills, as we have seen in Chapters 2 and 7. Meanwhile, there are also attempts to merge physical and social sustainable practices in heritage preservation. In January 2010, the US Northeast Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, in partnership with Brown University and the 1772 Foundation, organised the first annual sustainability workshop for African-American historic sites.[16] Comparable with Australia becoming a leader in widening participation, another non-European country, the US, seems to have taken a leading role in shaping a future sustainability agenda directed at heritage preservation and historic building conservation.

The increasing interest of the descendants of Africans in parts of the world linked to the heritage of their ancestors, starting mainly from the late twentieth century, has had a great impact on the development of ancestral heritage tourism in Africa in the twenty-first century (Chapters 6 and 7). Occasionally this has motivated diaspora Africans to invest in heritage tourism and commercial enterprise–related conservation projects in the country

of their origin. This is the case with Ayowa Afrifa-Taylor, a British academic of Ghanaian origin. With partners, Afrifa-Taylor has set up a company to develop plots of land in Princes Town in a public–private partnership with the support of the Ghanaian government. A ruined historic castle is the focus of this initiative to enhance the development of heritage tourism and commerce in the region. A conservation statement written by the British architect Michael Underwood surveyed the condition of Fort Gross-Friedrichburg, a former German trading fort built by the Brandenburg dynasty southeast of the town.[17] He proposed that the fort could be the focus of a high-quality hotel development, including a ticket office and museum shop for heritage visitors during the day and a public restaurant. The plan also proposes the establishment of a chapel of remembrance in the original fort chapel to commemorate the victims of the slave trade.[18] The site would be open to day visitors and hotel guests throughout the year, with the chapel addressing the particular needs of African-American visitors, discussed in Chapter 6.

Although private funding for conservation projects related to heritage tourism is still available, in the atmosphere of financial crisis particularly affecting Europe, conservation funding in most European countries has

Figure 8.1 Fort Gross-Friedrichsburg in Princes Town, Ghana, is a good example of the increasing interest among African descendants in different parts of the world in the preservation of the heritage in their country of origin in Africa. Image courtesy Michael Underwood.

decreased. In new member states of the European Union, which were very active in heritage preservation in the first years of their membership, this phenomenon is clear. When we look at Latvia, the annual budget for cultural heritage has varied greatly during the last ten years. From 2002, when it was 558,215 Latvian Lats (LVL), to 2008, when it reached more than 2.3 million LVL, there was a constant increase; then the budget fell to just less than 1.7 LVL in 2009 and further to 1 million LVL in 2010. According to the State Inspection for Heritage Protection, Latvia, the reduced budget for cultural heritage was caused by a general reduction in funding for culture and other spheres.[19] This decrease in available funding also has affected human resources and infrastructure, as well as the state budget for the conservation of cultural monuments. This development parallels what has been happening recently in other European countries. A lengthy discussion of the Culture, Media and Sport Committee in the UK House of Commons in 2012 concerned the disproportionate deficit to the heritage sector from recent financial cuts, with the committee urging the government to take strong account of this issue in future years, because "lost heritage can never be replaced."[20]

Still, Latvia is a country showing great heritage awareness and attaches more importance to heritage preservation than some older members of the EU. According to its Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments, "economically unsuitable monuments" deserve special support, helping to protect monuments which are less attractive in heritage tourism terms.[21] According to the Law on Immovable Property Tax, immovable property tax shall not be imposed "upon immovable property, which has been recognised as a State protected cultural monument, and land for the maintenance thereof, except for land for the maintenance of apartment houses, as well as immovable property utilized for economic activity."[22] This is an approach similar to another relatively new member of the EU, Cyprus, where funding for residential historic buildings in areas where work opportunities and tourism income is limited, is 10 percent higher than conservation funding in other areas. Cyprus stands out within the EU by providing 40 percent of expenses for the restoration and repair of designated residential heritage in any area.[23] This financial support for rarely appreciated vernacular heritage is evidence of great heritage awareness in this previously war-torn country (Chapter 7).

Another interesting regulation in the case of Latvia is the importance attached to the historic centre of Riga, whose municipality applies an additional tax reduction system for buildings in the protected site. The owners of buildings in this area are entitled to tax refunds for buildings restored according "to the principles of qualitative heritage preservation."[24]

Baltic countries have always demonstrated a keen interest in their built heritage; however, the outcome has focused more on research and documentation due to the lack of adequate funds for the conservation of historic buildings. Following EU integration, not only has restoration of the

Figure 8.2 Latvia is a country showing great heritage awareness and attaches more importance to heritage preservation compared to some of the older members of the European Union. A scene from Riga Old Town. Photo by Leons Balodis, courtesy the State Inspection for Heritage Protection, Latvia.

formerly neglected historic buildings and monuments become a priority, but the results of their long research activity have become available to other European countries through a new generation of publications. For example, the English version of Rein Zobel's book about his research into Tallinn's mediaeval heritage shows us that his fruitful career of recording the city began as early as 1954.[25] According to Jüri Soolep, a professor in Eesti Academy of Fine Arts, who wrote the foreword for the English version, the next level of investigation was achieved in the 1980s, when Zobel developed a new research method combining historic and topographic reconstruction principles. With the help of geologists of Künnepuu and Eeasma, Zobel

made use of a vast resource of more than 1,100 profiles in precisely documented locations to create an accurate picture of mediaeval Tallinn. With more support for similar publications, the lesser-known heritage of Baltic countries and other new members of Europe will be appreciated by the international community.

One of the main reasons for high heritage awareness in new EU countries is the particular role played by built heritage in the establishment of an independent identity. As we have seen in nearly all the chapters, identity issues and historic building conservation are closely linked. The rhetoric of the heritage of the "other" in the political realm becomes blurred, particularly when it comes to the conservation of places of worship. Developments in certain European countries in the difficult economic climate of the first decade of the twenty-first century reveal that, in this domain, nothing much has changed, despite all the theories and philosophies we have been discussing for a long time. As reported in the *Independent* in October 2010, the Bishop of Cordoba has begun a campaign for the Cordoba Mosque to be referred to as the Cathedral of Cordoba.[26] The bishop's campaign may be the answer to the 2004 and 2006 petitions of the Islamic Council, representing the "300 000 Spanish converts out of Spain's growing Muslim community of two million" to the Vatican requesting ecumenical prayers to be permitted at the former mosque.[27] Interestingly, from 2004, the date of the first petition, there seems to have been a change in the conservation policies of the monument. For example, in 2005, a selection of Visigothic and Roman materials found on the site in the 1930s and known to Spanish scholars for years was brought out of storage and placed on display, and an area of the mosque floor has been opened to display the pebble mosaic believed to belong to an outbuilding of the ruins of the Visigothic cathedral preceding the mosque.[28] In addition, the post-reconquest chapels on the side walls of the main building, which did not represent their Christian iconographic ornamentation fully, in conformity with previous conservation policies in Spain, seem now to have been re-Christianised in terms of iconography, according to a group of visitors who provided the photographs below.[29]

Their perception may not reflect the full reality, but, because the only explanation about what is happening in the building is in Spanish, it does not help visitors avoid misunderstandings. The photographs also show that the conservation project may not include, at least in this phase, the more damaged outer walls and chooses instead to alter the more intact interior.

Increased heritage tourism and the wider sharing of images with the help of new media technology heightens interest in international heritage and makes it more accessible. Further developments in the use of network systems support volunteer contribution to heritage preservation all over the world. Peter Howard, an independent consultant engaged in the preservation of African heritage and protected areas and an expert in wildlife management, has introduced a website showcasing Africa's 120 World Heritage Sites.[30] The site has been developed with the help of volunteer contributions

Figures 8.3 and 8.4 Recent work in the side chapels in the Cordoba Mosque confuses Muslim tourists who do not know about the recent controversy about it in Spain. Images courtesy Emin Elma (December 19, 2011) and Emrullah Temizkan (January 2, 2012).

Figure 8.5 Some visitors think that it would be more helpful to concentrate more on the conservation of the building rather than on archaeology and interpretation. Image courtesy Emrullah Temizkan.

monitored by Howard, with the volunteers contributing photos made in some of the most inaccessible sites, such as shots of Salonga, deep in the Congo basin rainforest taken by Omari Ilambu, or lesser-known objects such as the pyramids around Meroe in Sudan, provided by Bridget Goldsmith and David Trump.[31]

If the lesser-known heritage of non-European cultures or Europe's transcontinental heritage is understood through the context of its preservation, it will also generate an understanding of each other beyond historic building conservation, the political and social dimensions we have seen in the previous chapters. This book should be considered as a pioneering work using a comparative context to discuss international heritage. This internationally comparative context is more often applied in the new genre of history of architecture books, although in the area of historic building conservation, it is more difficult to see these examples.[32] The author is aware of its limitations; certainly it was not possible to include all countries and all experts of the world to seek their ideas and represent all their projects. It should, however, be considered as an example of how one can get over the often discussed language barriers and geographical distances if one makes the effort. With more authors following this model, historic building conservation will become less selective and more inclusive in the academic world, responding more effectively to the needs of the increasingly

Figures 8.6 and 8.7 Images in Peter Howard's website documenting African World Heritage Sites with volunteer contributions is a great example of joint work and helps to raise awareness of Africa's lesser-known built heritage.

Image 8.6 Meroe pyramids, which were decapitated by a treasure hunter more than one hundred years ago. Those in the picture have been restored to show how they would have looked originally, which includes replastering, as most of the rest have no plaster remaining, just exposed stone blocks.[33] The centre of the Kushite Kingdom was moved to the island of Meroe on the east bank of the Nile from Nuri (Gebel Berkel) in about 270 BC.[34] Image courtesy Bridget Goldsmith and David Trump, www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites/Bridget.

Image 8.7 A street in Lamu in Kenya, a typical example of modernity served by globalism threatening a World Heritage Site as discussed in Chapter 4. Image courtesy Peter Howard, www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites/Peter.

multicultural staff and student body, not only in Euro-American universities but also in other parts of the globe. Engaging together in saving the world's past on equal terms while supporting local traditions and customs is the only sustainable way for preserving the history of human existence on this planet.

NOTES

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3. "Future of the World Convention—A Nordic perspective," Second International WHILD Conference on the World Heritage Research organised by Åbo Akademi University, Botnia Atlantica and Finnish National Commission for UNESCO in Vasa, Finland, December 14–16, 2011.
4. "Understanding Each Other's Heritage—Challenges for Heritage Communication in a Globalized World," organised by German Academic Exchange Service, Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus and International Association of World Heritage Professionals in Cottbus, Germany, July 19–21, 2012.
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17. Personal communication, Portsmouth, October 8, 2011.
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21. State Inspection for Heritage Protection, Latvia (see note 19).
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26. "Mass versus Minarets: The Cordoba Controversy," *The Independent*, October 16, 2010, www.independent.co.uk/. . ./mass-versus-minarets-the-cordoba-controversy-2108224.html (accessed February 20, 2012).
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29. Two different groups of students from various countries who were studying at the University of Portsmouth visited the building in December 2011 and January 2012 and contacted the author on their return and expressed their concerns.
30. African World Heritage Sites, http://www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites.org (accessed February 21, 2012).
31. African World Heritage Sites, "Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroe—Sudan," http://www.AfricanWorldHeritageSites.org/cultural-places/ancient-civilisations-of-the-nile/meroe.html (accessed February 21, 2012).
32. For example, the book by Francis D. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2007) is a good example among the history of architecture books written in a globally comparative context. One of the few examples in historic preservation is John Stubbs, *Time Honoured: A Global View of Architectural Conservation* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2009). However, while the methodology of Stubbs's book is based on geographical comparison, the methodology

of this book is based on global comparison of current approaches and discourses.

33. E-mail correspondence with Peter Howard, February 8, 2012.
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Appendix

It would have been an unthinkable task for me to write this book without the help of all the colleagues, fellow academics and practitioners whose advice, knowledge and information on various parts of the world brought the work to this stage. I am very grateful to Dr Ann Coats for her great patience and endurance in editing the manuscript, to Professor Lorraine Farrelly and Tod Wakefield, my line managers in the University of Portsmouth, for their support and encouragement during the long period I have worked on it, to Dr Stamatina Rassia for her help with Greek and Dr Fabiono Lemes with Portuguese translations and to Sam Brooks for assisting me in the last busy months with his knowledge of digital design. I also extend special thanks to my editor Laura Stearns for her courage accepting this complicated project and trusting me to complete it and to Stacy Noto, assistant editor, for her patience with my endless questions. I also thank Professor William Logan, who wrote the foreword, for being my inspiration for this research through his inclusive, international and participative approach. Last but not least, I am indebted to all those whose names are noted in the relevant image captions, who shared their images from different countries. I also extend my thanks to all the people who have supported me by providing knowledge and material about their projects and views, translated legislation and reports to help me overcome the barrier of language and enlightened me on diverse aspects of the international heritage preservation discourse. Their short biographies—and, in most cases, their contact details, follow for those readers who may be interested in learning more about their work.

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Dr Hülya Yüceer trained as an architect in the Middle East Technical University in Turkey. Holding a PhD from the same institution, she specialised in architectural conservation. She worked in several private architectural offices and governmental institutions, gaining experience in design, construction and architectural and urban conservation projects in Turkey. She carried out research in English heritage and participated ICCROM's course "First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Times of Conflict" in 2011. Currently she is an instructor in the Eastern Mediterranean University in northern Cyprus.

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International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World's Past

Every year on April 18, ICOMOS celebrates the International Day for Monuments and Sites. The theme for 2012 is World Heritage, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention. According to ICOMOS, the aim of the International Day for Monuments and Sites is to encourage local communities and individuals throughout the world to consider the importance of cultural heritage to their lives, identities and communities and promote awareness of its diversity and vulnerability and the efforts required to protect and conserve it.

In spite of ICOMOS's efforts, supported also by UNESCO in developing an inclusive discourse in global context, the history of building conservation, the study of contemporary paradigms and case studies in most universities and within wider interest circles focus mainly on Europe; sometimes even the United States is excluded from European publications in the historic preservation realm. With an increasingly multicultural student body in Euro-American universities and a rising global interest in heritage preservation, there is an urgent need for publications to cover a larger geographical and social area including Asia, Australia, Africa, South America and previously neglected countries in Europe such as the new members of the European Community and lesser-known sustainable projects in the US and Canada, such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Center.

International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation assesses successful contemporary conservation paradigms from around the world to create an integrated account of historic building conservation that crosses boundaries of language and culture by setting an example for further inclusive research. Analysing lesser-known philosophies, policies, regional conflicts, the influence of financial constraints and technical traditions in different parts of the world, this cutting-edge volume is essential for researchers and students of heritage studies interested in understanding their topics within a wider framework.

Zeynep Aygen is principal lecturer in the School of Architecture at the University of Portsmouth in the UK and has worked in various institutions around the world, including the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul, Turkey, the Technical University of Berlin and the University of Bahrain.

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