

OTHER  
LANDSCAPES  
OF CULTURAL  
HERITAGE(S):  
history and  
politics

Nuno Lopes

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EDITORS

This book offers a heterogeneous enquiry into the historical contexts and policies that conditioned the emergence and institutionalisation of cultural heritage assets, focusing mostly on geographies shaped by Portuguese influence and using as an operational tool the concept of landscape. Assessing related discourses and practices, which reveal comparative dynamics, this volume deals with history as a basis for understanding the different and shared realities in each country and region, and politics (and policies) taken as a repertoire of action to tackle the problems and challenges associated with cultural heritage, that is, those identified and contested as such. The topics addressed by each chapter are diverse and crucial: contested heritage; social justice; heritage as performance; industrial colonialism; tourism and heritage; heritage management and preservation; conservation, heritage, and landscape.

The Patrimónios (Heritages) — UNESCO Chair on Intercultural Dialogue on the Heritage of Portuguese Influence — and the homonymous PhD course, promote integrated interdisciplinary cooperation and research about the assets that, from the point of view of active cultural heritage (architecture, arts, geography, history, landscape, urbanism), entail convergences in recognising the values common to the communities where Portuguese forms of presence have existed, or still exist. Its focus is not the latter but the variety of cultural outcomes it has generated in the world, recognising the role of the other, the co-constitution and multi-directional of North-South and South-South relations, the consequences of movements and processes of violent subjugation implicit in the phenomena of emigration and colonisation, as well as new or renewed forms of post-colonial domination.

O L H A R E S

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## Title

*Other landscapes of cultural heritage(s): history and politics*

## Edition

Coimbra University Press [Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra]

Email: [imprensa@uc.pt](mailto:imprensa@uc.pt) | URL: [http://www.uc.pt/imprensa\\_uc](http://www.uc.pt/imprensa_uc)

Online sales: <http://livrariadaimprensa.uc.pt>

## Production

Cátedra UNESCO Diálogo Intercultural em Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa <http://www.patrimonios.pt>

## Editors

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## Design

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## Graphic execution

Ondagraf

## ISBN

978-989-26-2331-3

## Digital ISBN

978-989-26-2332-0

## DOI

<https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2332-0>

## Legal deposit

512374/23

## Support

UNESCO Chair on Intercultural Dialogue on the Heritage of Portuguese Influence

Camões - Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P.





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## PRESENTATION

Nuno Lopes, Walter Rossa & Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

Cultural Heritage is a cultural and social construction triggered by the recognition of individuals, groups, or institutions that sprouted in the Age of Revolutions and evolved during the Industrial Era.<sup>1</sup> Its theoretical underpinnings started to gain expression in the 1970s, a moment when post-WWII international order began to be more systematically questioned at various levels, and environmental concerns and agendas gained momentum (e.g. the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and UNESCO's World Heritage Convention, both in 1972). One of the consequences of this fact was that the approaches and the policies related to both issues — heritage and environment — started to intersect, sometimes fruitfully, leading to what is today called *sustainable development*. Half a century later, these concerns are addressed by comprehensive international policies and agendas, revealing a process of maturation of previous dynamics.

Rather than aiming to systematize ways of addressing these issues or merely look at their variation in time, we edit this book to contribute to a richer and more multifaceted discussion of the topics of heritage and development (the latter itself a multidimensional and contested term). We do so mainly by providing more diverse empirical data, perspectives, and experiences, from contexts and geographies usually placed at the periphery of mainstream debates in the field. Indeed, even the literature critical of what Laurajane Smith coined as the Authorized Heritage Discourse tends to focus on cases related to Great Britain, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and Italy, also addressing, essentially, respective spheres of past political, economic, and cultural influence, including of a colonial nature. Certainly not by chance, the relevance of research and policy-making about cultural heritage acquired in the Far East and Oceania cannot be understood without an analysis of Australia's crucial role.

Linguistic aspects and political, economic, and cultural hierarchies help us to understand these realities. International conventions,

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<sup>1</sup> Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (Braumüller, 1903); Françoise Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine* (Seuil, 1992).

recommendations, and agendas tend to reflect and reproduce these tendencies and related analytical biases. The consequences are not unexpected: despite the natural option for general indications and instructions, avoiding regional specificities and particularistic rationales, these conventions, recommendations, and agendas frequently reveal their incapacity to respond to numerous contexts, diverse societies, a vast number of geographies, and to their problems. Also, for these reasons, the planned goals to foster new and more effective policies regarding heritage and the environment (or sustainable development) tend to fail regularly. At best, the expected results are only partially met.

This book aims to contribute to more diverse and comprehensive discussions of cultural heritage, offering different case studies, addressing varied cultural geographies, engaging with different ways of thinking, dialoguing with existing literature, and benefitting from its great, relevant insights. We aim to contribute to this empirical diversification of the analytical heterogenization process, assessing historical, cultural, and political contexts through debates about the emergence, refusal, or recognition of assets as cultural heritage.

*What, when, and how* is heritage a cultural and social construction, a political instrument, and a socioeconomic asset? *Who defines* it as such? And with *what* policies? Engaging with relevant literature and related conceptual and methodological debates and mobilizing a multifaceted and interdisciplinary set of problems, arguments, and understudied geographies, the book deals with them in two primary ways. First, it tackles the diversity of historical and theoretical visions of cultural heritage and its ability to establish intersections with other important topics and issues, from the natural and built environment to physical planning, development, tourism, and cultural manifestations. Second, it addresses the plurality of empirical dimensions upon which critical analysis of discourses and practices of cultural heritage may be developed further, encompassing complex issues such as *overlapping pasts, contested/conflict/shared heritage, authorized discourse, power, and identity*. This approach is aligned with *critical heritage studies'* main principles and orientations. It dialogues with some of its primary references, from the seminal *The uses of heritage*, by Laurajane Smith, to titles such as *Heritage: critical approaches*, by Rodney Harrison. and

*The Palgrave handbook of contemporary heritage research*, edited by Emma Waterton & Steve Watson<sup>2</sup>, among many others.

A holistic tool is needed to deal with these two aspects in an integrated manner. Engaging with the concept of landscape, especially in its contemporary definitions and uses, including its direct connection with heritage<sup>3</sup>, we use landscape as an interpretive and operative tool of cultural heritage. In its origin, landscape means a visible portion of land. In 1984, in his *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, John Brinckerhoff Jackson defined landscape as “a portion of the earth’s surface that can be comprehended at a glance”<sup>4</sup>. As early as 1955, in his *The Making of the English Landscape*, William George Hoskins wrote that “landscape itself, to those who know how to read it aright is the richest historical record we possess”<sup>5</sup>. These are two pioneers in the definition and study of cultural landscapes, and their viewpoints still resonate today.

More than what we see, landscape determines what is visible and how, and therefore helps us to understand why it formed as such through time. Landscape reading depends on the conditions of observation, that is, the knowledge and capacity of interpretation of the observer and his ability to interact meaningfully with it. Landscape is the result of a cultural process, dynamic and not static, historical, and contextual. In our view, the concept of landscape enables the fruitful combination of heritage and environment, the understanding of such combination, and the formulation of integrated policies for sustainable development. In the Anthropocene, the landscape is more about people and life than things. The concept of landscape also permits questioning the conceptual barriers between material and immaterial, tangible and intangible. These distinctions often obscure

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<sup>2</sup> Laurajane Smith, *The uses of heritage* (Routledge, 2006); Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: critical approaches* (2013); Emma Waterton & Steve Watson, eds., *The Palgrave handbook of contemporary heritage research* (Palgrave, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Yvonne Moore & Niamh Whelan (ed.), *Heritage, memory and the politics of identity: new perspectives on the cultural landscape* (Ashgate, 2007); Peter Howard, Ian Thompson, Emma Waterton & Mick Atha (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies* (Routledge, 2013); Juliet Ramsay & Ken Taylor (eds.), *21st Century Challenges Facing Cultural Landscapes* (Routledge, 2018)

<sup>4</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (Yale University Press, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> William George Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1955).

more than they reveal. The concept also facilitates the reading and connection between the diverse historical layers in a particular place, i.e., the historical accumulation of cultural discourses and practices, including policies, centred in a specific location.

Accordingly, in our view and backed by the chapters in this book, *cultural landscape* is redundant; *natural landscape* is a false description; the notion of *urban landscape* artificially opposes intertwined worlds; and the idea of *historic landscapes* seems to assume that other landscapes have no history. Naturally, we know that these statements and related viewpoints partly clash with some resilient conservationist doctrines or with recent recommendations, such as the ones connected to the short-range UNESCO's *Historic Urban Landscape* [HUL] approach from 2011<sup>6</sup>. Like heritage, the landscape is a living reality and geo-references the culture it conveys while being an integral part of it. Using landscape as an instrument of cultural heritage, we can understand why this is so, focusing on place-oriented actions.

Especially in the last two decades, the broad debate on cultural heritage is generating ample scientific literature, some with significant political repercussions on a global scale, as we noted from the beginning. This process has been accompanied by a growing awareness of environmental issues, namely climate change. As we stated above, we can now say that the main issues and agendas of heritage and environment overlap in some ways. However, both face a similar problem: the lack of an instrument that enables a comprehensive view of the wide range of assets at risk, from buildings and urban areas to various heterogeneous modalities of cultural discourses and practices and biodiversity. In its most immediate, profound, and authentic manifestation, the landscape is that instrument: landscape as a 3D living stage, not a 2D framed image. The landscape is culture; it is environment, it is heritage.

In short, comprehensively operated by the concept of landscape, two main issues — *history* as a basis for the understanding of different realities (geographic, territorial, chronological, cultural, etc.) and *policies* as repertoires of action to deal with problems or challenges

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<sup>6</sup> See Francesco Bandarin & Ron van Oers (eds.), *Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban Landscape approach and the future of urban heritage* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).

identified in these realities, and contested by others — are the guidelines to our collective inquiry, and determine the organization of this book.

In a world in which *centralities* and *peripheries* seem to be changing, hierarchies of knowledge and power seem to be redefined accordingly, and in which new international agendas (e.g., *Sustainable Development Goals*, *New Urban Agenda*) point to more ample and interconnected dynamics in public policies, an analytical move towards a more globalized and geographically multifaceted assessment of cultural heritage is needed. This move will surely be helpful to a more informed and balanced action over cultural heritage, closer to local dynamics and challenges.

To understand the historical manifestations, political nature, and policies in the use(s) of cultural heritage, as a discourse and as a practice, we need to widen our geographical frameworks, explore different objects, chronologies, and trajectories, scrutinize more actors and institutions and minimize the divide between more theoretical and more empirical approaches. For instance, we emphasize the need to historicize discourses and policies and to include cases that are frequently on the margin of mainstream analysis (e.g. the Global South, the Portuguese-speaking world, or understudied cultural manifestations), thus deepening our empirical framework without neglecting to review and test existing theoretical and practical proposals (see several texts included in this collection, touching subjects such as *Samba de Roda*, vernacular architecture or the Henri Lefebvre's *right to the city* (1968) in colonial and postcolonial societies). Obviously, this volume doesn't claim to respond thoroughly to all these challenges. It aims to contribute to establishing their centrality in the heritage and landscape studies field. In one way or another, in their distinct theoretical and methodological characteristics — an aspect that we want to preserve from the start to capture the vitality and richness of the field — all these texts demonstrate the advantages of a historically minded critical approach to heritage.

Since the beginning of the millennium, at least, a vast range of books have fuelled the development of that new approach to landscape, gradually connected to and dialoguing with new heritage and environmental issues and agendas. They have been preceded by the

pioneer works of John Brinckerhoff Jackson and William George Hoskins, referred to above. In 2007 (with a revised edition in 2016), *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity*, edited by Niamh Moore & Yvonne Whelan, became a relevant reference<sup>7</sup>, followed by the already mentioned *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. Starting with his PhD thesis, *Landscape, culture and heritage: changing perspectives in an Asian context* (2017), Ken Taylor is another prolific and essential author on the topic. In between and as a direct consequence of all these developments (we have just quoted three prominent examples), in 2011, UNESCO adopted the abovementioned Recommendation on HUL, which became a new milestone for urban heritage policies. Since then, an explosion of events and publications has pushed the HUL approach forward on all policy levels<sup>8</sup>. But, in reality, HUL may essentially be considered an institutional rebranding of existing ideas. For example, it might be seen as the rebranding of what was previously known as *integrated conservation*. Some texts of this book contribute to this debate, with examples from geographies scarcely addressed by literature (such as the volume just mentioned). For example, the volume includes texts that address the inscription of Rio de Janeiro as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List. As an urban landscape, the case of Rio de Janeiro is still an exception among the other cultural landscapes on the List.

Similar remarks could be made regarding the relations between heritage and the environment (sustainable development). Here are two examples with which this volume dialogues in this respect: *World Heritage and Sustainable Development*, edited by Peter Bille Larsen and William Logan, and *The Cultural Turn in International Aid*, edited by Sophia Labadi<sup>9</sup>. For instance, the case studies related to Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa enable the widening of the scope of these two critical books, testing their arguments and findings

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<sup>7</sup> Niamh Moore & Yvonne Whelan, eds., *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> See Francesco Bandarin's work, and, as a very recent example, *The Routledge Handbook on Historic Urban Landscapes in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by K. D. Silva (Routledge, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Peter Bille Larsen and William Logan, eds., *World Heritage and Sustainable Development: New Directions in World Heritage Management* (Routledge, 2018); Sophia Labadi, ed., *The Cultural Turn in International Aid* (Routledge, 2020).



in distinct contexts. *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries*, edited by Carlos Nunes da Silva, or Ambe J. Njoh's *Tradition, Culture and Development in Africa*, important contributions as they are, do not offer the cross-fertilization between development, environment, and heritage which we explore in this book<sup>10</sup>.

In a necessarily brief, but sufficiently thoughtful way, we believe, the rationale and the main objectives that shaped this collective book are outlined here. Intersecting and dialoguing with several trends in heritage studies, but also with others in environmental studies, this volume aims to contribute to a very-much needed critical reading and analysis of the multifaceted politics and policies of cultural heritage<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Carlos Nunes da Silva, ed., *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries* (Routledge 2015); Ambe J. Njoh, *Tradition, Culture and Development in Africa: Historical Lessons for Modern Development Planning* (Routledge, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> This work is associated with the UNESCO Chair in Intercultural Dialogue in Heritage of Portuguese Influence, in which many of these research orientations and objectives are pursued, including in its associated PhD programme.



# **Part One**

## **LAYERS OF HERITAGE: CULTURE AND POLITICS**



## Part One

### Chapter 1

#### WHEN PASTS OVERLAP: CULTURAL HERITAGE AT A CROSSROADS

Ariel Sophia Bardi

##### Abstract

“Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time”, Homi Bhabha has written. They also lose — and gain — new authors. In preserving the past, heritage projects selectively cite one particular place in time. Assiduously curated, they strive to represent an unbroken history, to delineate a unified sense of cultural ownership. But what happens when pasts overlap?

This article unpacks two contentious case studies of contested heritage, drawn from archaeologically-inflected religious hotspots in the Middle East and South Asia. In Ayodhya, a city in the populous northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, a 16th-century Mughal mosque — the Babri Masjid — sits atop the ruins of an ancient Hindu temple believed by worshippers to mark the birthplace of Ram, the hero of the Hindu national epic, the *Ramayana*. In East Jerusalem, the Ottoman-era Palestinian village of Silwan sprawls atop a hidden ancestry — scattered Canaanite ruins associated with the reign of King David. Under the guise of reclaimed heritage, a ballooning, settler-funded archaeological attraction, The City of David, has appropriated dozens of local Palestinian homes for demolition — part of a larger campaign to de-Arabize the contested city.

For decades, the “Ayodhya dispute” has remained a key heritage-related conflict, even spilling over to include such Mughal icons as the Taj Mahal. Meanwhile, modern and majority Muslim, Silwan has been silenced by the re-staging of the ancient Jewish settlement. Even well-intentioned heritage projects can lend credence to nationalist myths of enduring, excavatable Golden Ages. They re-imprint a certain time on a specific place, effectively singularizing a pluralist past — and reinforcing an inequitable present. This article proposes an alternative framework for understanding cultural heritage, one which eschews the language of both singularism and universalism, and instead highlights the pluralist, polyphonous, and palimpsestic roots of every site.

**Keywords:** *India; Palestine; Israel; Contested Heritage; Conflict; Identity; Religion.*

“There is no innocent eye... Not only how but what it sees is regulated by need and prejudice”.<sup>1</sup>

---Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*

On December 6th, 1992, India’s Babri Masjid — a sixteenth-century Mughal mosque, built under the reign of Emperor Babur in the holy Indian city of Ayodhya, in the populous northern state of Uttar Pradesh — was demolished by a crowd of over 150,000 Hindu nationalist demonstrators. Where the mosque stood is believed by many Hindus to mark the birthplace of the Hindu deity Ram, hero of the Sanskrit epic, the *Ramayana*. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), a right-wing political party, had been stridently campaigning since the early 1980s for a new Ram temple to be constructed overtop the mosque — a temple believed to have once existed, and destroyed under Mughal reign. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), now in power nationally under the current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, adopted the Ayodhya debate as a key cornerstone of its platform during subsequent election campaigns. Under the glare of a national spotlight, the project to rebuild a Hindu temple in place of the battered mosque became — and still remains — one of the principal demands of India’s century-old Hindutva movement, which demands that India be the exclusive homeland of Hindus.

The masjid was the last of three Hindu holy sites that, during the mid-1980s, Hindutva supporters set their sights on reclaiming: the sacred city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges; Mathura, the birthplace of Krishna; and, now, the city of Ayodhya, the disputed site of Rama’s sacred birth, and, since 1527, also home to the controversial Mughal mosque. “If Muslims are entitled to an Islamic atmosphere in Mecca, and if Christians are entitled to a Christian atmosphere in the Vatican”, wrote BJP leader L.K. Advani in his published memoirs, “why is it

<sup>1</sup> *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1968. Qtd. “Reality Remade.” *Philosophy Looks at the Arts: Contemporary Readings in Aesthetics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987, 285.

wrong for the Hindus to expect a Hindu atmosphere in Ayodhya?"<sup>2</sup> The Karachi-born politician, still a young man at the time of partition, had at earlier moments mourned the disrupted unity of Hindu and Muslim cultural life. "The Hindu could not be separated from the Muslim", Advani wrote of Sindh, after partition rang the death knells of his cherished, cosmopolitan province.<sup>3</sup> Now, at the heels of Babur's mosque in 1992, he inflamed the sectarian passions of the crowd in a speech that would soon become infamous. Standing at a dais just 150 meters from the offending masjid, Advani addressed the assembled activists, saffron-dressed Hindu nationalists known as "volunteers", or *Karsevaks*. His voice ignited a fever pitch of excitement. *Mandir yahan banayenge!* Advani cried out, deploying the ubiquitous — and divisive — rallying cry of the BJP: "We will build [Ram] Temple here again". As the crowds drew nearer, a few men broke through the cordons encircling the mosque and unfurled a saffron flag atop its domed roof — all under the approving eye of the police. It was as if a signal had sounded. Thousands of *Karsevaks* charged the barriers, scaling walls and trees.<sup>4</sup> The devastation that ensued was lustful and unsparing. Journalists were beaten, their cameras smashed, as the orange-clad crowds, with axes, rocks, and even their bare hands, brought down — brick by brick — the 465-year-old mosque. True to Advani's promise, the inflamed crowds quickly erected a makeshift Hindu temple over the ruins of the masjid. It was a vigilante redemption, powered by the pretense of forcibly reconverting the site to a pre-Mughal state, a sanctified "past" perceived as inviolably authentic. The mosque in ruins, the reclaimed temple now seemed to spotlight an unbroken Hindu lineage, an ancient providence unsullied by competing claims. The demolition dusted off the top layers of a resented, even perceptibly alien history. In a matter of moments, the Babri Masjid's Muslim and Mughal religious and historical significations were overwritten, and a new meaning as *Ram Janmabhoomi*, or Ram's birthplace, re-inscribed. The renegade conversion represented a brutal usurpation of one heritage into another.

<sup>2</sup> Advani, L.K. *My Country My Life*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> "Tearing Down the Babri Masjid". Mark Tully. *BBC News*. 5 Dec 2002. Web Source

In the late nineteen-sixties, famed architect Louis Khan sketched designs to rebuild Jerusalem's Hurva Synagogue, an imposing eighteenth-century structure that had been destroyed by the Jordan Legion two decades previously in 1948, the year that Israel became a state. The "monumental and archaic-looking synagogue fortress, growing out of its ruins", writes Eyal Weizman, would have "competed on the city's skyline with the Al Aqsa mosque and the Holy Sepulchre", had it ever come to completion.<sup>5</sup> But Khan's unrealized plans sounded a "call for the disciplines of archaeology and architecture to merge".<sup>6</sup> Both fields were put into the service of the young Israeli state, helping to in effect design a new national identity based on a heavily mythologized shared past — a past selective enough to singularize a motley group of co-religionists, and commodious enough for diverse immigrant backgrounds to inhabit. The built environment would be instrumental in pooling and coalescing a new national whole. Ram Karmi, a follower of Khan's and a central architect in the re-design of Jewish Jerusalem, soon insisted that "the search for national identity" was to "be conducted through architecture".<sup>7</sup>

In building and preserving, selective citations of the past impart a special spatial privilege. As spaces are cleansed of minority infrastructure, they come to reinforce the nationalist fictions that insist on a single, immemorial territorial claim — and are predicated on the dubious supposition that thousands-year-old faith groups are the same peoples as today. Singularized spaces legitimize the now inviolable sanctity of the state: they lend credence to the idea of a longstanding national unity. At times politically motivated, if not politically weaponized, they have given weight and shape to new forms of governance, and to uneven topographies of power. Selective preservation instantiates nationalist ideologies within the uniformity of landscape, making protected sites bear fictive witness to an undivided heritage — to a now uncontested past.

In Israel, India, and Pakistan, multi-faith British empires or protectorates were consolidated into three distinct states after 1947 and 1948

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<sup>5</sup> Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow Land*, 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* qtd., 43.



following partition in one case, and war and a de facto partition in the other. After statehood, the question remained — and still remains — of what was to be done with the minority infrastructure that, either active or abandoned, spatially challenged the tenuous cohesion of the new nation. Majority legacies were sifted from shared sands as archaeology came to form an ancillary tool to minority erasure. Under the guise of reclaimed cultural heritage, preservation and demolition came to act as duplicate forms — dual, seemingly contradictory processes through which non-majoritarian identities were further eclipsed.

The demolition of the Babri Masjid set off shock waves that resounded all around the subcontinent. Images from the mosques feverish destruction unleashed a spate of riots, burying India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in the worst rioting seen since partition. Anti-Hindu pogroms saw scores of dead in retaliation, while distraught, rage-stricken Muslims were gunned down by police forces or slaughtered in reprisals. For many, the horrors of partition seemed to be replaying, as two warring histories met in deadlock. For the first time since 1947, religious structures were explicitly targeted, representational attacks by proxy on each faith group. Conspiracy charges were brought against L.K. Advani for his role in inciting the furor.

As riots raged on, and even as death tolls slowed, the urban landscape bore devastating hits. Hundreds of shops were looted across India. Flames torched the central city of Bhopal, while holy Benares, the ghostly city of death, built along the Ganges, also came under attack. In the borderlands of India's Northeast, Bangladeshi immigrants rampaged through local Assamese temples. Mobs flooded the streets of Karnataka, some armed with iron rods.<sup>8</sup> In Pakistan, around thirty temples were demolished or vandalized, including in Advani's once beloved southern province of Sindh. Remaining Hindu temples were ransacked in Lahore, the city of Rama's son, transforming the city by "selectively remming some of the traces through which it is read".<sup>9</sup> Back in Ayodhya itself, a total of 230 mosques and smaller Muslim shrines were demolished by mobs; many were converted into Hindu

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<sup>8</sup> "Babri Masjid Bloody Aftermath". *India Today*. 5 Dec 2011. Web Source.

<sup>9</sup> "Special Topic: The Partition of the Indian Subcontinent". Ritu Menon, ed. *Interventions 1:2*, 1999, 194.

temples. The destruction and conversion of sacred spaces was revived as a powerful tool of proxy war, the medium through which rival claims to cultural heritage were sounded. Architecture had formed its own front line.

## WHOSE PAST? WHOSE NATION?

"Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time", writes Homi Bhabha.<sup>10</sup> They also lose — and gain — new authors. A watershed moment in contemporary Indian history, the Ayodhya affair highlights the uses of the "past" in consolidating an otherwise perilously fractious nation. Selective citations of the past — like the "recovery" of Ram Janmabhoomi — testify to one group's habitation rights. They grant an immemorial authority, imparting a lasting authorship over the story. But what happens when pasts overlap?

The Bharatiya Janata Party presupposes an essential Hindu nation, indefatigable survivor of myriad attempted pollutions. "It weathered the storms of invaders, from the Greeks to the Huns, from the Shakas to the Islamic armies of Turks and Afghans", the BJP history states on its website. "It fought and resisted external oppression and its essential civilization and culture survived great challenges and attempts at effacement".<sup>11</sup> With an entire nation at stake, to be "presently" Muslim or Hindu is all too often not enough; the dominant group must also "pastly" assert its incontrovertible roots in the land. Selective citations of heritage serve as correctives to past wrongs, representing the rightful inheritance of one chosen group — usually over another. "Hindutva", explained V.D. Savarkar, a leading Hindu nationalist activist during the colonial era, in 1923, "is not a word but a history". Though regional excavations identified the site's earliest religious practices as Buddhist, not Hindu, the renegade "rediscovery" of Ram Janmabhoomi asserted only one version of history. The substitution of one historical narrative for another literalizes a common axiom among archaeologists, namely that archaeology "produces" rather than

<sup>10</sup> *Nations and Narrations*. New York: Routledge, 1990, 1.

<sup>11</sup> "About the Party". *Bharatiya Janata Party: The Party With A Difference*. 2014. Web Source.

“discovers” the past. In the context of national belonging, it is the past that creates, rather than preserves, a collective identity.

In Israel, one of the most archaeologically mined territories in the world, heritage preservation has long been a mainstay of spatial politics. As Nadia Abu El-Haj has argued, archaeology as a “national-cultural practice” has been “integral to the struggle to produce a cohesive national identity”.<sup>12</sup> For Israel’s exiles, archaeology has the power to quite literally define their place in the world. Abu El-Haj traces the continued “salience of archaeology in Israeli society” to the “need for the search for roots in an “old-new” land”.<sup>13</sup> Preservation projects have worked to elide present histories, serving as one of the many processes by which the Israeli state asserts an inviolably Jewish national character. Writes Saree Makdisi, “The attempt to secure a sense of Jewish national homeliness involves an endless process of covering over, removing, or managing a stubbornly persistent Palestinian presence”.<sup>14</sup> Under the guise of forensic investigation, Arab and Muslim histories, seen as far more recent as the region’s Jewish roots, can be dismissed as mere overgrowth.

In a 1948 op-ed for *The Palestine Post*, one writer helped set the new country’s stakes. “The Jewish religion and tradition is the only thing that unites us. What else will be common to the immigrant from America and to immigrant from the Yemen, the newcomer from England and he from Babylon, the Jew from Rumania and the Jew from Morocco, if we do not create for them such forms of life as will recall for the majority common associations, and in particular those associations belonging to common past of the people?”.<sup>15</sup>

After 1948, notes Eyal Weizman, Palestinian cultural landscapes “were seen as a contemporary veil under which historic biblical landscapes, battlegrounds, Israeli settlements and sites of worship could be revealed by digging”<sup>16</sup> Archaeological preservation was the means by which the state created shared bonds over linked histories, coalescing and

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<sup>12</sup> “Producing (Arti) Facts”, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> “The Architecture of Erasure”, 527.

<sup>15</sup> Barth, Aaron. “Religion and National Units”. *The Palestine Post*. 21 Oct 1948. Web Source.

<sup>16</sup> *Hollow Land*, 39.

majoritizing an incipient Israeli nationhood. Much like the “recovery” of Rama Temple, excavations in Israel remain imbued with a sense of reinstatement and return, and competing claims complicate a streamlined spatial narrative. As Makdisi questions, “How can a Jewish sense of homeliness be secured when there is a competing Palestinian narrative of home attached to the same land?”<sup>17</sup> As it happens, there are a variety of means.

### **SILWAN -- OR SILOAM?**

In Silwan, an East Jerusalemite neighborhood not far from the Temple Mount and the Jewish quarter of the Old City, the “recovery” of the site’s Jewish past has threatened its current residents, some 40,000 Palestinians who can trace their tenure back several centuries. While Silwan dates back to Ottoman times, it sits atop Canaanite sites uncovered from the time of King David. The small village is now home to the archaeological park of Ir David, or the City of David, bringing tiny Silwan to the forefront of a heated national debate.

The Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem, which was annexed to the state (along with the formerly Jordanian-administered West Bank) after the Six Day War of 1967, remains illegal under international law.<sup>18</sup> Central to the Jewish occupation of East Jerusalem has been a process of de-Arabization and Judaization, of which Silwan’s transformation into the City of David now forms an integral part. The park and attendant excavations have been primarily supported by El’Ad, a right-wing settler group. Much like their hilltop peers, scattered among the caravan-clustered peaks of the West Bank, El’Ad settlers have usurped local homes, their doorways draped in blue-and-white flags. Their renegade “redemptions” have disrupted and segmented the beleaguered Palestinian communities in and around Jerusalem’s Old City.

As the El’Ad association itself reports, it “operates to strengthen the

<sup>17</sup> “The Architecture of Erasure”, 527.

<sup>18</sup> Both the East Jerusalem and West Bank Israeli settlements contravene article 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention. For reference, see “Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War”. *U.N.T.S.* No. 973 Vol. 75, 287. 12 Aug 1949. Web Source.

link of the Jewish people to Jerusalem, and for the continuation of the return of the Jewish people to visit and live in the City of David".<sup>19</sup> With its exclusive focus on the First and Second Temple periods, the City of David presents as immemorially Jewish an area that has been inflected by myriad groups across many faiths. The park's citational excavations testify to a continued Jewish presence, suggesting that the neighborhood's Palestinian residents are trespassing on hallowed ground.

Silwan represents a spatial narrative that, modern and Muslim, has been silenced by the re-staging of an ancient, Jewish city. In a modest section of Silwan called Al'Bustan, some eighty houses have been demolished to make way for the park. El'Ad acquires Palestinian properties by dubious means, usually appealing to Israel's Absentees' Property Law, which renders many homes custody of the state.<sup>20</sup> Legislated under emergency conditions in March of 1950, the law is still in full effect almost seven decades later, and relies on the nonsensical coinage of the "present absentee". Out of the 160,000 Palestinians who stayed on in Israel after 1948, just over half were given this title: people who had fled their homes during wartime, held properties elsewhere in the Levant or Arab world, or lived in any of the districts annexed by Israel from Jordan in the land swap of 1949. For residents of East Jerusalem, the law has had particularly devastating consequences. If owners were not physically in residence on June 28th, 1967, the day when the legislation went into effect, their properties could be "reclaimed" by the state.

The property law has created living arrangements that are almost phantasmagorically bizarre. A small home belonging to the local Sha'abani family now serves as the City of David visitors' center. The house was partially reclaimed 1991 after a legal suit lodged by Hemanuta Ltd., the Israeli state's "land purchasing agent", which works to "prevent land or apartments from falling into Arab hands".<sup>21</sup> However, absentee status could not be proven within every room. While

<sup>19</sup> Qtd. in Rapoport, Meron. "The Republic of Elad". *Haaretz*. 23 Apr 2006. Web Source.

<sup>20</sup> As many as forty percent of Palestinian property was confiscated under this law. See, for example, Fischbach, Michael. R. *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Abu Hussein, Hussein and Fiona McKay. *Access Denied: Palestinian Land Rights in Israel*. New

the Sha'abani family still dwells in one corner of their stone property, the rest of the house has been converted into a reception center and movie theater. It is almost an impossible irony that visitors are shown a 3D film on the history of Old Jerusalem inside the Sha'abanis' old living quarters.

According to Emek Shaveh, an activist organization of archaeologists, "The decision to focus on conservation of the structures related to Jewish worship from the Second Temple Period creates a clear connection between sacred ritual then and now".<sup>22</sup> An adjacent exhibit presents wall segments from the Kingdom of Judea. While the history of the site is in actuality multi-layered, it is highlighted so as to "mark one period as more important", argue Emek Shaveh, and to stress "a particular historical narrative".<sup>23</sup> At the northeastern side of the Ophel excavations, ongoing searches strive to unearth the Jewish history beneath a Muslim cemetery.

As Meron Rapoport, reporting for *Ha'aretz*, wrote in 2006, the City of David's time line "jumps from the year 70 CE, the destruction of the Second Temple, to 1882, the beginning of immigration to the Land of Israel in modern times".<sup>24</sup> The intervening narratives—the other peoples and religions who made their mark on the city—form counterfeit histories, spurious claims to a singularized past. "During the 1,800 years that passed between these dates", observes Rapoport, "nothing happened on this hill".<sup>25</sup>

The timeline reveals the canonization process that is at work in heritage preservation. As heritage zones, exhibited historical sites narrativize as they enclose, imposing new meanings with their selective re-framings of time in space. The popularization of the place name "City of David" serves as its own breed of historical ellipsis, much like the politically motivated usage of the Biblical "Judea and Samaria" in place of the current West Bank. Argues Rashid Khalidi, the "archaic name" as a substitution for modern "Silwan" gives the "patina, prestige, and

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York: Zed s, 2003, 152.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> "The Republic of Elad". n.p.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

legitimacy of a connection some 3,000 years old".<sup>26</sup> The City of David's slogan — "Where It All Began" — exemplifies this process. "One can walk in the footsteps of Jewish pilgrims", boasts its website, staging a kind of collective reenactment and fulfilling the promise of Jewish return — via tourism. As a de facto theme park, Ir David re-creates a spatially coded Jewish past, providing a simulated guide to what once was (and now can be again).

Kevin Walsh has likened so-called "heritage displays" to "synchronous spectacle[s]", which remove "any idea of change through time".<sup>27</sup> What makes a staged site like Siloam so politically suspect is also what elevates its touristic appeal. On the website TripAdvisor, one visitor describes the park as "a place where you can touch history". "This is the REAL "Old City of Jerusalem"", writes another. One commenter ends his review with an unsettling bit of critique. "The only downside is that the place is smack in the middle of a pretty seedy-looking Arab neighborhood", the tourist reports. "Pretty ugly view and smell".<sup>28</sup> The site encourages visitors to relegate Silwan's lived realities to the margins of a reconstructed golden age. Palestinians are poised as a rabble of interlopers, squatters in the historic home of the Jewish people.

As Barbara Kirchenblatt-Gimblett has written, heritage properties "stage their own rebirths as displays of what they once were".<sup>29</sup> In the case of Siloam/ Silwan, it is the rebirth of a life that has already undergone manifold reincarnations. The park dismisses non-Jewish history as a few changing of hands, occupations which filled the yawning stretch of interim between Jewish exile and Zionist return. In his study of sacred sites in Israel and Palestine, Daniel Bertrand Monk reflects that, "What is at stake in accusations about architecture is the proper representation of history itself".<sup>30</sup> As displays of the "past",

<sup>26</sup> *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of a Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, 15.

<sup>27</sup> *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World*. New York: Routledge, 2002, 46.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Kirchenblatt-Gimblett refers here to "dying economies" and moribund trades. See *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, Heritage*. Oakland: University of California Press, 1998, 151.

<sup>30</sup> *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict*. Durham:

bound up in a certain identity or era, preservation projects determine not only whose history is seen, but how it is regarded, and by whom. Along with a language of recovery and redemption, heritagization projects also came to stage a kind of resurrection. Much like modern Hebrew, revived by the state as a mother tongue to unite a diverse immigrant population, preservations founded a common language, and forged a shared past. A mosque in a Jewish state, or in a Hindu nation, is seen as disruptive, breaking the spell of uniformity. They remind people that landscapes striving to be seamless are not — nor too are their own histories.

## **CURATING THE PAST**

In India, Pakistan and Israel, demolitions and preservations have replaced shared histories with exclusionary narratives, constructing national spaces that reflect only majority cultures. Preservation stages a show that has been assiduously prepared, its works selectively safeguarded.

In Israel, state architecture has consistently reflected this embedded paradox. Notes Weizman, “Israeli-built culture has always been locked between the contradictory desires to either imitate or even inhabit the stereotypical Arab vernacular and to define itself sharply and contrastingly against it”.<sup>31</sup> In Israel, the first building modality has often overlapped with gentrification, much as it has the world over: landmark buildings gutted and filled with high-end boutiques and cafes, old world carapaces which indicate a rarefied clientele, a staged “past” giving consumer spaces a sense of place. But there is one spatial phenomenon that is almost distinctly Israeli, and that is the *kfar umanim*, or Artists’ Village.

While many Palestinian villages were slated for demolition after 1948, some neighborhoods remained intact. The homes were several steps up from unsightly “transition towns”, built to absorb the enormous influx of Jewish arrivals in identical rows of one-room sheds, though they still

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Duke University Press, 2002, 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.



lacked basic services. But the stone walls of the Arab houses, rough and hand-laid, also appealed to creative types. In the age of cheap, fast housing developments, their craftsmanship held a powerful lure. Many Jewish residents considered themselves as the rightful heirs of Palestinian heritage, which they saw as forming a kind of connector-history between Jewish antiquity and Zionist return.

With the state's support, Old Tsfat, parts of Jaffa, and Ein Hod exist today as micro-communities of Jewish craftspeople, part tourist attraction and part bohemian enclave. Art galleries abound, pitching Jewish heritage to primarily Jewish tourists, and carrying familiar tropes of modern Jewish visual culture: ruby pomegranates, Chagallian goats, shtetl scenes. The kfar unam represents a kind of partial preservation, one which has both fossilized and voided Palestinian communal life. In Old Jaffa, state renovations have completed the one-time Palestinian village's transformation from teeming mixed-use district to landscaped artist zone. They cleaned sidewalks, planted flower beds, polished stones, and installed public art projects. "About fifty years ago, a visit to this area of Old Jaffa might have been surprisingly different than today", the website Israel Traveler reports.<sup>32</sup> That is a phenomenal understatement.

Alongside Jewish heritage, Palestinian cultural memory has been re-appropriated, its symbols not resisted but re-voiced: a landmark sculpture in old Jaffa by Israeli artist Ran Morin, called Floating Orange Tree (1993), uses a massive metal orange as a makeshift planter, suspending a towering sapling along a pedestrian alley. The Jaffa orange — historically, a prized local product — has long denoted a kind of fond, wistful memorial for pre-Nakba Palestine; the sculpture, stripped of its political currency, now manifests an indistinct nostalgia for the "olden days" (whatever they might have been), de-Palestinizing its origins while reducing a bold lament to a tourist's icon.

In Ein Hod, a small village in Israel's northern Carmel Forest, the homes of displaced Palestinian residents have been gutted to form white minimalist interiors. Gallerists exhibit artworks in buildings boasting typical Palestinian vernaculars, with rough limestone surfaces and small, arched windows. The establishment of Ein Hod has morphed

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<sup>32</sup> "The Artists' Quarter in Jaffa". *Israel Traveler: the israeli experience*. n.d. Web Source.

into a bowdlerized founding myth. The picturesque Palestinian village, huddled at the foot of the Carmel mountain range, was “saved” from slated state destruction by the Romanian Dadaist Marcel Janco in 1953, who then conceived the artist’s colony in the early years of Israel statehood. His mission was an act of re-inscription as well as conversion, literal as well as figurative: Ein Haud, as it was known by its Palestinian inhabitants, was renamed Ein Hod. Ein Haud’s refugee community, displaced by war, then established a new village nearby. It was called Ein Hud.

Ein Hod’s origin story, writes Susan Slyomovics, is a “narrative of discovery and salvage”.<sup>33</sup> Ein Haud was one of hundreds of Palestinian localities to be vacated during the war of 1948, but this eerie backstory, with its resonances of land usurpation, have been overshadowed by Janco’s “recovery” of the “old-new land”, to reuse Nadia Abu El-Haj’s coinage. The depopulated hilltop was redeemed by a colony of culture-makers. Out of the desert, flowers grew: out of an empty village sprang a thriving community of artists.

An outsized bronze, “Couple in a Sardine Can”, by Benjamin Levy, heralds the entrance Ein Hod. A man, formally costumed, with bowtie and fedora, lays a hand on the shoulder of his melon-breasted companion, who is naked save for a few pieces of jewelry. Both are encased in the eponymous tin of fish. The sculpture perhaps best exemplifies the full weight of the village’s discomfiting background history: that it should be stripped of its inhabitants, only to be filled with such dubious works of art. It is the sense of age, of indeterminate “history”, that legitimizes the town’s creative endeavors. As in Jerusalem, where “older stones were integrated into modern architectural forms in order to embody temporal depth”, the village usurps past forms, translating the idioms of a now obsolete tongue.<sup>34</sup> The historic setting preemptively memorializes Ein Hod’s artworks, imbuing them with an impression of rooted heritage. It offers a hushed linkage between us and them, this and then.

As Janco himself recounts, “Without any clear notion, I felt this place

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Abu El-Haj, Nadia. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, 164.

had historical content that bound it to the history of our country. But what to do with it? Various schemes presented themselves: make it a Monument within a National Park, establish an agriculture village of new immigrants, keep it as a tourist preserve. One by one these schemes all faded-- until finally it became clear: the site must be used to create an artists' village!"<sup>35</sup> Janco's realization of the abandoned community as an artists' village compresses the other "various schemes" that he passes over; it is, in nearly equal parts, monument, resettlement colony, and tourist attraction. Ein Hod's constellation of stone buildings, quaint in comparison with Israel's modern housing developments, stands out as historical, and comparatively authentic. However, it is often overlooked in such accounts that if the village is authentic, it is authentically Palestinian; its history is a history of war. Each gallery, boutique or home once housed a family; the town cafe, still bearing a defunct minaret, once served as the village's place of worship. The grand stone manors further from the village square were mansions, once home to a prosperous Palestinian elite. Ein Haud's mosque now serves as Ein Hod's town cafe, modeled after a bar in Zurich.

Here, the strategy has not been to erase but to preserve; again, rather than cleanse, the state curates. However, preservation — selective inclusion — is always predicated on exclusion: this carefully curated past elides the once thriving Palestinian community, staging a Jewish narrative of indigeneity. It erases, not only the traces of the Palestinians from Palestine, but the very strategies of erasure themselves. This represents, as Saree Makdisi calls it, a "second-order kind" of denial, sustained in the village's defiant historical transmutation.<sup>36</sup> "Heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed", Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett reminds us. "Despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, re-creation, recuperation, revitalization, and

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35 Qtd. in Slyomovics, Susan. "Discourses on the pre-1948 Village: The Case of Ein Hod". *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*. Vol. 4 No. 11, 1993, 27-37.

36 As Saree Makdisi argues in his discussion of Jerusalem's controversial plans to build over part of a Muslim cemetery with a proposed Museum of Tolerance, "What is at work here... is not a first-order kind of denial and erasure, but rather a second-order kind. This form of Zionist subjectivity is premised on the act of denying that there has been a denial, erasing the fact that an erasure has taken place. Rather than denying the rights of the Palestinians, it denies that their rights have been denied". "The Architecture of Erasure", 558.

regeneration, heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past".<sup>37</sup> As an assembled community, Ein Hod stages a fictive, revisionist past, taking on a phantasmagoric cast. The artists' village is the work of an indefatigable performance, its very existence obscuring notions of fiction and reality, past and present. The result is unerringly theatrical: the application process for new residents is as high stakes as an audition, while the gutted, ghostly houses look as flat and weightless as a backdrop. Operating as a piece of theater, Ein Hod has written Palestinians out of the script.

One of the most disquieting incidents in the village's ongoing conversion serves as a rather stark metaphor for local Jewish-Palestinian relations. A cement parking lot was constructed ovetop Ein Haud's cemetery. When local villagers asked for access to the surviving graves, they were refused by the village's artists-in-residence on the grounds that it would challenge Jewish right of possession.<sup>38</sup> As a performance, Ein Hod relies on an unbroken fourth wall. It abides by a revisionist script, and the rejected players — descendants of Ein Haud's original inhabitants, in nearby Ein Hud — have been deliberately kept off-stage. As low-wage laborers, some even assisted in the renovations of Ein Haud's homes. Others tend to the village gardens.

In Pakistan, spatial conversions have also served as appropriations, as minority histories have been simultaneously showcased and sidelined. Much like with Israel's *kfar umanim*, the remains of their built landscapes, rather than mourn, have eclipsed and monetized lost cultures while re-coloring the worlds of former inhabitants. At the foot of the Margalla hills, on the outskirts of Islamabad, the small village of Saidpur housed a majority Hindu population prior to partition. An old mandir, a Sikh gurudwara, and a Hindu *serai*, or guesthouse, still sits adjacent to one another in the central square. Here, the post-partition disappearance of Hindus and Sikhs has heralded an uncomfortable commemoration. In 2006, Saidpur became a designated tourist site, and the Capital Development Authority (CDA) led a comprehensive renovation. The village has been given a new identity as a destination

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<sup>37</sup> Destination Culture, 149.

<sup>38</sup> See LeBor, Adam. *City of Oranges: An Intimate History of Arabs and Jews in Jaffa*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007, 211.

for middle-class day trippers and restored with art galleries and high-end eateries. The ruins of old Saidpur, a central attraction, lie both marked and unmarked, present and absent, foregrounded but still deliberately kept out of focus. They represent, as David Lloyd has written elsewhere, a “fixing of the past that tries to lay rest its violence precisely as past and concluded”.<sup>39</sup>

Both the mandir and the gurudwara have been painted over in a bright saffron color. The wash of yellow, a shade revered by Hindus, has also masked the temples’ interior religious paintings. Meanwhile, the serai has been given a second life as a cultural museum. The Hindu guesthouse now houses a permanent exhibit chronicling the construction of Pakistan’s neighboring capital city, Islamabad. Its collection of documentary photographs, boasting themes of utopianism, renewal, and national unity, strikes a triumphant chord. The archive establishes a visual narrative of progress, situating the selective disappearance of Pakistan’s cultural landscape as a service to the state.

As with Israel’s much earlier precedent, Saidpur’s infrastructure has been gutted into backdrop, and retroactively deployed as a means of authentication. A splash of antiquated whimsy, the re-painted temples serve to curate the village’s salable wares. “Once sites, buildings, objects, technologies, or ways of life can no longer sustain themselves as they formerly did, they “survive”... as representations of themselves”, writes Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.<sup>40</sup> The result of this remapping in place and time is a de-temporalizing effect: much like India’s Taj Mahal, nationalized and de-historicized in the canon of world attractions, and re-inscribed as Indian, rather than uniquely Mughal, Saidpur Village serves as a monumental self-representation, albeit one that is entirely misleading. The Hindu and Sikh buildings stand in for the town’s “religious harmony” without actually demonstrating it, for there is no longer any other religion here than Islam.<sup>41</sup>

The Pakistani Food Street has emerged as an analogue to both Saidpur

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<sup>39</sup> Lloyd, David. *Irish Times: Temporalities of Modernity*. Dublin: Field Day, 2008, 141.

<sup>40</sup> Destination Culture, 151.

<sup>41</sup> Jamal, Sana. "Saidpur Village-- Attraction for Few, Misery for Others". *Pakistan Observer*. 16 Jan 2012. Web Source.

and the Israeli artists' village. In Lahore, formerly Hindu neighborhoods in Old Anarkali and Gwalmandi have been designated culinary tourist zones, replete with renovations and festive decorations; beneath new colors, one can still make out the remnants of Hindu structures. A set of former havelis near the old city, by Roshan Gate, have also been converted into high-end restaurants. The neighborhood, known as Heera Mandi, or Diamond Market, once doubled as the crown of the city's pre-partition nightlife, famous for its songbird courtesans and sinuous dancers. It is not only the "past" here that has lent itself to gentrification, but specifically a non-Muslim, minority past, which is at times, quite surprisingly for the beleaguered city, on gleeful display. One restaurant has been decorated with recovered Hindu and Buddhist miscellany, its interiors festooned with tile paintings of Krishna, Ganesh casts, and Buddha statues. Preservation and destruction have again fulfilled twinned functions, hollowing minority histories into ornament. Here, a silenced past serves merely as a marker of taste.

Writing for the English daily *Dawn* in 2011, one anonymous architect took issue with recent renovations of Lahore's famed Lakshmi building, the glorious facade which gives the city's bustling Lakshmi Chowk its name. "The Lakshmi façade makes strong visual references to Hindu mythology by way of its overall detailing", he explains. The heads of elephants, carved in profile, soar out from above an ornately arched central window. Lotus flowers adorn the walls, staples of Hindu iconography. Writes the architect, the structure was "altered without paying attention to its underlying aesthetics". He argues that, garishly, and perhaps insensitively, repainted, the building's bold new colors distract from its religious themes, venturing that the coat of paint might have been "an act of contempt".

The Israel's artists' village, Saidpur, and Food Street each "represent" a culture that is no longer in place. Renovated structures serve as proxies for pastness, lending tourist sites an old-world charm and billable appeal. The dilapidated buildings are imbued with a rugged purity, thrown into relief by their modern surroundings, from the planned city of Islamabad, with its sprawling government complexes and commercial centers, to the white cubes of Israel's settlement towns. Decontextualized, the renovated ruins have been removed, not only from their religious contexts, but from their historical contexts as well.

Jewish craftspeople, in houses which follow the dips and curves of the valleys, serve as self-appointed heirs to the land, while Pakistani day-trippers loll over meals that overlook former temple grounds. Usurpation is authentication: like Israel itself, the “old-new” land, building relics are harnessed as a means of indigenizing their current occupants. Their actual pasts are relegated to a distant, unspecified era, overtaken by an eternal present. Everyone is back to where they are thought to have always belonged.

### **POLYPHONY AND PALIMPSEST**

In the ratification of UNESCO World Heritage sites, each cultural nominee is recognized for a particular layer of history, from the colonial-era churches of Antigua, Guatemala to the medieval-era markets of Old Cairo. This represents a narrowly monophonic vision of history — past not only as prologue, but as monologue. They serve as fictitiously unified inheritances, bound to one people or one period. The only possible response in our era of heightened nationalist tensions — no longer contained to longstanding ideological battlegrounds like Jerusalem, but now running roughshod throughout the world — is to emphasize the polyphonous and palimpsestic qualities of each site, perhaps best exemplified by the ruin.

In Lahore, at the end of Anarkali Bazaar, Shah Almi gate, destroyed in partition riots, the Bansidhar Mandir has been carved up in order to house over a dozen families, the descendants of Muslim refugees from India. Curtains and thin walls divide the apartments, while outdoor kitchens and bathrooms have been affixed to the central *sikhara*, or temple tower. On the street-facing side of the temple complex, new concrete buildings have sprung up to surround and overwhelm the once impressive red-brick structure: the temple is now flanked by a watch company and several clothing shops. Intricate, latticed woodwork still covers the interior staircase with a lotus motif, but is splotched with paint and severely eroded, while the *sikhara*'s carved archways have been boarded up with planks of wood and bricks, partitioned by newer walls. The innermost chamber, once the holiest section of the temple, which would have once housed deities for

worship, now serves as a bedroom; a mattress extends across the black-and-white marble floor. Under an array of delicately carved holy “oms” that line the rounded ceiling, a family gathers to watch a sports match. Within another former temple dome across town, a miniature factory now produces artificial roses, vibrant and glittered, in an array of pinks and reds.

Writes Robert Ginsberg, “the ruin allows its forms to speak their truth, the script having been ripped away”. Elsewhere in Lahore, mansions along Nisbat Road have been mostly portioned off into private apartments, renovated to house the post-partition influx of Muslim Indians. Though the buildings have been eroded, certain signs still betray their lineage: the style of stonework, Hindu motifs, old property signage, traces of Devanagari and Hindu family names (e.g. “Dass”, “Patel”, or “Gupta”), etc. The details that emerge pierce the eye, conjuring, with a stark sense of the real, one of the city’s vanished worlds. They feel more alive, somehow, than the static that surrounds them. Writes Ginsberg, “Reclaiming space for itself, the ruin captivates us”.

In the stone foundations of suburban Israeli homes, in the piles of limestone that dot the highway, and in the domes, mosques, and *sikharas* that, half-forgotten, lurk behind the Muslim and Hindu urban landscape, 1947 and 1948 can still be glimpsed, though its residents have long been cleared from the spaces that both years so everlastingly transformed. “The ruin restores the loss of our humanity”, writes Ginsberg, reminding us of its elided histories. Ruins form incidental counter-narratives, which call to mind Roland Barthes’ notion of *ça a été*, or “that-has-been”. They demonstrate a startling immediacy, a thrilling actuality which belies their sense of pastness.<sup>42</sup> Like a photographic image, the ruin self-represents: it is “never distinguished from its referent — that which it represents; it simply is what it is”.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, much like the photograph, every ruin is a “certificate of presence”.<sup>44</sup> Like the details from a picture

<sup>42</sup> See Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. London: MacMillan, 1981.

<sup>43</sup> Houlihan, Kasia. “Annotation of Roland Barthes’ *Camera Lucida*”. *University of Chicago*. n.d. Web Source. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>44</sup> Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*, 87.



that shout, prick, wound, or shock, ruins serve as portals to another world. They are, writes Ginsberg, “understood as having withstood”. All across India and Pakistan, and all across Israel, these living fragments still abound. Mute witnesses to forced displacements and to continuing heritage disputes, ruins nonetheless represent not only removal, but reinstatement. Where people have vanished, places, in part, still persist.

In Migdal Haemek, a former development town in northern Israel, a massive tangle of old stone sits behind a bus stop, a remnant of the land’s bygone days, when it housed the Palestinian village of Al’Mujaydil. Minarets rise from paved suburban enclaves. In Safed, old, hand-lain foundations reveal layers of Palestinian heritage, although they have been built over. Along the Syrian border, the Golani spa town of Hamat Gader contains traces of the village of Al’Hamma, over top of which it was built. A short concourse now connects a dismal petting zoo, which contains the largest alligator farm in the Middle East, to a collection of hot and cold pools. Between the hot springs, where adult bathers bob dourly, and the swimming pools, where children, slick with pool water, run shrieking up towering slides, there lies, still, a scuffed white mosque. In northern Pakistan, a gurudwara is used as a police headquarters; a Shiva temple has been converted for commercial use, though the great God’s faded likeness still adorns a patch of archway. Temple fragments dot the vistas of long highway stretches. Together, they still recall to us the ghosts of the past — one that has not yet found its way past us.

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## **Part One**

### **Chapter 2**

#### **THE US-MEXICO BORDERLANDS HERITAGE AND THE WALL: A CRITICAL APPROACH TO A COMPLEX AND REVIVED CHALLENGE**

Anna Marta Marini

##### **Abstract**

The US–Mexico borderlands have for long been branded as an iconic example in the field of border studies, stimulating scholarly interest and at the same time shaping the approach to border-related topics. Nonetheless, the evolution and reinforcing of border measures by the US government pose a constantly renewed challenge to the expression and preservation of the region’s transnational heritage. The cultural roots of the diverse borderland population are far deeper than the line arbitrarily traced on the map in 1849; moreover, for a long time it was relatively easy to cross the border and maintain social and cultural ties transnationally, developing a peculiar porous configuration of the boundary itself. Since the beginning of the construction of the border wall in the mid-90s and a progressive implementation of stricter security measures, the cultural and social daily life on the border has been deeply affected by the overbearing presence of a highly militarized fence and detention centers for illegal immigrants. Artistic and literary production denouncing the conditioning role of the wall on border heritage has progressively increased since the ‘90s, as the militarized fence has divided families but also linguistic, indigenous, and cultural communities. Transnational creative projects and collaborations have represented a fruitful outlet to express such a cultural diversity, as well as border-related trauma, helping both the artists and the public to resist to forced assimilation and cope with new ways to preserve their own hybrid heritage.

Aside from an actualized analysis of the sociocultural context distinctive to the border, this paper considers the role of increased border control — and the related public discourse — as a mechanism limiting cultural expression and producing a possible regression in binational heritage policies. Furthermore, it examines the fruitful and diverse transnational creative environment, which activities and collaborations represent

indeed a means of resistance to the structural and cultural violence intrinsic to the wall, as well as an essential space for the definition of the borderland identity.

**Keywords:** *Borderlands; US-Mexico Border; Art Collective; Discrimination; Social Justice.*

The US–Mexico borderlands have for long been branded as an iconic example in the field of border studies, stimulating scholarly interest and at the same time shaping the approach to border-related topics. Nonetheless, the progressive reinforcing of border measures by the US government — since the turn of the century and especially during the most recent administrations — has posed a renewed challenge to the borderlands’ sociocultural expression and prosperity; groups and associations that have been working for the border culture to thrive have been facing growing obstacles, as well as new issues affecting their local — diverse and often transnational — communities. Cultural heritage is undoubtedly essential for the definition of both individual and collective identity; its articulated and inherently political nature is based on the collection of material and immaterial features, which seem to be often at risk of being either lost in assimilation processes or unhesitatingly neglected by the existence of a dominant national culture. The evolution of the US-Mexico border policies and discourses undeniably challenges the expression and preservation of the region’s heritage; the never-ending quest to border identity has to deal with a constant extension of control. Aside from a renewed analysis of the border sociocultural dynamics and their historical construction processes, it is therefore necessary to consider the role of increased border control as a mechanism limiting cultural expression and producing a possible regression in binational heritage preservation; furthermore, it results essential to examine the fruitful and diverse borderlands creative environment, which fosters transnational exchange and cultural resistance, albeit often in an alternative, locally focused fashion.

## ROOTED IN HISTORY: A TRANSNATIONAL HERITAGE

The history of the relations between Mexico and the United States has been marked by both conflict and cooperation, just as their shared border has been a place of both encounter and fracture. After a brief revolution, in 1836 the Mexican province of Texas declared its independence in spite of the Mexican government's opposition, which caused the continuation of conflicts and territorial revindications along the shared border; the US recognized the Republic of Texas and eventually annexed it to its territories in a process of westward expansion. Ideologically driven by the Manifest Destiny entitlement — as a justification for territorial expansion to the detriment of autochthonous peoples — the American government's aim to expand its control toward the Southwest led, in fact, to the outbreak of the Mexican American war (1846–1848), which ended with an agreement known as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The peace treaty dictated the Mexican federal government's cession of more than a half of its territories to the US;<sup>1</sup> the border was definitively traced in 1854 without any particular ethnographic nor orographic preoccupation, cutting across a vast region that had never been object of neat geopolitical partition before. Along most of the borderline, the boundary was simply signaled by posts and basic fences placed by landowners; the region remained a territory animated by a customary movement of people and goods. The Mexican population living in the ceded territories was granted the choice to acquire the American citizenship and benefit from all the rights it implied, albeit only on paper. As far as the border apparatus is concerned, in 1924 the Border Patrol was established through the Labor Appropriation Act to supervise and secure the areas between inspection stations; dedicated to supervising transnational movement and customs-related activities, the stations were settled in strategic points and long traits of barbed wire fence were progressively built. The enforcement of border control went through various phases, often corresponding to economic and political cycles. The implementation of stricter

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<sup>1</sup> The ceded territory corresponds to the current states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas and Oklahoma.

immigration measures characterized the US transnational politics from the mid-80s on, in an alleged attempt to regulate the flux of Mexican illegal workers crossing the border; yet, the real turn of the screw was the implementation of Operation Gatekeeper launched in 1994 by the Clinton administration. Specifically shaped to tackle immigration and transnational movement, the plan involved a significant increase in surveillance equipment and workforce, as well as the construction of much more articulated infrastructures. The security measures taken on a national level in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks deeply affected the handling of border issues as well, supported by an articulated discourse often verging on the elicitation of paranoia — and, consequently, legitimization — in the public. In 2006, the Bush administration started to implement the Secure Fence Act, enforcing the existing infrastructure and increasing the use of surveillance technology to achieve operational control of the border.

Nowadays, more or less one million people daily cross the border legally in both directions, for business, work or study, to take advantage of bargain opportunities or get services more easily available on the respective other side. The variety of configurations of legal and illegal stay on the US soil is great, just as it is the variety of restrictions Mexican citizens can be subjected to entering the neighboring country. Transnational traffic, migration and related policies have developed mostly according to economic cycles; the movement of workers — whether Mexicans or foreigners attempting to cross to the US through Mexico — across the border has obeyed the needs of the American economy. In periods of economic growth, the US government would allow and even encourage the migrant laborers' access — often turning a blind eye to illegal stay — whereas market downturns and economic crises would lead to a reinforcement of border policies and deportation of foreign workers. From the last quarter of the 19th century to the 1920s, the most common way to recruit Mexican workers was through indenture; during the 20th century the implementation of seasonal labor programs and agreements in favor of the US work market contributed to structure and exploit an imbalanced power relation between the neighboring countries. In general, immigration of Mexican origin was always preferred by the American government and employers, whereas different immigrant workforce — in particular



the Chinese — was hindered and excluded for open racial reasons (Durand, 2016). For Mexican Americans, life in the borderlands has been characterized by different levels of discrimination, ranging from segregation to forced assimilation to the dominant Anglo culture. Furthermore, the complex and unbalanced nature of the US–Mexico borderland relations also lies in the social and ethnolinguistic diversity, inherent to the region and strictly related to the historical evolution of the region itself. In addition to the local blend of Mexican, American, and Native American people, the population of the binational border region includes a variety of groups — originally foreign to both the US and Mexico — which at some point in time migrated to the area, usually in the attempt to find work in the US. In this respect, it is relevant to recall the case of Chinese migrants landing on Mexican coasts due to American seaport restrictions, and consequently trying to cross the border (Yankelevich, 2011); the Chinese migrating population divided itself on both sides of the boundary, creating tight-knit communities and suffering from discrimination — at times leading up to violent episodes — by anti-Chinese movements.

Borderlands bear an intrinsic concept of limit, characterizing their relations with both a dominating, faraway center and an external yet juxtaposed other. The border limits and stimulates the imagination, in a “doble ejercicio metacognitivo y sociolingüístico” (Spíndola Zago, 2016: 36) — a double exercise, both metacognitive and sociolinguistic; yet, on the US-Mexico border the ethnolinguistic and cultural divide becomes inevitably blurry and even more complex, as communities — whether consciously or not — have lived by a deeply rooted transnational ethos. Binational regions share a character of liminality across the boundary embodied by the so-called cross-border state of mind, which marks the expressions of borderland culture or *cultura fronteriza*. The impact of the border affects the binational population with its material and symbolic presence, imposing processes of definition and redefinition of identity, both on an individual and community level. Borderlands are therefore culturally porous, diverse and lively; their reef-like paradigmatic essence embraces hybridization, bi and multilingualism, connection and conflict. The US–Mexico border is characterized by contradictory images (Grimson, 2008), alternating between its hybrid blend of cultures and its intrinsic meaning of

division and irreconcilable difference. The transnational social space of a border is — in recent times, more than ever — the materialization of the power relations involved between Mexico and the US, as well as among local social actors. It is, in fact, the tangible representation of the inequality inherent to the border region and it embodies a diverse range of social, ethnolinguistic internal conflicts existing both in the US and in Mexico. Hybridization itself is — inevitably — heterogeneous and diverse; the border represents a kind of space difficult to figure and describe, therefore requiring a multiple representation based on the expression of its diverse reality through diverse discourses (Bourdieu, 1993: 14). Homogenizing its cultural heritage oversimplifies the cultural heterogeneity peculiar to border towns, flattening identities, assimilating cultural expressions, and allowing the existence of only selected elements which don't pose a "risk" to the dominant system of beliefs and values. The transnationalization of culture (García Canclini, 1990: 25) necessarily carries a redefinition of identity and nationalism, which both central governments and the main national public sphere are often not open to. Aside from its materiality, the border becomes a metaphor and culture — either shared, imagined or reconstructed — becomes a narrative of legitimization for groups that, in the United States, find themselves opposed to the dominant monoglossic culture. For many Mexican Americans, the borderlands become an ideal region related to a wished-for identity (Tabuenca Córdoba, 1997), a rediscovery of Mexican traditional roots expressed as a return to an imagined — authentic and non-Anglo-identity. Furthermore, in many cases the Chicano culture imaginary gets superimposed on US–Mexico borderland heritage, in a superficial homogenization of a vibrant environment characterized by a highly varied cultural hybridity of Mexican, American, Chicano and migration cultures. Aside from a necessary acknowledgement of its internal diversification, the sociocultural evolution of the binational region has been approached — especially by Chicano historians — focusing on topics directly related to the US conquest and subsequent subordination of the population, marked by a centralization regardless of the local needs and peculiarities, assumedly resolved through the implementation of assimilative measures.

It is worth reminding that borderlands still face also the questions

related to Spanish colonial heritage, as the commemoration and preservation of the traces of Spanish possession are a controversial topic on the American side of the border. The issues raised by contested memorial sites and monuments — which often celebrate and offer a limited, official version of historical events — include the controversies related to Spanish colonial heritage sites, often questioning the debatable reconstruction of a national collective memory that perpetuates the discrimination of Native American people. Legacies and national symbols connected to specific, one-sided memorial preservation are inevitably — and increasingly — perceived as problematic by minorities. In such regard, two of the best-known cases are represented by the many statues of Christopher Columbus and those dedicated to the Pioneers, often portrayed in a domineering position next to subordinate Native subjects, always depicted according to common stereotypes of primitiveness, savagery and unsophistication.<sup>2</sup> Browsing American websites that offer or describe tours, visits and cultural activities dedicated to the “Hispanic heritage” in the Southwestern states, the confusion between Hispanic American and colonial Hispanic heritage is blatant and anachronistic. The Northern region belonging to New Spain’s territories was a rather wild vast area controlled through a network of scattered *presidios*; each *presidio* cluster was usually constituted by a fortified military and administrative building — necessary to fend off attacks by bandits and local tribes — as well as a chapel or a mission around which colonizers attempted to attract locals. Spanish colonial heritage, embodied by its architecture, represents a consolidated attraction in the panorama of American tourism, exploited by tourist trails especially through Florida, Texas and California. Yet, the confusion between the colonial heritage and actual Latinx heritage reflects the oversimplification and relativism intrinsic to the pervasive imposition of one dominant culture allegedly shared by the whole American population, whereas in reality it cannot represent — nor make the effort to understand — most American minorities.

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<sup>2</sup> A relevant example is the statue “Early days” part of the cluster known as the Pioneer Monument (1894) in San Francisco, California, depicting a Spanish herder and a Catholic missionary towering over a fallen stereotyped Indian; the statue was eventually removed in 2018.

## **BORDER REALITY VS. THE WALL DISCOURSE AND POLICY**

In 1971, the American first lady Pat Nixon inaugurated the Friendship Park, a recreational area located where the US–Mexico Boundary Commission first met in 1849. Situated in the Tijuana–San Diego binational region, it was meant to be a fully transnational place where Mexican and American citizens could meet freely; nevertheless, since the implementation of the Gatekeeper Operation in the 90s a militarized border fence has been cutting through it. The access to the shared meeting area has undergone several policy changes, depending on the administration in charge. In 2018, it was established that no more than 10 people at a time could stand by the fence and touch each other’s fingertips through a grid for no more than half an hour; the opening days also have been progressively reduced and the controls at the entrance on the American side have been made stricter. The park used to provide a space where US-based Mexican workers could meet their relatives regardless of their legal status; illegal cases aside, obtaining the right to stay on the US territory implies long — and at times arbitrary — bureaucratic procedures, for which leaving the country could lead to the invalidation of the ongoing paperwork process or even the impossibility of reentering. Nowadays, very few people are allowed to enter the American side on the scarce days of opening, whereas on the Mexican side the space is always opened to the public with no restriction whatsoever.

The history of the Friendship Park is a paradigmatic example of the overwhelming obstacles that have been posed to the preservation — and even to the consideration — of the border’s peculiar sociocultural and ethnolinguistic environment. Heritage issues are central to implement forms of governance respectful of human rights; moreover, when it comes to borderlands, transnational development should be based on mutual respect for cultural heritage and an effective dialogue with both local communities and the neighboring country’s government. Facing the question of heritage preservation has to be considered beyond the mere partitioning line traced on a geopolitical map; the border is also a judicial, bureaucratic, political and sociocultural system that defines — formally and informally — the border itself (Kearney, 2004). The enormous, complex and overbearing machine embodied

by the boundary and its bureaucratic mechanisms defines individuals according to the social or ethnolinguistic group they belong to. The US–Mexico border represents, in fact, a “symbol and marker of division, separation and difference” (Alvarez, 2012: 539). The borderlands’ self-representation and expression are therefore inextricably connected to their material configuration in the landscape. The built environments collect physical markers that contribute to the depiction, conceptualization, and establishment of the binational region and its meanings (Morrissey & Warner, 2018). Where the border cuts through urban areas, it is often constituted by a militarized system of fences constantly guarded, video monitored, floodlighted, with highly trained and armed agents, dogs, military helicopters and vehicles, high-tech surveillance displays. Since the launch of the Operation Gatekeeper in 1994, the US government has implemented sophisticated military technology for securing its borders; the Operation plan made use of several measures including the automated biometric identification system IDENT, contributing to the collection of biometric information and other personal data by the Department of Homeland Security [DHS]. Militarized systems and technologies have been progressively deployed along the border and integrated in the work of otherwise civilian border enforcement agencies. Since the Bush administration, increasingly highly developed measures to control airspace have also been implemented; aircrafts such as Unmanned Aerial Vehicles [UAVs] are supposed to carry out more efficiently basic surveillance tasks, assisting the Border Patrol in its supervision of the boundary (Williams, 2011). In 2002, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was reorganized to form the Custom and Border Protection [CBP]; the related Border Patrol is a federal law enforcement agency and it should be armed chiefly for self-defense while patrolling the border. The Immigration and Customs Enforcement [ICE] agency was also created under the Homeland Security Act in 2002, with the purpose of strengthening the federal coordination of the militarized border. The ICE and the CBP represent the main armed bodies in charge of exerting border control and fighting against illegal transnational activities, ensuring safety in the borderlands; nevertheless, both enforcement agencies are known for its excessive use of force, as well as for repeated violation of protocols and human rights.

One of the main discursive constructions that have structured president Trump's distinctive — and reiterated — wall discourse is the idea that “we haven't really done that before” and yet, the border security system has been progressively militarized to a war level way before his presidential campaign in 2016. The wall itself has been built on the borderline since the mid-90s and, furthermore, in distinct occasions the wall has been materially re-built and re-worked. For example, in the binational urban area of Nogales, AZ (bordering with the Mexican state of Sonora) the US government refurbished the wall in 2011; the operation substituted the original surveilled fence with a taller, more impenetrable structure made of concrete and steel. It is worth stressing that, in particular on the American side, the border structure is erected in areas where the urban tissue can be rather dense. The case of Chihuahuita — the small, historical Mexican neighborhood in El Paso — is paradigmatic, as some residents have had the wall lying adjacent to their backyards since 2008, a presence that has been fueling contrasting feelings and stances, both against the structure itself and in favor. If some have welcomed the consequent decrease in illegal border crossing — which affected the area directly — others have criticized both the proximity of the construction and the fact that it blocks the view of the river, enclosing the small barrio. The relationship with the physicality of the wall is evidently a complex matter, once again pushing the local residents to negotiate their own sociocultural position in the American society. It is also a constant reminder of their status as Mexican minority — no matter their lawful citizenship nor rooted familiar presence in the US — and thus subordinate to a dominant culture that remains other for them; nonetheless, some fear the arrival of migrants from the Mexican side, as it could jeopardize their shaky position and fuel a generalized discrimination against people of Mexican descent.

The porous nature of frontier regions has become progressively dependent on the limitations imposed to crossing by the US government. Characterized by activities that need to be carried out transnationally, the daily life on the border is deeply affected by the overbearing presence of patrolling measures, the militarized character of the fence and strict, protracted control operations at crossing. Experiencing the crossing a few times, it results evident that

quite often the condition of suspicious — and therefore requiring more accurate security check or discursive vexation — depends on stereotyped phenotypical distinctions; if most of Anglo-looking people are barely required to show their documents, Latino-looking people usually undergo a longer evaluation to be allowed entering the US. Individuals who need to cross on a daily or even weekly basis will just tolerate the discrimination in order to avoid further annoyance, and yet the discriminatory practice intrinsic to the crossing procedure reflect the power relation marking the border's dynamics.

The great expense devoted to border security enforcement, the attention media given to border-related topics, and the increasing system of both external and internal surveillance, evidently need to be backed by national authorities by means of discursive justificatory constructions. Clearly, the role of discourse is pivotal in structuring the public perception of the existence of concrete danger from the outside, threatening interlopers and unsecured — or at least not secured enough — borders. In recent times, the wall discourse has been a key feature of most of Donald Trump's speeches — both as candidate and during his presidential mandate — exacerbating fears and paranoias that have built up in public discourse since the barrier construction began in the 90s. The wall-related speech reproduces a classic structure of discrimination discourse, reprising elements that have been present in the American public discourse against immigration; the main axis it revolves around is the opposition between *us* (the positive pole) and *them* (the negative pole). Confusion and blurry descriptions are key to (un)define the object of public paranoia, so that the definition of both poles can adapt to the speaker's needs and historical conjuncture. In the case of Trump's speech construction, *them* have been often labeled either as Mexicans (in spite of apparently referring to Latin American people in general) or — possibly in the attempt to nuance the message and appeal to the right-wing leaning Hispanic electorate — as Mexican immigrants, aliens, or illegals. Pressed by its constant repetition, reactions to the US wall discourse have been diverse and yet, two main types can be highlighted. On the one hand, a mimic reaction can be observed in the Mexican public discourse, in particular in moments of tension caused by the periodical increase of the afflux of migrants; reproducing the "migrant invasion" paranoia and thus

magnifying the effects of the Central American migrants' passage, Mexican media have been fueling stances very similar to the American ones. On the other hand, the hostile discourse has elicited an instinctive reaction in borderland populations, based on the fear of losing the transnational interdependence peculiar to the local socioeconomic relations. If the wall discourse appears often loud and clear in Trump's speech, the construction of a discourse justifying the domineering position of the United States toward Mexico has been a long-existing theme in American public discourse; furthermore, it connects to a rooted and articulated discourse supporting the discrimination of the US population of Hispanic American heritage, in spite of its historical and consistent presence.

The dominant configuration of American nationalism is based on a strictly monoglossic culture, for which the use of Spanish — or any other minority language — is seen as subordinate to the use of English; consequently, the thriving of cultural expression that does not fit the related Anglo-based cultural system is also considered as minor. Through public education the state has long pursued a process of "anglificación" (García, 2003: 9), necessary to achieve a linguistic and cultural homogenization and hence, the assimilation of the heterogeneous identities present on the national territory. If knowledge can be considered as a blend of shared practices, beliefs and discourses, it embodies a consensual system peculiar to an epistemic community and its self-assertion (van Dijk, 2003). Cultural and ethnolinguistic groups necessarily use language to structure their embodied social practices, as language is, in fact, the main mean of transmission of meanings and their underlying metaphors which articulate and define a shared interpretation of the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Institutionalized language hierarchy inevitably leads to a hierarchization of cultural identities, pushing Spanish-speaking individuals to get assimilated and adapt to the dominant English-speaking culture in order to avoid discrimination and structural violence. Paradoxically and in spite of its diffusion, the identification of Spanish as "heritage language" is rather counterproductive; the presence of Spanish in the American linguistic landscape gets reduced to a minority language, not included in regular education programs and subdued to a monoglossic planning that denies and silences a



bilingual heritage shared by millions of Americans (García, 2005). Most of Mexican Americans belonging to the youngest generations struggle to maintain an active connection with Spanish, a language that sometimes is purposely avoided in their households in order to facilitate external acceptance and integration. Hispanic American heritage has also been often reduced to folklorized representations and stereotyped traditions, images and statuses, remarking the lack of inclusion that characterizes American society, national policies, and institutional regulations.

### **CREATIVE APPROACHES TO CULTURE HERITAGE PRESERVATION**

On the border, the internal challenges posed to the definition of minority identity and its public acceptance become even more problematic. The borderlands represent — physically and conceptually — a place where individuals need to negotiate ethnolinguistic identities “while interacting within changing social, political, and economic dynamics” (Márquez & Romo, 2008: 1). In addition, the continuous cultural and linguistic negotiation influences the reconfiguration of familiar bonds and their enjoyment, as many families are in fact transnational; forming part of a family split by the borderline entails the need of crossing, as well as the clash between two different socioeconomic systems. Both the individual and collective relationship with the border is directly — and inevitably — linked to the development of transnational policies and politics. The evolution of international relations and the changing stance of the neighboring governments on the matter can reinforce the border divide, defying the building of metaphorical bridges across the boundary or even simply perpetuating existing inequalities (Heyman, 2012).

Especially since the 60s and 70s, binational areas have been characterized by lively artistic environments and social justice activities, thus related to the local — and therefore liminal — context and its inherent issues. In the areas closest to the boundary, artistic production is often related to the materiality of the border and its surroundings, intertwining visual and artistic values with the awareness of the geohistorical dimension. Space signification in the US–Mexico borderlands has been

passing through sociocultural processes often related to urban art and direct intervention on the fence, to the creation of translingual spaces stimulating inclusiveness, as well as active collaboration and cultural exchange across the border. Embracing border-related conflict — and the different, polarizing configurations it entails — and hybridity as a form of resistance to imposed boundaries, new creative approaches have been emerging as tentative responses to the loss, hindrance or impoverishment of borderlands cultural heritage. Artistic and literary popular production denouncing the conditioning role of the wall on heritage has increased progressively since the 90s; the militarized fence has divided families but also linguistic, indigenous, and cultural communities, relocating territorial references and imposing a reconfiguration of collective knowledge and practice.

An academic interest in the border peculiar heritage has certainly existed, even though it often remains bound to border studies theorizations rather than engaging directly with the boundary's daily reality and its direct, popular expression. Vibrant, remarkable voices have expressed identity concerns and delivered great works of literature on issues related with minority struggles, hybrid identity, and dramatic issues related with the border itself; nonetheless, the engagement of the local communities — directly affected by the assimilative policies and structural violence — is necessary to actually attempt to preserve their shared heritage. Independent artists, writers, and cultural groups have been attempting to collect and valorize such heritage, which has been evolving through time according to the necessity of cultural resistance. Their work inevitably intertwines with the reclaim of social justice and cultural equality, fostering the expression of self-representation within local communities. It is worth noting that the effort to reconstruct, reinterpret, and re-appropriate cultural heritage contributes as well to a reconstruction of a microhistory of the frontier, often neglected in favor of official historical narratives. The stimulation of a strong sense of community and collective action is fundamental to preserve the existence of a shared heritage and help it thrive, and it characterizes the emergence and persistence of several active art collectives working at local, regional and transnational level. The impact of their actions is diverse and it usually depends on the initial scope of each project, which can either originate from below — being local and short-term — or

from above, with the direct support of institutions (Valdez & Camacho, 2014). The purposes of collective cultural activity are usually related to a strong social commitment, aimed at promoting the collaboration and engagement of local communities and institutions; the chosen outlets can be diverse, fostering art and literary production, as well as events, installations and workshops.

Visual art has been a powerful tool to convey border-related political messages along the boundary, especially where the confining urban areas become binational, conforming a same urban tissue divided by the fence running through lively populated towns and cities. Especially on the Mexican side of the barrier, graffiti, mural and installation art have been a fruitful means of expression for local artists, even before the reinforcement of the border structure. Barrier art often expresses strong political statements, evidencing the absurdity and inhumanity intrinsic to overdone implementation of border security measures, as well as embodying a form of protest against the repression of migration that has led to thousands of deaths through the years. In Tijuana, BC, the fence enclosing the aforementioned Friendship Park — to which the access is absolutely free 24/7 — has been transformed into a canvas for street art and its surroundings have been transformed into a garden collectively cared for.

On the American side, in many areas the Border Patrol carries out constant patrolling along the fence, strictly controlling the access to the boundary and thus preventing the intervention of artists and activists. Nevertheless, a variety of installations, performances and artistic appropriations of the wall have taken place, albeit temporarily and illicitly. The advent of the Trump administration and its focus on the (re)building of the barrier has provoked local activist responses and an increased artistic intervention, often involving to some extent both sides of the border. In this respect, it is worth mentioning Ronald Real and Virginia San Fratello's installation realized in July 2019, connecting Sunland Park, New Mexico (where Hispanic residents constitute around the 96% of the population) and the Anapra neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; drawing on the concept of the wall as a fulcrum in US Mexico relations, the pair of designers installed seesaws — painted in bright pink contrasting with the coarse surface of the fence poles — and invited locals to enjoy them, sharing a playful moment across the boundary.

The political messages underlying border artworks are varied, quite often denouncing the dramatic consequences of the presence of the militarized wall, the striking socioeconomic inequality existing between the neighboring sides, and the related discrimination, both internal and external. Street art has been undeniably a key component of border cultural heritage; its material presence in the borderlands landscape and urban areas overlaps the materiality of the boundary and subdues it, expressing a most diverse hybridization among styles, symbols, colors and messages. The urban walls of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso — especially in El Segundo Barrio and the aforementioned Chihuahita, strongholds of the local Mexican community — are embellished with colorful murals by artists working and collaborating on a transnational basis. On the US side in particular, murals often reprise Mexican symbolism and iconography intrinsic to Chicano themes, and in recent times have been acknowledged as a rightful expression of Mexican American culture; for example, the Chicano Park in San Diego has thrived for decades and eventually it was designated National Historic Landmark in 2016, constituting a stepping stone in the recognition of Mexican American heritage.

Facing the matter of resistance to the implicitly imposed assimilation to the monoglossic dominant culture, borderland areas have been a prolific nursery for the creation of multi and translingual spaces. Grassroots revindication of language justice is a form of social activism surging from the idea that all languages are equal and the access to public services must be available to any resident, irrespectively of the language they prefer speaking or they are most fluent in. Nonprofit organizations have been rising to fight language hierarchization through a more just interpreting practice and the implementation of measures that could facilitate equal access. The creation of multilingual spaces — in which all participants have the right to speak their own mother tongue and to be provided an interpreter — has been stimulated by language justice activism, aiming at expanding the inclusiveness of community centers where bi and multilingual local residents can feel at ease speaking their preferred language. Such spaces also provide children the opportunity to cultivate their heritage language, compensating the monoglossic education they have to deal with at school. At the same time, art collectives have actively fostered

multilingual activities to engage local communities in the border regions. The historically bilingual — as well as multilingual, considering the variety of indigenous peoples scattered on such a vast territory — nature of the US–Mexico borderlands inevitably leads to various forms of resistance to the prevaricating role of English, as the possibility of using Spanish is continuously challenged in everyday activities on both formal and informal levels.

Local art collectives often form networks of collaboration and exchange across the boundary. An interesting case in point is the network revolving around the cross-border collective Antena, founded in 2010 by language activists Jen Hofer and John Pluecker, based in Los Angeles, CA, and Houston, TX. The organization promotes a variety of activities engaging local multilingual communities and cooperating with American and Mexican collectives alike; aside from language justice advocacy, its main mean of community engagement is cartonera-inspired action. Originating in Latin America at the beginning of the 21st Century, the cartonera approach to creative involvement and sociocultural commitment is based on handcrafting books in a collaborative environment; following participants throughout the whole editorial process, organizers guide the creation of books based on texts meaningful to each participant or representative of the community they belong to. This kind of editorial production represents a useful tool for learning, as well as delving into individual narratives and creating bonds among the persons involved. Furthermore, handcrafting is a fundamental element in the process of appropriating the text, conveying a personal interpretation of it and expressing one's own creativity. In the case of borderland cartonera projects, participants usually produce multilingual texts embracing local background, transnational themes and multicultural perspective. The bookmaking process itself and the resulting products embody countercultural and linguistic resistance, stimulating the preservation of both individual and collective local cultural expressions; the collectives engage people in activities created ad hoc providing a space of encounter and mutual understanding, but also involving local institutions, schools, nonprofit and social support oriented organizations. Exploiting the possibilities of cartonera activities and collaborating with local museums and art centers, the Antena borderland project has embraced a variety

of social causes. For example, in 2014 a group of Latina domestic workers based in Houston, TX, found a voice when Antena published a small bilingual volume collecting their work experiences, supported by events and readings. Experiences such as the creation of multilingual collection of texts *Recicladados languages/ Lenguajes recycled* (2016, supported by the Hammer Museum at UCLA) are based specifically on the transnational collaboration among collectives sharing a kindred ethos on both sides of the border (Marini, 2019); encouraging cross-language activities and stimulating the growth of language justice awareness, Antena — as well as its fellow projects, such as Cartonera Santanera (Santa Ana, CA) and Kodama Cartonera (Tijuana, BC) — brings forth an invigorating self-representation of the borderlands.

In conclusion, there seem to be a variety of creative outlets to convey border cultural heritage awareness and preservation. Border studies have focused on the existential impact of the border (Gaeta, 2018), on its materiality beyond sovereignty and sociocultural factors, albeit strictly related to economic and government policies, transnational treaties and border administration. Nonetheless, the scholarly field has often flattened the analysis to fixed templates of interpretation through specific discourses related to the border (Alvarez, 2012), crystallizing the depth of research on the US-Mexico border to an iconic case of study. It is therefore necessary a transversal perspective to analyze the geopolitical boundary as a transnational space where many composite and multilayered boundaries overlap and juxtapose. In particular, scholarly approach to cultural heritage issues in the context specific to the US-Mexico boundary should also envision new perspectives, adequate to the ongoing fruitful, grassroots collective action connected to artistic transnational movement and production. As a wide range of dynamics are involved in the constant evolution and consequent reconfiguration of borderland culture, it is evident that thinking across borders (Heyman, 2012: 49) and performing a sociocultural process analysis are necessary to deal with the challenges posed by border heritage preservation and valorization. It is also fundamental to consider the fact that cultural hybridization and identity formation have not evolved in a same, symmetrical way on both sides of the border, and therefore consider creative collaborations that maintain such differences. In spite of their local reach, collective

activities founded on multilingual sharing and cooperation represent a meaningful, stimulating mean to raise heritage awareness and stimulate public engagement; active support from the scholarly field of cultural heritage studies seems necessary though, in order to best exploit such a valuable and colorful, vital drive from below.

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## **Part One**

### **Chapter 3**

#### **BUILT HERITAGE IN DISPUTE: COMPETING INTERPRETATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES ON THE MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND**

Jens Hougaard

##### **Abstract**

Mozambique Island was for thousand years an important trading post in the Indian Ocean Monsoon trade and for five hundred years colonial capital city. It was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1991.

The article gives a brief presentation of the historic urban development of the island and argues that the first conceptualization of Mozambique Island as heritage took place in the late nineteenth century, when the island lost its status as colonial capital. It describes how colonial politics were guiding shifting heritage conservation strategies and practices during the colonial period until independence in 1975, when the island as heritage was reviewed in the light of a new national identity and cultural policy. The inscription of the island into the World Heritage List supported a centralized strategic approach to heritage conservation, challenged by the almost simultaneous change of political system and introduction of market economy in Mozambique in 1992.

The article shows how strategy papers and regulations are up against local practices and commercial interests and raises the question of the future role of the island in an urban development context.

**Keywords:** *Heritage; Identity; Conservation; Colonial; National; Disruption; Integrated Development.*

##### **PREFACE**

This article is based on firsthand experience as resident technical adviser in conservation and urban development on Mozambique Island during the periods of 1980 to 1987 and 2008 to 2017. It is intended as a contribution to the ongoing debate about the future of Mozambique Island.

In the article, I assert that when the island lost its instrumental importance as colonial capital in 1898, it contracted a new importance as a showpiece of European historical occupation of African territory. I intent to show how conservation strategies and practices on Mozambique Island followed European trends from then until independence in 1975.

The Ministry for Culture, under the new national Mozambican government, made great efforts to introduce a new reading of the historic heritage by focusing on the vernacular in order to integrate conservation of built heritage into the national strategy for decolonization and nation building.

I argue that a string of political disruptions changed the course of development so that the fate of the island became subject to unrestrained market forces, threatening the integrity and authenticity of the historic urban environment.

Finally, I present a number of resent plans, projects, regulations and studies, and reflect on the future of the urban heritage within a modern Mozambican urban development context.

For the reader who does not know about Mozambique Island, we will start with a short geo-historical presentation.

## **THE MONSOON TRADE**

The Indian subcontinent divides the northern Indian Ocean into the Arabic Sea and the Bay of Bengal. This formation around the equator generates a meteorological phenomenon, the seasonal monsoon that provided the conditions for seaborne trade between East Africa, Arabia and India.

The triangular trade brought Islam to East Africa and gave birth to the coastal Swahili culture, stretching from Mogadishu to Inhambane in southern Mozambique.

Mozambique Island is a raised coral barrier 4 km off the coast of northern Mozambique. It is merely 3.5 km long and 500 meters wide at the widest, with a total area of just 1 km<sup>2</sup>. The island is running NE–SW, shielding Mossuril Bay from the Indian Ocean and thus providing a safe anchorage inside the bay between Mossuril Peninsula to the north

and Sanculo Peninsula to the south. Due to the natural conditions, the island became a trading post for Arabic and Indian merchants since prehistoric times. A world of trade and cultural interaction unknown to Europe until 1498, when a Portuguese fleet adventured south of Africa.

## ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

In their search for the sea route to India, the Portuguese conquered the island with “Cross and Spade” and ousted the Swahilis to the mainland where small sheikdoms developed on the coast. From their exiled positions however, they continued their trade under the umbrella of Portuguese hegemony and became intermediaries in the later slave trade.



Figure 1: Traditional Dhow outside S. Sebastian Fortress — authors' photo.

Although Arab and Persian writers had known of the island since the 10<sup>th</sup> century, its urban and architectural heritage originates from the period following the arrival of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese renaissance adventurer and poet, Luís Vaz de Camões, celebrates the Portuguese discovery of the sea route south of Africa from Europe to India in his epic poem *Os Lusíadas*; but the old stakeholders in the Indian Ocean monsoon trade were not happy about the new intruder.

## URBANIZING THE ISLAND

The main entrance to the bay is by a tidal channel that passes close to the northernmost point of the island. It was at this point that the construction of the impressive S. Sebastian fortress started in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Surrounded by sea on three sides, the fortress defended its terrestrial southern flank by a moat and an open terrain, Campo de S. Gabriel, used for military exercise and as cemetery. A small town soon developed south of the military area.



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Figure 2: Mozambique Island, by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, 1596.

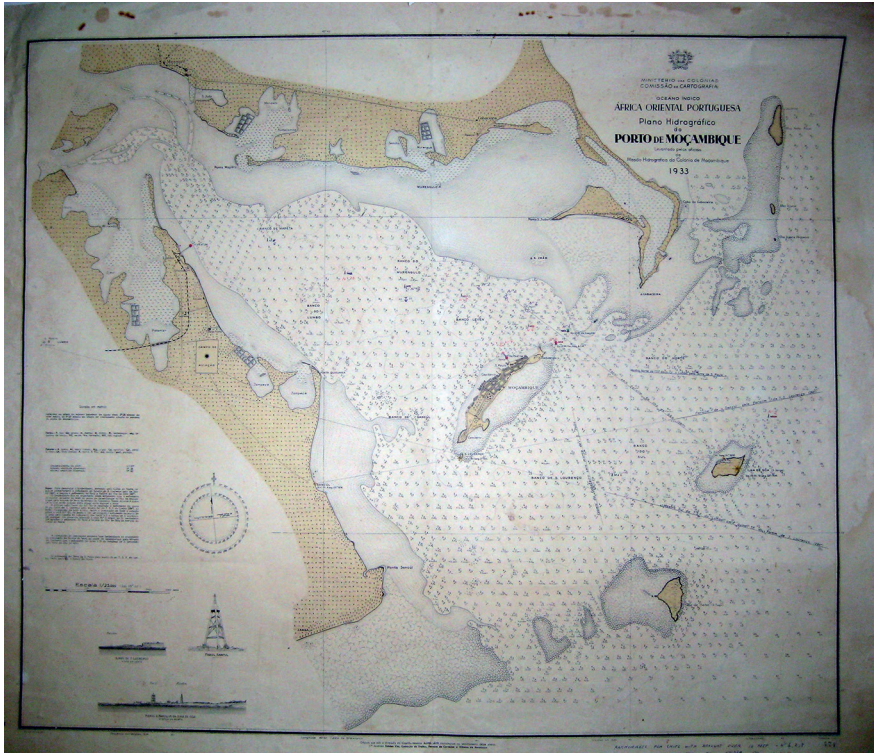


Figure 3: Map of the Port of Mozambique 1933 — authors' photo.

Two convents, the Jesuit S. Paulo and the Dominican S. Domingos, were established on huge terrains close to the landing on the bay side. A line of small commercial houses soon developed along the coast, from S. Paulo convent to Campo de S. Gabriel, with direct access to the beach for cargo on one side and to the street on the other. This line of trading houses [casas feitorias] was the first vernacular settlement on the island after the arrival of the Portuguese. The original street pattern of this first Portuguese settlement is still recognizable.



Figure 4: Mozambique Island urban nucleus 1600. Ilha de Moçambique. Relatório-Report 1982-85. Secretaria de Estado da Cultura — Moçambique [State Secretariat for Culture — Mozambique]. Arkitektskolen i Aarhus — Danmark.

Indian companies dominated the trade and made an imprint on the urban development on the island from late seventeenth century to mid eighteenth century. The urban expansion from this period still show in its organic street plan. Buildings facing the bay repeated the pattern of the first commercial settlement, with deep, narrow trading houses stretching between the private quays and the street, while inward looking courtyard houses dominated the interior of the island.



Figure 5: Eighteen Century street view — authors' photo.



By mid-eighteenth century, Portugal broke the Indian commercial monopoly, expelled the Jesuits from its colonies and installed a governor in the former Jesuit convent.



Figure 6: The former Governors Palace now museum — authors' photo.

A new urban expansion of the town developed towards the south. This was the time of a flourishing slave trade. Contrary to the preceding period, the new development followed a grid plan with opulent, two storey commercial houses. The east coast of the island was not fit for landings but gave way for palm groves and market gardens, and to a native settlement: Bairro Misanga.<sup>1</sup>

During the first three centuries of Portuguese occupation, the southern half of the island [a Ponta da Ilha] was the backyard of the town, where potential contaminating or dangerous infrastructure was placed. The hospital convent S. João de Deus was consequently situated just south of the town and the cemetery at the southernmost point. Major areas were used for extraction

<sup>1</sup> Bairro Misanga: Meaning Trade Bead Quarter.



Figure 7: Mozambique Island urban nucleus 1750. Ilha de Moçambique. Relatório-Report 1982-85. Secretaria de Estado da Cultura — Moçambique [State Secretariat for Culture — Mozambique]. Arkitektskolen i Aarhus — Danmark.

of coral stone for the continuous expansion of the town, leaving huge basins separated by access roads. The town flourished and was elevated from Town [Vila] to City [Cidade] in 1818.

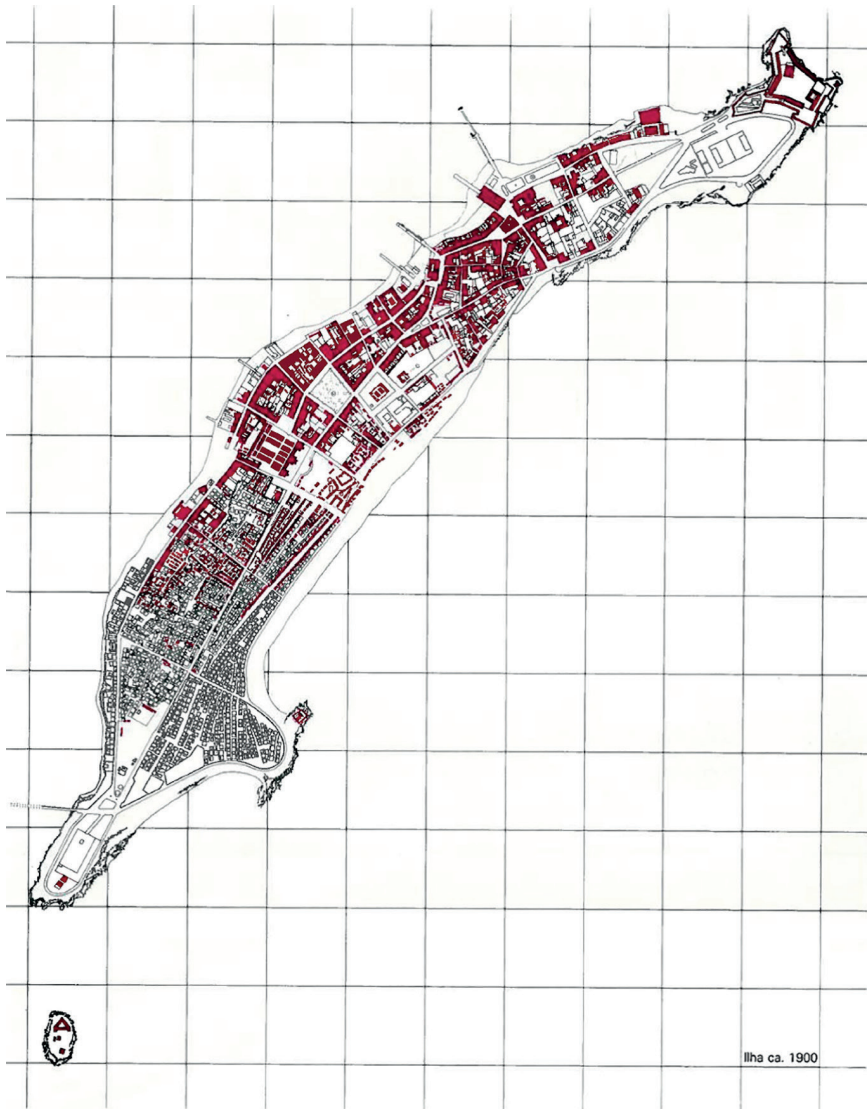


Figure 8: Mozambique Island urban nucleus 1900. Ilha de Moçambique. Relatório-Report 1982-85. Secretaria de Estado da Cultura — Moçambique [State Secretariat for Culture — Mozambique], Arkitektskolen i Aarhus — Danmark.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Bairro Misanga was demolished and new native quarters were laid out south of the town along the open seaside and at the bottom of the then exhausted quarries.

A new impressive hospital, with an extensive park in front, replaced the old hospital convent. At the same time a new bylaw decreed that wattle-and-daub houses [casas de pau-a-pique] thatched with coconut palm leaf mats [macuti]<sup>2</sup> were not permitted north of a newly established street running from coast to coast between the hospital and the quarries that divided the island into two urban areas: the City and the “native quarters” [os bairros indígenas]. This segregation was soon after strengthened through the formal distinction between civilized or assimilated people and non-civilized people, which would last until the 1960s.

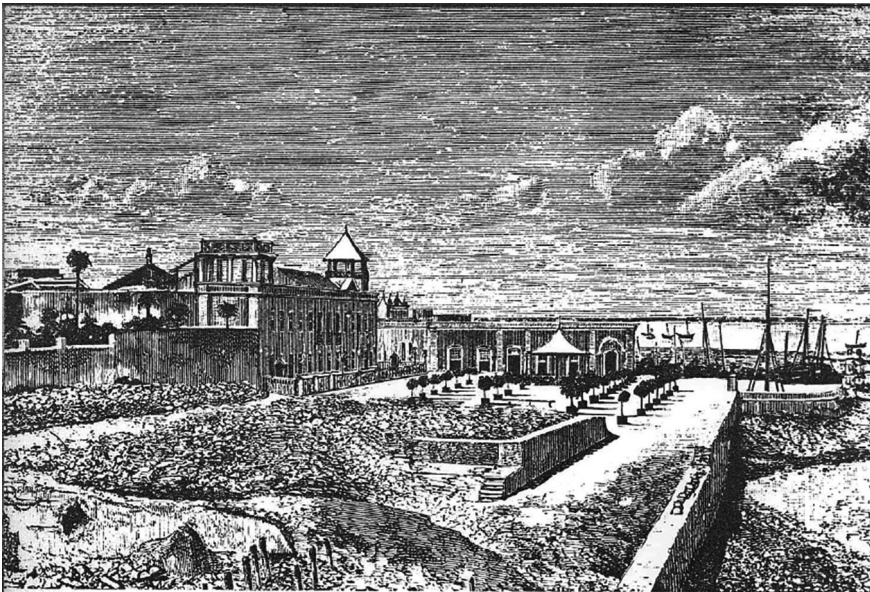


Figure 9: S. Paulo Palace Square under construction 1875. Island of Mozambique Historical Overview. Alexandre Lobato. Agência-Geral do Ultramar [General Overseas Agency]. Lisbon, 1967.

## FROM CAPITAL TO HERITAGE

The nineteenth century European industrial revolution was followed by a period of colonial expansion: the “Scramble for Africa”. Colonization of Africa was formalized at the Berlin Conference in 1884–85.

<sup>2</sup> The name “Macuti” has become synonymous with traditional housing.

In 1898, the capital of Portuguese East Africa was transferred to Lourenço Marques<sup>3</sup>, a location which had become important as an export port for the South African Transvaal province. This was the end of Mozambique Island as an active partner in global development and the beginning of its new role as a testimony to history.

Daily life nevertheless went on. The occupation of the interior opened opportunities for the island as a minor harbor for export of plantation products. A line of warehouses developed southwards on the strip of land between the coast facing the bay and the new indigenous quarters in the interior of the island. The island was fully built-up before the Second World War.

## **MODERNIZATION AND CONSERVATION**

Buildings are built for use and valued for their functionality, durability and aesthetics; but they can become outdated. During early industrialization Europe faced a wave of demolition of old buildings in order to make way for modern development. This provoked a reaction. The testimonial value of buildings became an issue. A new movement defended the historical architecture as important for the cultural and national identity. With the establishment of modern colonialism, this trend also reached the island.

After the Berlin Conference, military defense was no longer important. Focus changed from keeping the city defensible to make it presentable and brought about a radical remake of the island. The ambition was to make the old capital more personable by combining modernization of infrastructure with enhancement of monumental buildings as a testimony of historical European presence. The former military area, Campo de S. Gabriel, was transformed into a public park and the line of old vernacular houses in front of the Governor's Palace was demolished, providing space for an open square that made the entrance to the island more grandiose.

The recognition of the historical significance of buildings, however, did not necessarily lead to conservation. The town hall, for example,

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<sup>3</sup> Now Maputo.

had the facade remodeled in a new-classicist style in accordance with the likes of the time. While focus was on the enhancement of the monumental colonial architecture, a certain concession had to be given to the influential Muslim community. A new grand Mosque was built just south of the border between the city and the “native quarters” .

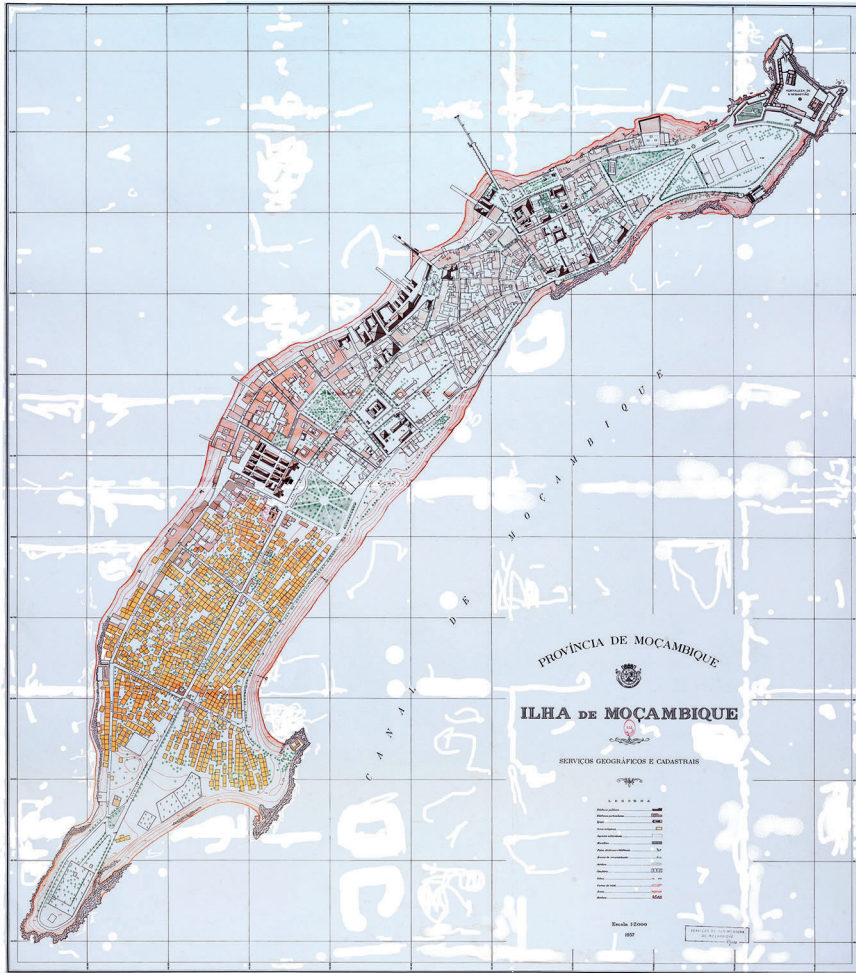


Figure 10: Mozambique Island 1957, scale 1-2000. Província de Moçambique — Serviços Geográficos e Cadastrais [Province of Mozambique — Geographical and Cadastral Services].

## LUSOTROPICALISM

During the Second World War, when the major colonial powers had to foresee independence of their colonies, Portugal adopted the notion of *Lusotropicalism*. In order to support his colonial policies, António de Oliveira Salazar maintained “that since Portugal had been a multicultural, multiracial and pluricontinental nation since the 15th century, if the country were to be dismembered by losing its overseas territories, that would spell the end for Portuguese independence”.<sup>4</sup> The East African Portuguese colony then became an overseas province under the name Moçambique [Mozambique]. The island thus gave its name to the territory and it became vital to boost the image of the island as Portuguese national heritage.

In 1943 a Commission for Monuments and Historic Reliquaries in Mozambique [CMRHM] was created and given the task to “carry out investigation, classification, and conservation of the monuments and reliquaries in the colony”.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 11: Interior of S. Domingo's Church under reconstruction, 1983.[Services].

<sup>4</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusotropicalism> – Salazar's view.

<sup>5</sup> Teixeira de Sousa, S. (slide 7)

From then on and up to independence, a number of reconstruction works took place on the island. The former Governor's Palace was refurbished as a Government guesthouse and a complete reconstruction of the S. António Church took place. The reconstructions of the S. Sebastian fortress and the S. Domingo church, however, were left unfinished at independence, the latter with the scaffolding still on the façade.

As in Europe, it was no longer only the buildings of power that were considered worthy of conservation. The vernacular architecture also came into consideration. On Mozambique Island this meant introducing Portuguese architectural features and details into common buildings at the expense of the Indian and African. The most iconic example of this is the transformation of the narrow Rua dos Baneanes<sup>6</sup> into a modern shopping street, widened and adorned with a classical Portuguese arcade.



Figure 12: Rua dos Arcos — authors' photo.

In 1966, the southernmost point of the island was connected to the Sanculo peninsula by a bridge. This accelerated the development of the island as a tourist destination.

A new hotel and swimming pool close to the fortress and new sports clubs on the ocean side coast were connected to the bridge by a new coastal road.

<sup>6</sup> Baneane: Indian shopkeeper.



The visitor no longer came by ferryboat to the pier in front of the Governor's Palace, but by car over the bridge, taking either the coastal road to the hotel or the central road running high between the low-lying indigenous quarters. The latter offered a picturesque view over a landscape of small pyramid shaped macuti roofs, before entering the historic town and thus highlighting the difference between the African quarters and the European city. The dual urban scenery was arranged to receive tourists from Europe or neighboring South Africa and Rhodesia. In order to maintain the special feature, it was prohibited to substitute the macuti roofing with galvanized iron sheets or other modern material.



Figure 13: Macuti roofs — authors' photo.

We have seen that conservation strategies on the island of Mozambique followed an international trend until independence in 1975. Around 1900 it focused on historic monumental buildings as legacy markers within a modernization process. After the Second World War, vernacular architecture started to be recognized as heritage and became an asset for development of tourism.

Where the process of heritage creation at the island differs from that in Europe itself, is in the colonial posturing of the foreign as national and the native merely as an exotic backdrop.

### THE SEARCH FOR A NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY

After independence, the new national government had to find a common denominator for a new national identity. In the vast territory of great cultural variety, it became the common struggle for independence. In response to the colonial alienation of the native, the national focus was on the intangible African heritage. Historic built heritage had a strong colonial connotation and local vernacular building traditions were associated with poverty.

The “Song, Dance and Music Festivals” were used to launch a debate on the national cultural strategy, in order to “follow the path, opened by the armed struggle for national liberation, to rescue and to affirm as culture, all those manifestations that, in a disparaging way, had been categorized as folklore by colonialism.” (Honwana, 2008 – Author’s translation).



Figure 14: Tufo dance — authors’ photo.



Figure 15: Maulite dance — authors’ photo.

The *Stone Town*, as the colonial city was renamed, became almost abandoned by independence, while the indigenous quarters, now called *Macuti Town*, maintained a local population with a particular

Muslim culture, which was not easy to integrate into the notion of a common national identity. How to take ownership of the historic built heritage as national heritage became a complicated process that is still going on.

The National Service for Museums and Antiquities under the Ministry for Education and Culture established a Restoration Brigade on the island in 1977, followed by a Restoration Office in 1980.

By concentrating on the historic development of the urban structure, the vernacular architecture and local building traditions, while giving less attention to the monumental colonial buildings and ignoring completely the gigantic S. Sebastian Fortress, the restoration office strove to align to the national cultural policy.

In 1983 the studies gained momentum through the visit of a group of teachers and students from the School of Architecture in Aarhus, Denmark. A comprehensive report (known as the *Blue Book*), was compiled in 1985. It provided the basis for the island's candidature to the World Heritage List in 1990.

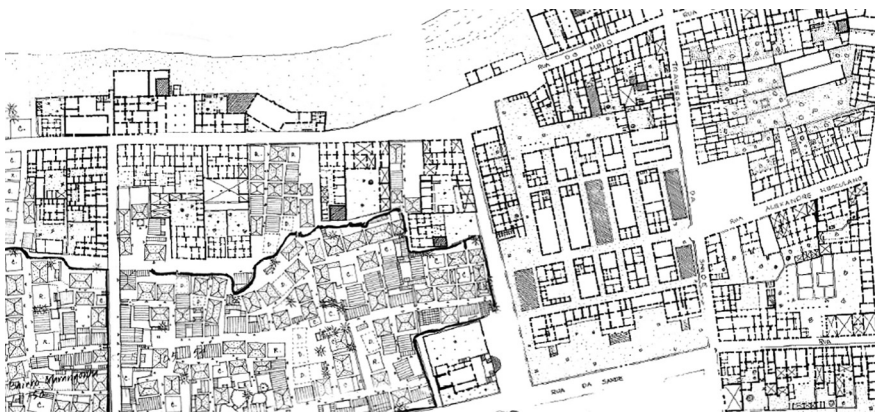


Figure 16: Map of typology and interiors — 1982. Island of Mozambique, Gabinete de Restauro [Restoration Office].

While the restoration office changed focus from the monumental to the vernacular and scaled up the importance of regional historic influences, it only succeeded in doing little substantial rehabilitation works. The question was how to reuse the abandoned building mass in the Stone Town and how to create employment and improve the

living conditions for the impoverished population in the Macuti Town. Financing was scarce and the Ministry for Culture's idea of the island as a cultural and historical research and educational center, combined with cultural tourism, seems never to have obtained political consensus. The traditional macuti house showed later to be a catch. Consultants would occasionally venture into defense of the traditional macuti roof, arguing that it is more healthy or ecological; but advocating the macuti roof triggered immediately the common memory of the compulsory macuti roof as a symbol of colonial oppression and arrogance. The local population knew from experience that iron sheet roofing is cheaper, waterproof and longer lasting.

The war that ravaged the country from right after independence until 1992 changed the course of things. When the island became an overcrowded offshore rescue place for displaced people from the nearby mainland, progression of conservation efforts became impossible. Preparation for post-war continuation, however, went on at government level, in contact with UNESCO and bilateral donors, resulting in the nomination of Mozambique Island for the World Heritage list.

## WORLD HERITAGE

UNESCO accepted the Island of Mozambique onto the World Heritage List<sup>7</sup> in 1991, citing it as a cultural property of Outstanding Universal Value [OUV], based on criteria C (IV) (VI) in UNESCO 1988 Guidelines:

- Criterion IV. The town and the fortifications on the Island of Mocambique, and the smaller island of St. Laurent, are an outstanding example of an architecture in which local traditions, Portuguese influences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Indian and Arab influences are all interwoven.
- Criterion VI. The Island of Mocambique bears important witness to the establishment and development of the Portuguese maritime routes between Western Europe and the Indian sub-continent and thence all of Asia.

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<sup>7</sup> World Heritage Centre Nomination Documentation.

The UNESCO global approach shall not be discussed here, but in some ways the nomination reintroduced the colonial point of view by focusing on the importance of the island within the narrative of the Portuguese colonial expansion. On the other hand, it did place the island on the international heritage map and opened up for donor support, resulting in a long line of plans and projects of different focus and scale.

## **TIMES OF CHANGE**

In 1992, shortly after the UNESCO inscription, the FRELIMO Government signed a peace accord with the rebellion movement RENAMO, who then became a political party represented in parliament. The economic system changed from centralized planned economy to market economy. The insolvent state could not uphold the vast amount of property nationalized after independence. Alienation of state property took place, imposed by the World Bank and international donors. Pricing of real estate followed a classification based on size, physical state and utilitarian value, with age as a depreciating factor. While this made sense for the modern building mass in the major cities, it proved problematic when applied to the built heritage on Mozambique Island.

It was interesting to verify that the classification of the property as cultural heritage had no influence on its assessment within the alienation process, and contrarily, that its age and relative margin of antiquity, sometimes integral part of the cultural value of other property, happened to contribute to the depreciation value of the property, rather than to its valuation. (Roders, Aguacheiro & Hougaard, 16).

Municipalities were gradually introduced to Mozambique after the peace accord.<sup>8</sup> The first municipal election for the new Island of Mozambique Municipality took place in 1998.

It was a time of social disruption. The population on the island had

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<sup>8</sup> Lei n.º 2/97 de 18 de Fevereiro. Autarquias Locais

grown from 7000 inhabitants to more than the double in 15 years. The Stone Town suffered squatting and pillaging and the Macuti Town became overcrowded. New unplanned settlements spread on the continental part of the new municipality and the island heritage became submitted to the forces of market economy.

Heritage had to be understood in a wider urban context.

In the following, a number of the more significant plans, projects, reports and regulations from the last twenty years are discussed.

## PLANS

### ***Sustainable human development and integral conservation***

In 1999, UNESCO launched a *Programme for Sustainable Human Development and Integral Conservation*<sup>9</sup> comprising fifty micro-projects directed towards potential donors, in areas such as water and sanitation, tourism development and heritage restoration. The architectural, urban and cultural heritage rehabilitation component was estimated at USD 11,737,000.

This first integrated development program did not leave many marks on the island but continuous UNESCO reports drew attention to the situation until, in 2006, a firm Action Plan was finally agreed upon between UNESCO and the Mozambican Government in order to take urgent measures against the increasing degradation.

### ***The action plan***<sup>10</sup>

The Action Plan asked for a general Master Plan as well as a Heritage Management Plan and suggested coordination of donor funding and development of cultural tourism.

Parallel to the Action Plan, two government decrees<sup>11</sup> allotted Specific Statutes to Mozambique Island and created the Mozambique Island Conservation Office [GACIM]. GACIM opened formally in 2007 with an appointed director and supportive administrative staff,

<sup>9</sup> Mutal, S.: *Ilha de Moçambique World Heritage Site – Final Report* May 15–July 15, 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Documento número 0.7/SCI/2007.

<sup>11</sup> Decreto n°. 27/2006. Decreto n°. 28/2006.

but unfortunately without any professional staff in the areas of conservation, architecture and urban planning.

### ***The integrated development plan***

In 2007 the African Development Bank launched a tender for a Master Plan for the island and its associated coastal areas. The Terms of Reference indicated three pillars of intervention:

1. Rehabilitation of historical monuments;
2. Rehabilitation of infrastructure and social services;
3. Fostering business development and associated employment opportunities.

The Master Plan was presented in May 2009 under the title: Integrated Development Plan for Mozambique Island — May 2009.<sup>12</sup> It presented a catalogue of 25 programs covering 112 projects to be financed by Government budget, donor funding and public-private investment programs. A summary of budgeted projects did not include long-term software projects, but even so amounted to more than fifty million USD. This was one more project catalogue requiring massive external funding.

### ***The management plan***

*A Management and Conservation Plan for the Island of Mozambique* was drawn up by 2010 by the Ministry of Culture with consultant support from UNESCO.<sup>13</sup>

The Plan operated optimistically with an overwhelming number of activities, divided into nine key areas, to be addressed over a four-year period by a long line of national and international parties.

Both the Integrated Development Plan and the Management Plan counted on the assumptions that: necessary legal framework is operational; common donor funding and coordination can be achieved; management of the World Heritage Site can be assured by the Ministry of Culture together with local authorities namely the District Government [GCIM] and the Conservation Office

<sup>12</sup> CESO-CI Internacional: *Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado da Ilha de Moçambique*, May 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Jopela, A. & Rakotomamonjy, B. 2010. *Plano de Gestão e Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique 2010-2014*.

(GACIM).

These presumptions were indeed highly questionable. While the responsibility for conservation of the Island of Mozambique was solely in the hands of the Ministry for Culture, the tools for action were in the hands of other ministries, such as the ministries for State Administration, Planning, Finance, Justice, Public Works and Tourism.<sup>14</sup> The Ministry for Culture never succeeded in making cultural concerns a crosscutting issue. The problem was not new:

The doubt, that came to our minds thirty years ago, whether it was appropriate that such a vast compound of fundamental problems should be trusted to a single government sector, can maybe be answered by saying that the cultural questions are effectual national structuring elements, and deserve, as such, the common and permanent attention of the State and the society. (Honwana, 2008).

## PROJECTS

Three different donor-funded projects stand out as representative of different approaches to heritage.

### *The Fortress*

Coordinated by UNESCO and co-financed by the three historic antagonists Portugal, Japan and The Netherlands<sup>15</sup>, urgent structural consolidation and restoration works were initiated at the S. Sebastian Fortress in 2007.<sup>16</sup> It was the first phase of a major program for the

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<sup>14</sup> Tourism is presently paired with Culture into the Ministry for Culture and Tourism.

<sup>15</sup> The Dutch fleet besieged the Fortress in 1607 and 1608, and the Portuguese arrived at Nagasaki in 1543, where they upheld the jurisdiction from 1580 until they were expelled in 1639. The Portuguese bishop of Nagasaki, D. Sebastião de Morais, died on the island in 1588 and was entombed in the Capella da Nossa Senhora do Baluarte.

<sup>16</sup> World Heritage Centre. 2010. Activity-629-3. Rehabilitation of the Saint Sebastian Fortress, Island of Mozambique. Funded by the Union of Portuguese Speaking Capital Cities [UCCLA] and the Governments of Japan, Flanders, the Netherlands, Portugal and UNESCO.



future use of the fortress as home for scientific institutions, tourist accommodation and cultural events.

By completion in 2009, the responsibility for maintenance was handed over to the Mozambique Island Museums [MUSIM] without any maintenance budget. A second phase never followed and degradation continued. Both the Maputo based Eduardo Mondlane University and the Lúrio University of Nampula, however, are now occupying some of the countless spaces inside the Fortress and are searching external funding for rehabilitation.

### ***Ilha-Bergen Cultural Heritage Program***<sup>17</sup>

The Norwegian City of Bergen and the Mozambique Island Municipality collaborated on a Cultural Heritage Program during the period of 2004 to 2010. The aim of the program was to empower the Municipal Council to be in charge of the integrated development of the municipality, as well as being active in the partnership between the three East African UNESCO listed cities: Lamu, Zanzibar and Mozambique Island. Two components focused on the objectives: *Strategy Plan - World Heritage site of Mozambique Island (2005-2010)*; *Bylaws on tangible heritage of the World heritage site of Island of Mozambique*.

While the initiative to empower the Municipal Council to be the locally responsible authority was never approved by the central Government, the restoration of a significant trading house [feitoria], the Sunflower House [Casa Girassol], served as a training program for local artisans in traditional coral stone building techniques. This had a great impact on the quality of private building works carried out later by local entrepreneurs.

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<sup>17</sup> Within the scope of the Organization of World Heritage cities [OWHC] Regional Secretariat Eastern Africa, the Municipality of Mozambique Island, the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage and the Municipality of the City of Bergen signed a contract in April 2003 regarding the Cultural Heritage Program Ilha-Bergen, to be financed by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation [NORAD].



Figure 17: Map of typology and interiors — 1982. Island of Mozambique, Gabinete de Restauro [Restoration Office].

### ***Portuguese Cluster of Cooperation with Mozambique Island***<sup>18</sup>

Portuguese Cooperation has provided technical assistance to GACIM since 2009. In 2011, development projects at Mozambique Island became included into the model of geographical clusters, adapted by Portuguese Cooperation. In collaboration with the Union of Luso-Afro-American-Asian Capital Cities [UCCLA]<sup>19</sup> a line of institutional capacity building programs have been carried out involving Mozambique Island Municipality, GACIM and the Technical School [EPIM].

The continuous low profile technical support and training programs at a practical level have shown to be very valuable as capacity building at local administrative and executive implementation level.

## **REGULATIONS**

### ***Municipal Bylaws***<sup>20</sup>

The Municipal Assembly approved new Municipal Bylaws in 2010 that regulate “the conduct between the citizens, the behavior and posture [...] in relation to environment, [...] as well as new constructions and the conservation and restoration of the built, historic and archaeological heritage of the Island of Mozambique”.<sup>21</sup>

The bylaws leave no doubt about the extent of the listed heritage and the distribution of legal competences that have been a matter of dispute between the Municipal Council and GACIM.

Article 102, paragraph 3 states: “It is important to note that the whole of the island was inscribed at the World Heritage list with its Stone Town and Macuti Town, and all its buildings, fortresses, streets, open

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<sup>18</sup> Cluster da Cooperação Portuguesa da Ilha de Moçambique [cluster of Portuguese Cooperation of Island of Moçambique].

<sup>19</sup> União das Cidades Capitais Luso-Afro-Américo-Asiáticas [Union of Luso-Afro-American-Asian Capital Cities]. Founded in Lisbon in 1985, it includes Portuguese speaking capital cities, focusing on promotion of the Portuguese language and cooperation in the fields of culture, urban sanitation, heritage conservation and public health.

<sup>20</sup> Resolução nº. 22/AMCIM/2010. Código de Posturas Municipais. Capítulo 1. [Resolution no. 22/AMCIM/2010. Municipal Posture Code. Chapter 1.]

<sup>21</sup> Article 102, paragraph 1: Important note is that the Island has been inscribed on the World Heritage list with all its “Stone City” and the “City of Macuti” and all its buildings, forts, streets, open places, port, other buildings and coast, as well as the island of S. Lourenço.

spaces, harbor, other constructions and coastline, as well as the S. Lorenzo Island". Article 103 follows:

In the name of the Mozambican State, the Ministry for Culture, represented by the Mozambique Island Conservation Office, is responsible for the safeguarding of the historic and cultural heritage of Mozambique Island, including the built heritage, archaeological and immaterial and intangible as well. Whereas the Municipal Council assures the responsibility of daily management of the urban environment, including buildings and infrastructures, in the quality of local Government.

***Regulation for the Classification and Management of the Island of Mozambique Built and Natural Heritage***<sup>22</sup>

The Regulation and catalogue of classified buildings within the Stone Town, approved in 2016, are ranking the buildings into 5 classes, the highest (A) being clearly OUV and the lowest (D) being of limited individual value, but of positive significance for the urban ensemble. While restoration back to the original is required for class A buildings, class D allows for changes and adjustments in order to adapt the building to new functions and harmonize it to the urban ensemble. This tool was very welcomed by the local authorities who, for a long time, had requested rules of thumb in the absence of sufficient professional capacity at local level.

## STUDIES

Three studies are showing the change of focus from the monumental to the vernacular.

***José Forjaz Architects: Island of Mozambique — Architectural Survey and Study on Local Vernacular Architecture***<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Decreto n° 54/2016, 28 November.

<sup>23</sup> On invitation from the World Heritage Centre Africa Unit, José Forjaz Architects presented in March 2010 a report: *Island of Mozambique – Architectural Survey and study on local vernacular architecture*.

More than being just a survey, this report offers a set of recommendations pointing towards a change of focus from centralized strategic planning to local authority management.

In the particular case of Mozambique Island's Stone Town the problem to be addressed, and solved, is the control of interventions for the rehabilitation, restoration and rebuilding of constructions within an urban World Heritage Site context, classified in the first instance due to its architectural coherence and character. This control pre supposes a clear position, from the part of the municipal authorities, on what are the acceptable limits of variation from the pre-existing models and technologies. (Forjaz, 2010: 51).

The recommendation for the Macuti Town "proposes a slum upgrading and rehabilitation project at the "Ponta da Ilha", as a necessary pre condition to keep its patrimonial value. This first and most important concept should be established, and accepted, before any elaboration on an abstract concept of "patrimony" can be discussed: the so-called "Macuti" town is a slum" (Forjaz, 2010; 56).

### ***Historic Urban Landscape in Perspective***

Field research was conducted from November 2011 to January 2012 in a partnership between Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands), the University of Minnesota (USA) and Lúrio University in Nampula (Roders, Aguacheiro & Hougaard, 2012). A final report, known as the Orange Book, was published in 2012. It presents a survey on ownership of buildings within the Stone Town, as well as a survey of changes in the building mass during the thirty-year period since the first survey (the Blue Book), published in 1985.

The report and surveys were intended as planning tools for the local authorities. This might have been possible if an experienced local technical staff had been in place. As it was, the gap between the consultant's professional diagnosis and the local ability to convert this into action proved too great to make it function.

***Architect Silje Sollien: The Macuti House in Mozambique Island — Transforming the Other Side of a World Heritage Site***<sup>24</sup>

Urban and architectural surveys are in this Ph.D. counterbalanced by local memories and stories. It gives a wide-ranging picture of the cultural and social complexity of the Macuti Town and raises the question “how the different ways of framing urban heritage as “historic town”, “traditional settlement” or “vernacular architecture” may affect our way of defining the heritage object” (Sollien, 2013: 320-321). In her conclusion, the author admits that,

[...] heritage planning in Macuti Town has in the thesis moved quite far from the OUV and World Heritage, to deal primarily with everyday issues and a community's own memories. However, there is not necessarily a contradiction between these ways of seeing. The values of the grand narrative of the discovery of India by the Europeans as well as the mix of influences seen in the architecture of the island as defined by the OUV are still present in the everyday histories. (Sollien, 2013: 320-321)

While José Forjaz Architects takes a very technical approach, Silje Sollien is taking a more social anthropological position, but they are both pointing at the simple necessity of a coherent integrated urban planning based on locally recognized needs and implemented by the local authorities.

***UniLúrio — FAPF — CEDIM***

The University Council of Lúrio University, Nampula, decided in October 2011 to create a Study and Documentation Center (CEDIM) on the Island of Mozambique as a satellite of the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning (FAPF).<sup>25</sup>

FAPF/CEDIM carried out a screening of cultural, scenic and environmental values on the island in 2013 in collaboration with the Municipal Technical Services. Furthermore, the relation between the

<sup>24</sup> In November 2014 architect Silje Sollien defended her Ph.D. at the School of Architecture, Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts [KADK] after research on the island of Mozambique over a couple of years.

<sup>25</sup> Lúrio University, Dean's Office. 2011. Deliberation No. 08JCUN2010.



challenges? Looking out at the world, we will see that the problems are similar in many places, although not always as acute. Every place has its heritage, but to identify its character and qualities, and carry them through to modern integrated urban planning requires professional skills. Specializing in this has become a career option for young architects and planners around the world. Mozambique Island, in all its complexity, could be a laboratory for this to happen in Mozambique — and hopefully it turns out to be.

The Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning at Lúrio University took steps in that direction in 2011 creating the Mozambique Island Study Center [CEDIM]. A new Faculty for Social and Human Sciences [FCSH] at the island in 2016 holding a Center for Indian Ocean Political and Religious Studies [CEPROI] followed this up.

Young professionals from GACIM and Lúrio University are doing Masters and Ph.Ds. abroad and a Masters course in Heritage and Development started in 2017 at Lúrio University in collaboration with the sister faculty at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo and with support from the Center for Social Studies at Coimbra University, Portugal.

I deposit my hope in these young professionals.

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## Part One

### Chapter 4

#### HUMAN LANDSCAPE — AN EVOLVING CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

Wallace Chang Ping Hung

##### Abstract

The Pearl River Delta [PRD] is now conceived as an economic powerhouse of Great Bay Area where capitals, productions and, recently innovations are concentrated and circulated. However, if we try to investigate the connections of this city cluster from a humanistic point of view, it is all related to the “blue” territories of rivers and seas. The connection through the flows of water creates a culture that heavily embarks on the understanding of dynamics instead of statics of things and events. The investigation of why and how these territories are cohered deserves a revisit of the local culture that treasures *avant-garde* spirit which has long been embedded since its inception of an “alternative country”. Through this “flow-of-lives” perspective, the area allows an interpretation of “human landscape” that never fixates a way or a style of living but evolves with the changing perception of a local reality that is shaped beyond any ideology. Together with its fundamental cultural genes of pragmatism, this open attitude of seeing and living the lives of “here and now” has largely shaped the mindscape of the local people in perceiving their identity. In this regard, Hong Kong and Macau as the twin-cities that excuse themselves from the “close-door” history of China have potentially indicated a direction of our “flowing” future. Now, the dilemma between the people and the place is suggesting an open perspective to embrace an evolving culture that can probably spring unto a global platform. Developing along the inherited spirit of “daring to be unprecedented”, the new paradigm shift of “Be-Water” is leading people from *here* at the Pearl River Delta to *there* along the Belt and the Road.

**Keywords:** *Pearl River Delta; Flow-of-lives; Human Landscape; Evolving Culture; Be-Water.*

## DISTANCE & PROXIMITY

The Pearl River Delta as a cluster of cities for “Made-in-China” productivity has been made known for the last two decades when products, like smart phones, garments, toys, etc., are being exported to all over the world. This manufacturing powerhouse has generated new aspirations for local people of the PRD to rethink their positioning on a global platform. When we revisit why the PRD region could gain the momentum to gear the global engine in a driving speed upon the ‘Open-door Policy’ from the 80s onward, it poses a query of what makes this economic miracle happened.

Perhaps the physical distances among the “9+2”<sup>1</sup> city cluster, now known as the *Great Bay Area*<sup>2</sup> upon the Chinese Central Government’s agenda, are enabling a synergy within the vicinity of cities that each of them is performing different roles to make the region a powerhouse of production. For example, when Dongguan is efficiently manufacturing parts for a new smart phone, Shenzhen is engaging teams of IT engineers to develop software to upgrade the virtual environment, and while Hong Kong is launching its fin-tech stocks, Macau is marketing its application in entertainment industries. Is it because the road and train networks developed in the last two decades that superseded the separating waterways are pulling these cities together or something else? As this seamlessly synchronized synergy is almost spontaneous whenever new ideas are popping up from minds-alike, the question, thus, is “what makes the minds of people from different cities of this cluster “think together”?”

## LAPSE & LINK

If proximity of these cities may not be the real reason to pull their minds

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<sup>1</sup> “9+2”, a general term referring to the cluster of cities in the Great Bay Area, including 9 Mainland cities of Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan, Huizhou, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Jiangmen and Zhaoqing, plus 2 Special Administrative Regions of Hong Kong and Macau.

<sup>2</sup> *Great Bay Area*, the Outline Development Plan for the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area promulgated on 18 February 2019. <https://www.bayarea.gov.hk/en/focus/bayarea-cities.html>

together, we may have to look into the historical development of these cities. From a historical perspective, it is convenient to subdivide the regional development into three critical stages, namely, Imperial Period [pre-1920s], Modern Period [1920s-1980s], and Open-door Period [post-1980s]. The coherence of these cities started from their origin as coastal defense ports alliance when trading activities with Portuguese and other European fleets were first embarked at Macau and later Hong Kong. These two coastal ports were functioning as front gates to receive “foreigners”, allowing a buffer strip to protect the provincial capital of Guangzhou in the Imperial Period. This strategic positioning of two open ports safeguarded by a series of fortresses along the coastlines of the Pearl River Delta was meant to support the daily necessities for the fleets but to protect at the same time this region’s territorial integrity.

This territorial disposition had framed the cultural understanding of the region as an outward looking region with several levels of self-supportive considerations. When the territorial vertices of Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau were read to align a specific “delta”, the major entity being the waterscape began to connect geographical nodes where land met water. These connections were allowed with a multitude of water-borne communities, like Daan people resided in typhoon shelters of Lai Chi Wan [Guangzhou], Aberdeen [Hong Kong], or Fai Chi Kei [Macau]. At the time when these connections were providing alternative networks in transportation, food, and even culture in the Pearl River Delta, the interlacing complexities between water-born communities [fishermen] and the land-borne communities [farmers] had created unprecedented opportunities for the European new comers to liaise with locals through a common means of water transports.

With this new way of communication, the connections between water bodies’ including the Delta’s fishing grounds, harbors, and waterways leading inland were essential for European traders to make businesses, but at the same time, they brought along a reverse perspective, i.e. new ideas from the oceans instead of from the continents. The adoption of this cultural shift to receive new ideas from the outside world had enabled this region to embrace an alternative position of *thinking otherwise*. With an open attitude towards *newness* instead of

*tradition*, the people of the PRD region had been rather receptive on this cultural change upon their pragmatic mindsets.

The readiness to integrate imported cultures into the daily life was witnessed in the urban developments of Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau, e.g. the arcaded shop-houses and the urban public spaces, like “prayas” in Macau and “squares” in Hong Kong. As a translation of the cultural mutation, these architectural forms and urban spaces had been influencing both daily life and perceived images of these cities. There was an old saying of “Guangzhou City, Hong Kong Praya, Macau Street” that portrayed vividly the urban impressions of this tri-city relationship in terms of their respective presence and urban scale. When the region was framed by a protected provincial capital [Guangzhou] with two extended arms of outer towns [Hong Kong and Macau], the cultural interflows were not equivalent, i.e. bilateral instead of triangular. Thus, Cantonese culture was still the dominant cultural host to intake two separate European “subcultures”, English and Portuguese from both ends.

One of the cultural evidences was the Cantonese opera, *Red Boat*, nicknamed after performer troops traveled on boats and shuttled between performance venues among the three cities. Although the performances were traditionally Cantonese, the musical instruments had already included those in Western operas, like violins, trumpets, etc. As this art form was meant to entertain the elite class as well as to educate grass-root public, the performances were seasonal and outreached to local communities instead of housed within permanent theatrical venues. Because of their “nomadic” nature, performers became cultural carriers who delivered the latest, sometimes revolutionary, thinking from the “outer towns” [Hong Kong and Macau] to the “inner city” [Guangzhou]. This kind of dynamic interflows among different political regimes was liaising people who were Cantonese speaking with a common interest of the external world.

During the Modern period, due to the WWII and civil wars of China that followed by the *Close-door Policy*, the initial hierarchy of capital-township was re-ordered. To escape from the changing regime of the Mainland, lots of cultural figures in the fields of humanities, like literature, calligraphy, and drama, to mention a few, Jinyong, Jao

Tsung-I, Yam Kim-fai, fled to Hong Kong and Macau. Within this “borrowed space, borrowed time”, people then conceived the outer towns of Hong Kong and Macau as *twin-cities* that were left with little resources but lots of freedom to create their own conditions of living, in another words, an authentic culture interpreted between the East and the West. At this period of time, both cities were absorbing Western cultures as any other cities in the world, but for the Mainland they behaved as “valves” to buffer any undesirable cultural impacts but at the same time as “windows” to view the world beyond the “close-door”. In such a historical condition, both Hong Kong and Macau were developed independently subject to currents of Modern culture with strong Western influences, while the “inner city”, Guangzhou, had been restricted to communist ideological struggles for a few decades. Being relatively independent from any political overlays, Hong Kong and Macau were following the big waves of post-war movements of rebuilding the city and mass housing program. In Hong Kong, Patrick Abercrombie, the master British planner for London, was invited to draft the first comprehensive framework of urban planning for Hong Kong in 1946. The urban plan had structured the city with zones for light industries along with residential districts where urban grids of 100m x 40-45m were laid for mixed use urban blocks. The *Abercrombie Plan* had demarcated the overall direction of Hong Kong towards a “light industrial” city where living and working were basically intermixed within the urban districts. In fact, the physical configuration of these urban ensembles had induced an urban culture uniquely Hong Kong. The compact high-density living with effective street lives had cultivated community bonds and business synergies as witnessed in the street cultures of Shamshuipo and Wanchai, like electronics stalls along Apliu Street, or wedding-card shops along Lee Tung Street. The mixed-use living plus working conditions were incidentally addressing the issues of commuting as well as community building. They allowed the city to create a possibility of “compact culture” that convenience and immediacy had overridden other urban values, like formality and hierarchy.

This shifting preference of combining living with working had also reinterpreted the idea of “modernity”, i.e. to localize the Western concept in place where space and time were compressed to optimize

the interfaces between human interactions. This perspective on compressing modernity towards efficiency with local pragmatism during this period had laid the foundation for an authentic culture of the region. Due to its celebration of efficiency and “can-do” spirit, a new urban aesthetic emerged where the co-existence of functionality and imagery was enriching the complexity of modernity.

While the twin-cities of Hong Kong and Macau were creating a new modernity that refreshed the cultural identity of contemporary “Chinese” towards the Western world, the region of the Pearl River Delta under the Communist governance was remained underdeveloped not until the *Open-door Policy* pronounced by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. This groundbreaking policy had granted overseas Chinese, including those from Hong Kong and Macau, new opportunities to invest in China where Guangdong Province was the testing ground for “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. From that moment on, the Mainland cities of the region including Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Zhuhai, etc., were gaining new momenta to attract capitals, talents and skills from Hong Kong and Macau.

During the *Open-door Period*, overnight the manufacturing industries of Hong Kong and Macau were moving to these cities for its cheap labor and extensive land supply. Along with these influxes of industrial investments, the reinterpreted modernity of *Cantonese Pop* culture created in Hong Kong was readily received by the people in the region that most of factory workers were “brainwashed” with movie and song icons from Hong Kong, like Anita Mui, Andy Lau and Jacky Chan. Also, the urban scenes of these cities were transformed as replicas of Hong Kong as the city was conceived as a symbol of “modern prosperity”.

At that stage, the cultural shift was once again from the outer “ports” [Hong Kong and Macau] to the inner “capital” [Guangzhou, Shenzhen, etc.], but this time it was a localized modernity brewed for over half a century by the twin-cities instead of any direct Western cultural imposition from Europe. This importation of contemporary culture onto the ready-to-change territories of the Pearl River Delta had dramatically transformed the cultural landscape where new ideas were no longer “foreign” but “familiar”.



## LOST & FOUND

After the consecutive handovers of the sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macau in 1997 and 1999 respectively, the political barriers between the colonial twin-cities and the Mainland were softened with subtle differentiation from Mainland cities under the overarching agenda of *one country, two systems*. The trajectory of urban development onward was shifting gear towards a vague but bigger picture of “integration”. Both cities in the post-colonial period were recharged with new roles from ‘windows’ to understand the outside world to ‘springboards’ to leverage the accrued momenta towards global platforms. Hong Kong had thus redefined itself as the global financial center equivalent to New York and London that major stock exchanges would take place among the triangular circuit of *Nylonkong*<sup>3</sup> while Macau had elevated itself from its local gambling industries to an entertainment empire equivalent to that of Las Vegas. The ambition was to restructure local potentials powered by the economic engine of “Greater China”.

Along this line of thought, at this moment after forty years of the *Open-door Policy*, when China is assuming an emerging role in the global political and economic arena, the integration of “9+2” city cluster within the Pearl River Delta is being redefined as “strategic partnership” towards a holistic picture of the *Great Bay Area*. Although the outline follows the Central Government driven policy to synchronize uneven developments in the region, the directive is to step up the region as a competitor to outbid its counterparts of *San Francisco Bay Area* and *Tokyo Bay Area*.<sup>4</sup> The initial idea spun from the economic viewpoint is to construct a balanced ecology where different cities within the Pearl River Delta are shouldering their individual duties, e.g. Hong Kong as the financial platform, Shenzhen as the

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<sup>3</sup> *Nylonkong*, a contraction of New York-London-Hong Kong, first appeared in the magazine *Time* in 2008, the article suggests that the cities share similarities, especially in being globalized financial and cultural centres, and are the most remarkable cities in the 21st century. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nylonkong>

<sup>4</sup> *Bay Areas*, a comparable statistic data of the three Bay Areas at 2018, *Great Bay Area*--the total population is over 71 million, the GDP is USD 1,642.5 billion and GDP per capita is USD 23,342; *San Francisco Bay Area* – the total population is over 9.7 million, the GDP is USD 1,031.9 billion and GDP per capita is USD 106,757; *Tokyo Bay Area* – the total population is over 38 million, the GDP is USD 1,759 billion and GDP per capita is USD 46,289.

silicon valley, Macau as the entertainment hub, etc. The implication is the associated connections including social and cultural interflows. As a result, these re-connections, particularly for Hong Kong and Macau, are restructuring their past identities from outer towns, colonial cities, commercial hubs, etc., towards the common aspiration with the PRD cities for a new identity.

## DIVERGENCE & LINKAGE

Although there are political divergences among the cities, the cultural linkage is still valid in making things happen in the Pearl River Delta. With a new definition of the Great Bay Area to drive for further economic growth, the cultural underlay of the Pearl River Delta enables an assimilation of differences among the member cities, but at the same time may also react to revert any superimposed alignments. For example, the recently launched Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge<sup>5</sup> is built with an intention to bridge between the western and eastern coasts of the PRD. The debate between the “single Y” design as built and the “double-Y” proposal to link Shenzhen is a manifestation of the political struggle for economic leadership over the territory. Although Shenzhen being the fastest up-moving city attracting talents from all over China tends to equate its significance with Hong Kong, it is suppressed due to its lack of local cultural affiliation. As an aftermath, Shenzhen is finally looking for an alternative bridge connection between the city and the adjacent west-coast city of Zhongshan.

In this regard, the lost *genius loci* latent behind the complex political and historical overlays, now being unveiled through two layers of deliberation from the Beijing Government and regional stakeholders, becomes an imminent issue among the cities. Hence, questions are being raised. “Who is the leader of the Great Bay Area?”; “What should be the roles of the two Special Economic Zones?”; “Should

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<sup>5</sup> “Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge” [HZMB], opened on 6 February 2018, it is a 55-kilometre bridge-tunnel system consisting of a series of three cable-stayed bridges, an undersea tunnel, and four artificial islands. It is both the longest sea crossing and the longest open-sea fixed link on earth. The HZMB spans the Lingding and Jiuzhou channels, connecting Hong Kong, Macau, and Zhuhai—three major cities on the Pearl River Delta.

Hong Kong and Macau be treated differently from other cluster cities?"; "What should the old cultural capital of Guangzhou and the new design capital of Shenzhen be positioned?"

When different cities in the region are looking for a political leadership, there are unresolved conflicts to set up the rules of the game. For the local culture developed upon the basis of traditional Cantonese has undergone a hybridization with the imported Western cultures, the new implantation of political overlay from Beijing seeking a square and stable dominance over the local wits has encountered resistance in situating itself onto the territories with double complexities across history and culture. Although the cross-breed cultures in Hong Kong and Macau have undergone labor pains for over a century, the hybrids are maturing in terms of cultural preferences and value systems to maintain their own uniqueness and reject any imposing externalities.

As the lure for an ever-growing economy over the tolerance of political difference is creating tensions between the Central Government and local players, whenever there are excessive influences from Beijing over the local politics, people of Hong Kong and Macau will react responsively according to their characterized hybrid cultures. The uncompromising virtues of civil spirit, backed by the *Common Law* legal system inherited from the British colonial governance, are granting Hong Kong people the courage to declare an "alternative country" under the shield of *Special Administrative Region*. The exercising of this special status, however, has always brought along confusions and misinterpretations, particularly when there are incidental conflicts between the communist dogma and the post-colonial mindsets. Seemingly the current regional operation is a skewed relationship for economic benefits over political alignments, thus from time to time, there emerges ideological crisis whenever the sensitive issue of identity affiliation is being questioned.

So, coming back to our earlier question, "what makes the minds of people from different cities of this cluster "think together"?. The hurdle of thinking together may depend on the level of trust on one another. With a common cultural background upon certain divergences of sovereignty over the last century, a dominant political will with a unified ideology may be antagonistic rather than bonding to trust building. The cultural coherence is the key that may unlock

their conditioned differences due to the divergences from historical courses. For the unquestioned acceptance of centralized governance in Mainland would not appeal to people of Hong Kong where the freedom to express themselves is taken for granted. What, then, should the way be to collaborate among a divergence of cultural preferences that are similar yet different?

## **COMPETITION & COLLABORATION**

The consideration of individual cities for their own benefits is depending largely on their economic indicators. By comparing scenarios at the two ends of the spectrum, one being competitors to fight for resources and economic growth, the other being collaborators to look for synergetic development, it is strategically obvious from the perspective of the Central Government to create a concerted platform for the latter scenario. However, from individual cities, there should have a process of negotiations and compromises to forfeit some fringe advantages and focus on their own strengths. If we put economic synergy as the only cohesion in the cities cluster, it may over-simplify the situation to explain why these cities are “thinking together”. In a sense, the incentive to save redundant material and personnel resources is one reason to gear them together, but more is why they are willing to form the cluster as one of collaboration instead of competition.

As a wishful agenda to even out the competitive edges of individual cities for a mutual benefit through integration is probably inclined more towards those of under-advantaged but less for the leading ones. The resistance to share the leading edges with others is coupled with a redefinition of regional leadership which is not assigned but recognized through one’s performance among a multitude of attributes. For the Great Bay Area is an artificial political construct to brush up the already synergized cooperation among the PRD cities through an organic economic growth in the last few decades, the reframing is another overlay to secure national support that may otherwise be regulating the capitalistic overgrown of economy based on free-market competition. In seconding who should take up the leadership in the region, the debate is still resting on the GDP account

that, however, contributes very little towards a cultural alchemy. For the cultural conflicts between Hong Kong and Macau are relatively marginal as they share similar history of colonial cities though ruled by two separate European cultures. On the contrary, that between them and the Mainland cities, however, are departing further due to the conscious erasure of local Cantonese culture by the Chinese government. The discouragement of using the local dialect of Cantonese in mainstream media or even in daily lives of cities across the border, like Guangzhou, not to mention the new immigrant city of Shenzhen, is leading to a dilution of cultural affiliation to the place. Thus, the displacement of the Pearl River Delta as a cultural domain by the economic entity of the Great Bay Area concept is intentional but also harmful to the organically germinated contemporary culture that tends to blend in the global perspective with local understandings. As a result, the readiness to accept Western lifestyle into the contemporary Cantonese speaking societies of Hong Kong and Macau is forming a self-conscious protection to reject the generic pan-China ideology. As these twin-cities affiliate more towards global value systems of freedom and democracy, Western visitors could easily seek another “familiar” cultural environment to intermingle with the local Cantonese speakers. In this sense, the interpretation of collaboration may deviate from the Beijing’s initial intention of regional coordination, but rather it should be an evolving integration of global values with local mindsets.

## **TRADITION & HYBRIDITY**

The phenomenon of cultural mutation to integrate global values with local mindsets is based on the foundation of hybrid cultural genes sown in the colonial period of Hong Kong and Macau, but now at an elevated magnitude to associate with other hybrid cultures that also experienced processes of hybridization, like American, Japanese, or Taiwanese, etc. On the contrary, the inclination to assimilate with these cultures for their embracement of global values is stronger than their willingness to be engulfed by the contemporary Chinese culture. The similarities are originated from their shared “maritime”

trading histories between the Western and Eastern cultures in which frequent economic activities have brought along cultural exchanges and then breeding cross-cultural personalities. The common aspiration for newness based on pragmatism with local cultural twists is offering a propelling momentum in their cultures respectively. With an unconscious avoidance of dominant traditions, these cultures are offering an opportunity for creativity to blend in their local contexts, e.g. like the contemporary culture of “compact modernity” evolved in Hong Kong.

Equally, in associating with these foreign cultures but retarding the imposed Mainland Chinese dominance, the twin-cities, particularly Hong Kong, are upholding a peculiar attitude to create an authenticity unknown in the past. First, the denial of injected values from political sovereignty is apparent that Hong Kong people try to draw a differentiation from new Chinese immigrants in their social behavior and cultural preferences. Second, the openness towards current global thinking is taken as enrichment to their ongoing formation of an emerging authenticity. The self-consciousness of creating its own identity is originated from two considerations, one being the non-conforming characters of the Hong Kong people who treasure “free will” over any ideological belief, and the other being the growing confidence of the city gained in economic achievements.

## IMAGE & POSITION

The self-esteem together with the unwillingness to be “over-ruled” by any political dominance is equipping the cities of Hong Kong and Macau to take their own courses on top of that were granted with the alternative status of *Special Administrative Regions* at the time of sovereignty handovers.

The emergence of self-consciousness is setting new agenda for the region to think whether the people there should distinct themselves culturally. The development of this thinking has been embedded in the cultural genes to look for newness from the beginning of the Western influences through maritime trading in Macau for over four centuries and Hong Kong over the last two centuries. The spirit of

“freedom” departing from the traditions is coming along with a denial of authoritarianism but building of an environment where “free-space” enables people to look forward. Beyond the political framing of the *Great Bay Area*, people of Hong Kong and Macau are gradually influencing those of the PRD, now looking towards a renewed identity not simply defined by the original Cantonese culture but fueled by their openness to absorb global influences. Together with the manufacturing capacity upon the Open-door Policy, the PRD region has accustomed to a mode of production for whatever they are ordered to supply, the same mindset now applicable in the “production of culture”.

Through external inputs of cultural ingredients, the consciousness of “making” things to happen allows a diversity of cultures to take roots in the region. When these cultural components are recomposed and being manufactured into “products”, the idea of “cultural manufacturing” may come into the picture that by integrating imported cultural elements into a whole becomes a new phenomenon. In this regard, the recent completion of Taipa Casino City in Macau is a manifestation of how imported cultures, say second-handed interpretations from Las Vegas, being reinterpreted and deliberately fabricated with a local twist. Although there is a subtle understanding of the difference between fabricated and authentic cultures, people of the PRD accept readily the imported cultures as an enriched consumption for their extended cultural appetites. This cultural attitude is comparable to that of Japan, but in the PRD, it deviates from the Japanese attitude that traditions are not taken in any stereotypical format but rather as an interpreted practice of life where pragmatism precedes.

With this pragmatic openness to absorb and digest imported cultures, the region does not desire for any “orthodoxic” traditions but an allowance to perceive culture as an evolving way of life for their digested modernity. So, instead of looking for a unified perspective for the Great Bay Area to perform coherently, alternatively it may be seeking for a coordinated diversity of relevant cultures with differences. This concerted diversity model is working on a cultural platform with shared values that marginalize the differences. Originally, the local Cantonese culture of the PRD was serving as the common platform. However, with the later departure from the Motherland for a hybridization with Western cultures now they are receiving the second

wave of hybridization with imported contemporary cultures in the twin-cities of Hong Kong and Macau. The shared values of freedom and democracy pull them from a hypothetical integration with other cities for the formation of the Great Bay Area.

This evolving process is driving the region towards an open unknown future. Along this spirit, thus, the “creation of opportunities” is the catalyst to excite and unite people in the PRD. Meanwhile, searching for its contemporary role in the global platform through its interpretative understanding of the region’s character is probably the key to unlock the unpromising ideological dilemma of “control” and “freedom” in integrating the “9+2” city clusters as a workable whole. The question, then, is whether the PRD region is prepared to produce its own cultural identity beyond its economic achievement or simply subdues itself within the political framing of the *Great Bay Area*.

## UNITY & DIVERSITY

The questioning of being different is always a taboo in traditional Chinese culture that has a tendency for unity and “oneness” for over twenty centuries of political unification history. In the mind of Beijing Government, bearing Hong Kong and Macau as “reconciled” territories back into the Motherland is, thus, a diplomatic tolerance rather than a genuine allowance for differences. So, from the twin-cities’ perspective of Hong Kong and Macau, the Great Bay Area proposition may be perceived as a conspiracy to erase their respective differences towards a homogenous regime. Without any hardline to draw the barrier between capitalistic and socialistic territories, the “one country, two systems” axiom is meant to allow a dynamic evolution from both ends. In fact, for the last two decades the twin-cities of Hong Kong and Macau have departed further and undergone slightly diversified paths towards the opposite ends of the spectrum.

To the one end, the path taken by Macau is towards an emphasis on rapid economic growth over political autonomy through the gradual assimilation of Mainland governance whereby the remaining self-containing Macanese community is treated as a specimen of “preserved” culture. While leaving the historic urban center as a UNESCO heritage



precinct,<sup>6</sup> the extensive Taipa Casino City developments are, in fact, overriding the original hybrid Macanese urban merits that married both Mediterranean and Oriental cultures. To the other end, people of Hong Kong have recognized the conflicting ideology shadowed over their current lifestyle where freedom of speech and its associated conditions are gradually narrowing down towards a control state of centralized ruling. As a reaction against the political underpinning, the recent incident of social unrests started from mid-2019 in Hong Kong has manifested the commitment of the local residents to protect their core values of freedom, jurisdiction and democracy. Although these values are inherited from the former colonial government, people of Hong Kong once again intermix them with their local context as the third wave of cultural hybridization towards a new aspiration for global citizenship. Despite the unparalleled political dominance over Hong Kong the underlying spirit of pragmatism in their cultural genes has granted them an urgency to break through the resentment against social injustices and pronounces the new identity onto international platforms. In the process of tackling the imbalance between social reforms and economic redistributions, the creativity to call for public attention and community participation has renewed their common identity where *people* and *place* are once again integrated as an inseparable whole.

Historically, the emergence of new frontiers to confront adversities has always been the condition to gear Hong Kong people to look beyond given confinements towards new possibilities. The inherited *Hong Kong Spirit* or commonly known as *Lion Rock Spirit*<sup>7</sup> is empowering the local

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<sup>6</sup> "UNESCO heritage precinct", the inscribed property presents a group of 22 principal buildings and public spaces that enable a clear understanding of the structure of the old trading port city. With its historic streets, residential, religious and public Portuguese and Chinese buildings, the Historic Centre of Macao provides a unique testimony to the meeting of aesthetic, cultural, religious, architectural and technological influences from East and West. It bears witness to the first and most enduring encounter between China and the West, based on the vibrancy of international trade. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1110/>

<sup>7</sup> *Lion Rock Spirit*, it was a term that emerged during the 1970s, referring to the "can-do" attitude of Hong Kong people, specifically the baby boomer generation in a period when the economy was growing. The term was coined after the RTHK television series *BelowThe Lion Rock*, which first aired in 1972 and ran until 2016. It featured stories about the city's industrious working people. The series took its name from Lion Rock in Kowloon Country Park, which has become symbolic of Hong Kong's growth. <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education->

people to proactively resolve new challenges through creativity. At this moment for drastic changes, the city of Hong Kong has followed the trajectory along its hybrid character to embrace the free spirit evolving from the translation of modern culture, then an assimilation with comparable cultures, to the creation of contemporary culture with global recognition.

What reflected in the urban transformations from the redevelopment of *Kai Tak Airport*<sup>8</sup>, *Energizing Kowloon East*<sup>9</sup>, to the self-gearred movement of *Occupy Lion Rock*<sup>10</sup>, demonstrates the dynamism in how Hong Kong people capitalize their manufacturing capacity into cultural mutations. For the Kai Tak developments, the area is reviving the arcaded streetscape inherited from the “light-industrial” urban ensembles in the 60s to foster neighborhood communications again but this time within a high-rise condition. The Energizing Kowloon East Project under an official agenda is trying to realize “smart city” concepts through revamping the obsolete industrial precincts with fin-tech industries and cultural workforces. It is to reveal the “can-do” spirit by transforming the district into an alternative *CBD* [Cultural Brewing District]. The driving engine of creativity has thus been taking root through a self-relying attitude since the ‘manufacturing period’ from the 60s. This reinterpretation through an introduction of technical innovation and mind-craftsmanship is exploring a localized position

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*community/article/2089601/lion-rock-spirit-still-casting-its-spell-hong*

<sup>8</sup> *Kai Tak Airport*, Kai Tak was always so much more than an airport. Hong Kong’s iconic international travel hub played a pivotal role in metropolitan life for 73 years, which came to an end with its closure 20 years ago. And rather than being marooned on the urban fringe like many busy aviation facilities, the airport was poised cheek by jowl with a residential neighbourhood – thousands of Kowloon City residents could not help but be aware of the precise moments the runway opened and closed. <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2153099/remembering-kai-tak-hong-kong-airport-closed-20>

<sup>9</sup> *Energizing Kowloon East*, the project takes this pilot area to explore the feasibility of developing a smart city. It has been proactively engaging stakeholders including government departments, public utility companies, public transport operators, IT sector, academic and research institutions to exchange ideas for seeking collaboration opportunities to push ahead with this policy initiative. [https://www.ekeo.gov.hk/en/smart\\_city/index.html](https://www.ekeo.gov.hk/en/smart_city/index.html)

<sup>10</sup> *Occupy Lion Rock*, more than 200 Hongkongers extended the human chain to Lion Rock and lit up the mountain ridge with their cell phones...They also sang *Below the Lion Rock*, widely regarded as the city’s unofficial anthem. The stunt may have stimulated more tears than the tear gas did. And others said that Lion Rock represents Hongkongers’ “deathless” spirit – they want to make their voices heard here. <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/08/29/hong-kongs-pro-democracy-human-chain-redefined-lion-rock-spirit/>

with cultural confidence. In the late 2019, this desire to exemplify the *Lion Rock Spirit* is further elevated by the younger generations as a collective action to form a mileage of “human chain” along the Lion Rock during the protesting period, thus mutated into a cultural icon. As an emerging model to spearhead the cultural direction through new means of manufacturing, smart technology and human cohesion, the influence is extending towards the PRD via softer channels of designs, instituted networks, lifestyle inductions and social innovations. So, without any negotiation or compromise on political positions, these soft impacts are creating the third wave towards the PRD population overriding the last two waves of “industrializing” in the 80s and “pop-culture washing” in the 90s respectively. For this integration being natural but acute, the reciprocal impacts between the cultural generators of Hong Kong and the receptive PRD cities are rapidly absorbed through means of frequent daily-travelers [commonly known as “water guests”] plus social media as cultural commuters. Once again, the grass-root exchanges of daily life between the reconciled twin-cities and the inland cities, this time through reciprocal flows, are reinforcing their mindscape as “one” but diversified.

## **CONTRADICTION & COMPLEXITY**

These diversified interpretations of a common aspiration for a contemporary lifestyle synchronizing the effectiveness of modernity with the hybridized spirit are mind-shaped by cultural innovators mostly based in Hong Kong. At the moment new comers from the Mainland are adorning their unfamiliarity of global values through actively engaging themselves in different walks of life. Adjustments are slowly taking place but contradictions are surfacing from time to time particularly when political issues are pinpointing them to take side. As a result, there seems to have no resolution to arrive at consent of any socio-economic model whenever political considerations are involved.

Hence, the established generations have taken the leeway of avoiding any political side-taking but only focus themselves on money-making which, to an extent, has bottle-necked at the juncture to transit the

society to the post-1997 generations. When the new generations' demand for an open society embracing universal values of freedom and justice is confronting the utilitarian mindset of the previous generations, the intergenerational contradictions are adding complexities to how the twin-cities position themselves for the coming century. Without a simple resolution, it has been taking a non-linear evolving process to reconceive the region from a pure economic entity towards a hybrid double complex with a bi-axial model of politico-economic and socio-cultural integration.

Along the politico-economic axis, given the asymmetrical developments in the past, if a pragmatic resolution exists, it should be subordinated to the socio-cultural order. With stronger ties through socio-cultural cohesion that has been germinated through a natural growth from the territories' genes of hybrid cultures, it is possible to override the presumed politico-economic alignments. To elevate and recognize the cultural merits cumulated over centuries for their being 'alternative' from the formal Chinese culture is the only way to unleash the potentials of the PRD region as a cultural regime supported by its highly coordinated manufacturing, technological and financial engines.

## DREAM & REALITY

To resolve these contradictions and complexities, "the architecture of the cities" should be the way of thinking. Should one revisit the idea from Aldo Rossi's<sup>11</sup> conception of cities, these cities along the Pearl River Delta should share the same founding *genius loci* embedded in the cultural memories of the place, in this case, the blue territories that used to connect people together. These blue territories of an open sea and river networks have been building up a cultural character of dynamic personality of the people. Through the evolution from fishing villages, then entrepôts, light industrial communities, to global financial and entertainment hubs, the final destiny of the twin-cities of Hong Kong and Macau is yet to be explored via various cultural means.

<sup>11</sup> 'Aldo Rossi', in the book *The Architecture of the City* [MIT Press, 1982], he held that the city remembers its past [our 'collective memory'] and through this as the reference to rediscover the traditional European city. Same idea may be applicable in the rediscovery of the PRD cities.

The common threads are all along their openness towards the world, pragmatic attitude in realizing individual aspirations, and a receptive capacity of integration.

In order to revive this spirit of the place, new attempts from individual cities are made to redefine the local tradition, like Cantonese opera, through architecture and urban design as witnessed in the latest Xiqu Centre at West Kowloon District in Hong Kong and Wing Hing Fong at Lychee Bay in Guangzhou. Both projects are interpretations to reinstate the intangible cultural heritage of Cantonese opera but through two approaches. Xiqu Centre is meant to elevate the tradition towards an international level by a contemporary expression of an “unveiling curtain” to suggest a revival through live performance of the art form towards the world while that at Wing Hing Fong being intertwined within the traditional urban fabric is suggesting the integrated experience of art with daily living.

Although there may be imposition of cultural footprints, like the imported Art Basel Hong Kong event and the transplanted Hong Kong Palace Museum from Beijing, these cultural scenes said to embellish the civil contents can hardly be rooted as natural outgrowth of the city's true spirit. On the other hand, the city is still maintaining a local flavor of creativity in urban communities where relevant traditions along the water bodies are still practicing and reinterpreted. The recent revival of the waterways of Lychee Bay Scenic Area of Guangzhou and Kai Tak River of Hong Kong are counterparts in the Pearl River Delta to re-examine how the human landscape may recall the cultural memories associated with the waterways in the post-industrial landscape. The approaches are similar but the interpretations on the cultural heritage may span between these cities' preferences. For the case in Lychee Bay, the urban intervention initiated by the local government reopens a paved channel to reconnect historical relics where the waterway suggests a revisit to the city's history. In the Kai Tak River that the author advocated for over a decade is an alternative approach where the concept of “future memory” is implemented. The recharged waterway is to bring about imaginations for the future generations upon their understanding of the past that partially remembered but partially forgotten. Together with the socio-ecological integration, the revived waterway will bring about further lively inputs from senior to junior citizens.

In this sense, the possible construct of dreams upon realities is empowering a new global citizenship that helps for a further evolution of the cultural heritage in place. This provision of an open environment for memories and imaginations is, in fact, a tangential reality of the presence that keeps the evolutionary momentum of the culture rolling. As the current challenge of the Great Bay Area perspective is suggesting new insights into the PRD's cultural identity, this provides a wider spectrum to see cultural citizenship beyond the local territory towards a new horizon. Given the solid foundation of economic support and synchronized minds, maybe it is time to reshape this region from the past role of digesting imported cultures to a new role of exporting contemporary cultural ideas through the Water Silk Road.

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## Part One

### Chapter 5

#### HERITAGE-LED DEVELOPMENT — A SYSTEMIC APPROACH

Leonor Medeiros

##### Abstract

The Sustainable Development Goals show a new emphasis on cultural heritage and present an opportunity to review our framing of what development is and how it can be achieved. For the first time, heritage is specifically included in these efforts, on Goal 11's target, even if for several decades culture has been pointed out as a key element of sustainable development, namely seen as a 4<sup>th</sup> pillar. But the discussions on how heritage sites and entities can contribute to improve their communities still need to increase their impact on the mechanisms of planning and decision-making.

The concept of heritage-led development, of using cultural and natural legacies to promote growth and improvement, is particularly relevant in postindustrial areas. These areas, where industrial activity has ended or diminished significantly, are today one of the most pressing and problematic areas for development, especially if they are not located in or near urban centres. They present an urgent need to find ways to achieve the sustainable development of communities who feel "abandoned", left with the inherited social, economic and environmental consequences of their industrial past.

To address how heritage and its professionals could lead transition in these communities, the author proposes the framework of systems science, seeing the area as an organic organism, where the heritage elements can reinforce the parts of the system connected to social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainable development, allowing for an integrated and interdisciplinary vision of the messes we find in these places.

**Keywords:** *Sustainable Development; Industrial Heritage; Systems Science; Deindustrialization; Cultural Landscapes.*

## INTRODUCTION

In 2015, the United Nations established the Sustainable Development Goals as a new attempt at reaching worldwide sustainable development, based on the successes and the shortcomings of the Millennium Development Goals. For the first time, heritage is specifically included in these efforts, on Goal 11's target: "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". Although the idea of culture was already included in the discussions on development for several decades, this new emphasis on cultural heritage is already pointed out as one of the greatest opportunities in our framing of what development is and how it can be achieved sustainably. The cultural sector has been for long arguing for culture as a 4<sup>th</sup> pillar of sustainable development, or as a binding agent for the other pillars, but the discussions on how heritage sites and entities can contribute to improve their communities haven't steadily reached the core mechanisms of planning and decision-making, threatening to turn into a missed opportunity and demanding our focus.

The concept of heritage-led development, of using cultural and natural legacies to promote the growth and improvement of a place, is particularly relevant in postindustrial areas. These towns and communities affected by deindustrialization, defined as places where the main economic activity, industrial in nature, has ended or diminished significantly, are today one of the most problematic areas for development, especially if they are not located in or near urban centres. The year of 2015 was also the date of the closing of the last deep coal mine in the UK, the Kellingley Colliery, symptomatic of the end of an era for the western world. And as these areas, industrial in character, transition from active to inactive, at a global scale and accelerated pace, they present an urgent need to find ways to achieve the sustainable development of communities who feel "abandoned", left with the inherited social, economic and environmental consequences of industrial production. When questioning how heritage — and especially this dark heritage, with mixed feelings towards its memory — could lead transition in these communities, and how the heritage experts could review their role, beyond researching and protecting, into actively promoting change,

we can find opportunities in the framework of systems science. By seeing the area as an organic organism, where the heritage elements can reinforce the parts of the system connected to social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainable development, it allows for an integrated and interdisciplinary vision of the messes we find in many of these places. This ultimately leads to a systemic approach to the areas in need of development, using heritage to ignite aspects of social, economic and environmental development, and promoting the active and transformative role of the archaeologist and heritage manager in addressing change.

### **HERITAGE AND DEVELOPMENT: FROM OPPOSITES TO PARTNERS**

Development is a concept loaded with multiple meanings; some are idealistic and positive — like the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015) with the notion of worldwide accessible education/ work/ health, and some are negative — like a community seeing a parking lot show up where their home/playground/school once stood.

Even if there's not one closed definition of development, since it may mean different things depending on the needs, goals and culture of the group using the concept (Schech and Haggis, 2000), for the purpose of this study we will consider that development, especially at post-industrial areas, means the removal from periphery and forgetfulness, from economic, social, and environmental problems, and the approximation to the best potential of a site and its people, (re)building a community and an identity. Ultimately, a place where people, environment, economy and culture thrive. And to achieve this kind of development at these areas, the process has much to gain if it is anchored in its heritage, seeing it beyond a tourism opportunity or a sanitized longing for a remote past, but as a tool or motor for thinking development "glocally".

Today there is already a wide consensus that heritage brings "a significant contribution to sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2005: 2), being both a driver and an enabler of it (UNESCO, 2016; ICOMOS, 2015; or IFACCA *et al.*, 2013), and being "an essential component of a successful society" (ICOMOS-UK, 2015). But, for long a time

during the 20th century (and still lingering in many projects today), the vision of development, and even of sustainable development, did not include culture or heritage, and was centred on economic issues, with sustainability meaning mostly just diminishing the negative impacts of development on the environment. Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was clear to some that development was not unlimited, that it could stop at any moment if badly managed, and that it was being done at the expense of damaging human and natural resources (WCED, 1987). Furthermore, its global scale could no longer be ignored, requiring a concerted effort of several nations to address the changes in the economy and the pollution at planet scale.

The idea of sustainable development derived more from the observance of the damage done to the natural environment than to any notion of loss of cultural heritage. Considering the concerns of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, industrialization was actually a threat to sustainable development and, if unchanged, would lead to surpassing “the limits to growth” (Reid, 1995). The phrase itself, “sustainable development” was introduced in 1980 by IUCN, of the UN Environmental Program, in the publication *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development*, but it will be the better known *Brundtland Report* (WCED, 1987) that will spread the challenge of making development sustainable (Sachs, 2015). This report from the World Commission on Environment and Development states that sustainable development “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). And even if the definition clearly included the idea of creating limits to development in order to achieve it, it was also generic enough to be open to interpretations. According to economist J. D. Sachs, “As an intellectual pursuit, sustainable development tries to make sense of the interactions of three complex systems: the world economy, the global society, and the Earth’s physical environment” (Sachs, 2015: 3), and is also a normative outlook of the world, defining goals. But it has mostly been a discussion of capital and environment, of dwindling natural resources and threatened nature. Ecosystems’ resilience, population levels, policies, or technology, are topics debated in this area as parts of the “wicked problem”, or mess, of sustainable development. The relations

between elements in this problem, be it availability of resources or level of development, are so varied, that there is no single solution or answer, with the results varying in every situation and not allowing for a single direction to achieve the sustainable development goal.

The recognition of the lack of a single answer or replicable solution has actually been a great achievement in the discussion of SD, that has risen in the early 1990s, when it became “increasingly fashionable to criticize “Western” development imperatives” with several anti or post development positions (Desai & Potter, 2013: 1). The question behind it was the questioning of “who defines development?”, against what was being seen as a replication of a western, white, or northern model of development that could actually not be meaningful to other cultures. There are indeed culturally specific definitions of what is sustainable, what is to be sustained (nature, way of life, other aspects?), or how needs are defined in different cultures, so who decides and on what basis are the decisions made? (Redclift, 2013).

Today, with the recently defined 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, culture is finally taking a more prominent role in the policies and actions targeted to promote SD. The SDGs aim to go to “the root causes of poverty”, covering the three dimensions of sustainable development: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental protection. This document brings a new and key element to SD, heritage, as:

it is the first time that the international development agenda refers to culture within the framework of Sustainable Development Goals related to education, sustainable cities, food security, the environment, economic growth, sustainable consumption and production patterns, peaceful and inclusive societies.<sup>1</sup>

Heritage has entered specifically the SDGs in its 11<sup>th</sup> Goal — *Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*, with one target (11.4): *Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard*

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<sup>1</sup> “Sustainable Development Goals for Culture on the 2030 Agenda”, in <http://en.unesco.org/sdgs/clt>, accessed 30.06.2017.

*the world's cultural and natural heritage*. It is to be evaluated through one indicator (11.4.1) focused on the economic investment in heritage sites. Even if it is a light presence in the middle of the 169 targets, it is also accompanied by several references throughout the document to the importance of culture in achieving sustainable development. Even though this is a small inclusion that does not respond to the calls that have been made for the past decade nor affirms culture as the 4th pillar of sustainable development, it is a mark of progress, and something that the heritage community can continue to build upon. Society, economy and environment are all connected in a web of cause and effect, and very hard to isolate. Culture also interacts with these pillars in the same way, but its recognition as a pillar can anchor new practices and approaches, from science to the arts, that can indeed make the concept of sustainable development work. The pillars of sustainable development, early defined in the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987), are a well-known depiction of what sustainable development is based on, the three big areas where action needs to be undertaken to achieve SD: economy, society and environment. Before this report, development was seen as being achieved through economic aspects, but it has grown to be seen as the result of the combined strength of social, economic and environmental aspects. These three pillars are hardly homogeneous and simple like an architectonic column, but they represent a crucial reality in SD: if one of the pillars is weak then the whole system is unstable, so they need to work jointly and balanced to support sustainable development.

Since culture was first proposed as a pillar to support sustainable development, many steps were taken to help identify and transmit the importance of including culture and heritage in policies and practices worldwide. It started as an area that was necessary to include when discussing the other 3 pillars and it is starting to gain a structure of its own. Culture is not the only 4<sup>th</sup> pillar that has been proposed for SD, from institutions (Spangenberg, 2002) to good governance (Sachs, 2015), but it has been fully supported by heritage organizations throughout the world, from ICOMOS to UNESCO, or even the members of the UCLG's Agenda 21 for Culture. As the SDGs of 2015 have shown, the work that has been done still needs to be reinforced to fully integrate heritage in the list of goals. It must therefore be helped by mechanisms

in practice that will help them fully integrate the development goals in 2030.

The idea of culture as a pillar of the SD model was also promoted by UNESCO and the United Nations Development Program [UNDP], stating in their Creative Economy Report of 2013 that “culture should be not just the fourth pillar but the central pillar” around which the other three stand (UNESCO & UNDP, 2013: 51), an idea that was being proposed since the beginning of the millennium and was fermenting years before that. An early example can be seen in the launching of the World Decade of Cultural Development (1988-1997), where UNESCO’s Director-General, Federico Mayor, stated that:

[...] the priorities, motivations and objectives of development must be found in culture. [...] From now on culture should be regarded as a direct source of inspiration for development, and in return, development should assign to culture a central role as a social regulator. (Mayor, 1988).

This perspective goes beyond the generalized tendency to see culture as a mere aid to economic development. The environmental and economic centred perspective of the Brundtland Report clearly stated that “We have the power to reconcile human affairs with natural laws and to thrive in the process. In this our cultural and spiritual heritages can reinforce our economic interests and survival imperatives” (WCED, 1987), but the current role of culture is seen today as more active and central than that, with a call “not to view it as an “add-on”” but as a participating, central aspect of development (UNESCO, 2013b: 5). Culture is varied and the concept itself shows its complex implications: development is culturally seen as modernization, as ‘the right culture’; we can’t understand the world without passing it through our own cultural lenses and that influences the way we conceptualize ideas such as development or heritage (Schech & Haggis, 2000). The way we interact with heritage, “the production of heritage” that takes place in the everyday contacts with its various dimensions, is increasingly on the foreground of how we see sustainable development today. This brings new potential opportunities to the way we use the values of heritage in our daily life, be it for tourism or education, memory

or transformation, re-use or preservation. But in many aspects there seems to be a lack of connection between the uses of heritage and the needs of the local communities. For example, during fieldwork in the mining town of Mina de São Domingos, in Portugal, when interviewing the local inhabitants about how they felt about the museum, they commented on how a yearlong exhibition made them use the site only once or twice per year, but what they really missed was the movies that used to happen in the building when the mine was still active and in its original use as a theatre. For a remote community, opportunities for entertainment are valued, and for an aged community infrastructure to support the elderly was also asked for, and both were missing while the past was partially frozen in a museum and the landscape decayed and changed.

## **DEVELOPMENT AT POST-INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES**

Industry is easily associated with economic development, but is rarely associated with sustainability, environmental quality or social justice, which are all basics of sustainable development. Sustainability was for some time a matter of environmental sustainability, of preserving ecosystems, helped by a strong movement that showed how the planet was increasingly dirty, ugly, polluted. The contrast of the two ideas was often shown by using images of industrial sites, with factories and chimneys tossing dark smoke, and dead fish in nearby rivers. In the case of now post-industrial areas, the legacies of industry are in themselves proof of its unsustainability, of its failure to succeed, an image (or stigma) that passes on to the spirit of place, making these areas “places of failure” (Russo & Linkon, 2003: 202).

Post-industrial areas are places where industrial activity, once the motor of the community, has ended or diminished significantly, leaving communities with inherited social, economic, environmental, and cultural legacies, which often constitute a weight more than a wealth. As pillars, these only maintain a structure of decay, limitations and shortcomings. These areas went through a process of deindustrialization that meant the closing of the factories and their supporting economic activities, the unemployment and devaluation of



the worker, or the decay of the landscape, amidst an environment of depression, "solastalgia" and pollution. In these cases what is needed is not an adaptation to change, but to change in order to survive.

The remaining communities not only face those expanding social, economic and environmental consequences, but are also increasingly more detached from a cultural legacy that is decaying further with every passing season. In these areas there is a complex and interrelated reality, made of the "interpenetration of economic, social and cultural lives" (Strangleman & Rhodes, 2014: 417), where development is greatly weighed down by the heavy legacies of industry. But the cultural element, its unique history and landscape, and the way that legacy is looked at and used, have the potential to propel its advance and therefore be the unifying element that leads to sustainable development. Also, if we look at these aspects from a heritage management perspective, many of the weaknesses can actually be seen as opportunities if we change the focus, like for example considering the scientific research around environmental problems, namely the acidic waters of metallic mines, as happens in Rio Tinto, Spain, or the remote location of many of these sites which has helped preserve much of the infrastructure and sense of place.

Identifying these issues is not enough to make a difference in the communities affected by this new stage of industry but is the first step for understanding the complexities faced when dealing with these sites and their people. I argue that the negative aspects of current post-industrial communities are not legacies of the industry that characterized them once, but legacies of the deindustrialization process, usually characterized by poor management of the infrastructure, of the social and political relations, and of the idea of legacy itself, as the company leaves. Furthermore, the deindustrialization discourse has long seen industry only as an economic problem and fails to see industry as part of a wider network of social, environmental, political, historical, cultural or international events that constitute the landscape of post-industrial communities.

These images and perspectives cause difficulties in the attempt to showcase that industry, now in the heritage format, can lead to sustainability without being completely sanitized, commodified and cleaned of "unpleasantness". When needing to unite industrial

heritage to the sustainability movement, are the culturally specific prejudices against the “industrial” — especially since it is the opposite image of “green” — damaging our efforts to establish a connection? Is industry only useful for providing words of caution and examples of how development shouldn’t be, or it can be used to move forward without needing to erase and/or forget the past? Several projects show how industrial areas can become important areas of cultural and economic revitalization, even become references for environmental education and recuperation, while continuing to offer scientific education, connection with communities, and appeal to outside visitors and investors. But many more have been destroyed, sold for scrap, or changed beyond recognition, representing a loss of the cultural, educational, memory, aesthetic and many other values that were anchored in the physical heritage elements.

The systematization of the process of deindustrialization under the SD paradigm of the 3 pillars of SD, has benefits in terms of putting the specificities of deindustrialization under a common set of designations that are already in use and can easily be agreed on. The analysis of deindustrialization under these pillars showed that these have many points of contact and mutual influence, making a social problem also an economic problem, and vice-versa, across all pillars. It became obvious that if these are to be the pillars of sustainable development in post-industrial areas, then they are currently broken and eroded, in need of profound work to be able to sustain thriving communities. But the analysis also shows that the cultural pillar appears to be the one with more ambivalent elements, elements that can easily be focused on the positive or the negative, pointing to the proposition that, more than being a 4th pillar, it can indeed be used to support and unify the other pillars, taking a lead on the development process (Medeiros, 2018).

The tendency to connect heritage and sustainability through tourism practices and building re-use remains common in the industrial heritage arena. The development of industrial heritage has often been connected to museums and tourism, and in the 1990s with the ideas of re-use and re-purposing. Tourism has also been a much-promoted avenue to give a new life to closed industrial sites, and even if good projects abound, one must be careful of the heritage discourse that

makes the ones responsible for the reinterpretation and reuse be privileged newcomers that rebuild the place to their own criteria. But industrial heritage needs to integrate the debate on sustainable development with solutions more creative than building re-use, beautification, or selective preservation of memories, while industrial archaeologists need to embrace their role in heritage to promote sustainable development of these sites in active need of solutions. Even if the interest in industrial sites and landscapes has grown, mostly since the 1980s, they offer big challenges in preservation, the biggest of them the pollution issues. Storm, in her recent book addressing what she calls these “scars” or “wounds” on the landscape, sees industrial landscapes as the “anti-landscape”, since they are so far, visually, from the typical bucolic ideals of landscape (Storm, 2014). Rehabilitation of these areas, usually called “brownfields”, is a large-scale investment that often is not compatible with the preservation of its historical or industrial character.

There is also awareness that there is more in the context of post-industrial sites than just the buildings, and that approaches to development need to go beyond the income of visitors, to include the maintenance of old ways of life and the preservation of the place’s identity. Today, as much as people want new and updated infrastructure, they “also, equally, want connections, tangible and associative, with the past within their landscapes. Creating connections is the challenge of new development and the social and cultural aspect of sustainability” (Fairclough, 2009: 126).

To promote and achieve heritage-led development, we need to work at the landscape scale, considering their diversity and contexts, the immaterial and the tangible aspects, the visible and the invisible dimensions. The recognition of landscapes as both a key physical area for the upkeep and well-being of human populations and as an operatory concept for research and development has increasingly been recognized for the past decades. Understanding the landscape as both an active element (which influences and shapes human culture) and a passive element (also being shaped and altered by human action), which continuously reflects the interactions between the natural and cultural elements, has helped to understand the complexity of human adaptation to the environment, in more nuanced and rich ways.

Archaeologists and heritage managers aim to address “managed change” because we know the landscape is constantly moving, inhabited and used, perceptibly or not. With post-industrial landscapes, those industrial landscapes brought by the Industrial Revolution that are now in decay, the idea of change is more than something to be managed, it is something to be actively put in motion. And as was shown before, development is increasingly more open to views that come from local communities, creating diversity in the approaches to the social, economic and environmental problems. The proposal of heritage-led development is then to use the cultural pillar to make changes in the other 3 dimensions of development.

The aim is to redefine the position of heritage in the post-industrial society, stating that heritage is not the new local resource to be exploited, but a legacy to inform, inspire and support the other sectors of the society. Working on the cultural pillar of post-industrial areas can be transformative, through a set of direct and indirect relations, showing the potential of heritage-led development. This means focusing on the legacy as potential, not ignoring that it is also a problem, and unapologetically taking the lead in proposing solutions to address social, economic and environmental problems, recognizing them as interlinked.

As such, the application of the current developments in systems theory can provide a key to transform our approach to cultural landscapes, whether we are trying to understand past systems or current systems. It can be transformational also in addressing the request for management of change in these landscapes, and to promote change in areas that urgently need it, like post-industrial mining areas, because it is a tool that helps visualize and organize both the problems and the opportunities in these situations.

## **SYSTEMIC THINKING FOR A SYSTEMIC APPROACH**

Systems theory provides the theoretical and methodological foundations for understanding systems, regardless of the type of system. This broad capacity and reach has made it a staple tool for many research areas for more than half a century, from engineering to

biology, organizational and information management, or archaeology, and it is regaining prominence in research, mainly for its capacity to address complexity in many, if not all, areas of research. It derives from the premise that the world around us is organized in a multitude of systems, flexible in ways that allow us to influence the working of the entire system by acting on selected elements. As such, systems theory allows us to explore the connections between elements and how they can be managed in order to cause change, maintaining the perspective that a system (like a landscape) is more than the sum of its identified elements.

It emerged in the 1940s from the work of Austrian-born biologist Karl Ludwig von Bertalanffy, who, in his study of living organisms, defended that they should be studied as a whole (a system) and using an interdisciplinary approach uniting several disciplines. His research into systems theory (initiated in the 1920s) stemmed from the realization that something was missing in current science research, with increasing specialization that led to the creation of sub-disciplines, encapsulating each area and making communication among disciplines difficult to achieve (Bertalanffy, 1968). But he also identified the growing tendency, among several research areas, towards an "organismic conception", to "study not only parts and processes in isolation, but also to solve the decisive problems found in the organization and order unifying them, resulting from dynamic interaction of parts" (Bertalanffy, 1968: 31).

Thinking in systems (a systems approach), for Bertalanffy, was made necessary by technological evolution:

A steam engine, automobile, or radio receiver was within the competence of the engineer trained in the respective specialty. But when it comes to ballistic missiles or space vehicles, they have to be assembled from components originating in heterogeneous technologies, mechanical, electronic, chemical, etc.; relations of man and machine come into play; and innumerable financial, economic, social and political problems are thrown into the bargain. (Bertalanffy 1968, 4).

During the 1940s, as his research became more well-known, he

suggested that several areas of research were identifying the same needs and showing a tendency to look at the whole. What had been a contraction towards detail and specialization, in fields as diverse as biology, psychology or mathematics, was now moving towards overarching analysis and search for cooperation among scientists. In 1954, Bertalanffy got together with economist Kenneth Boulding, mathematician Anatol Rapoport, and physiologist Ralph Gerard, at the new Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, in Palo Alto, California, where they explored the possibilities of the convergent perspectives that each were identifying in their different fields of study. This led to the creation, in 1954, of the Society for General Systems Theory, currently the International Society for Systems Science [ISSS]. A General Systems Theory aimed to “support interdisciplinary communication and cooperation, facilitate scientific discoveries in disciplines that lack exact theories, promote the unity of knowledge and help to bridge the divide between the object-oriented and the subject-oriented disciplines” (Rousseau, 2015). As such it addresses the demands caused by increasing complexity, as in system with several problems, a mess, such as the one present when we look at the social, economic, environmental, and heritage challenges of a post-industrial area.

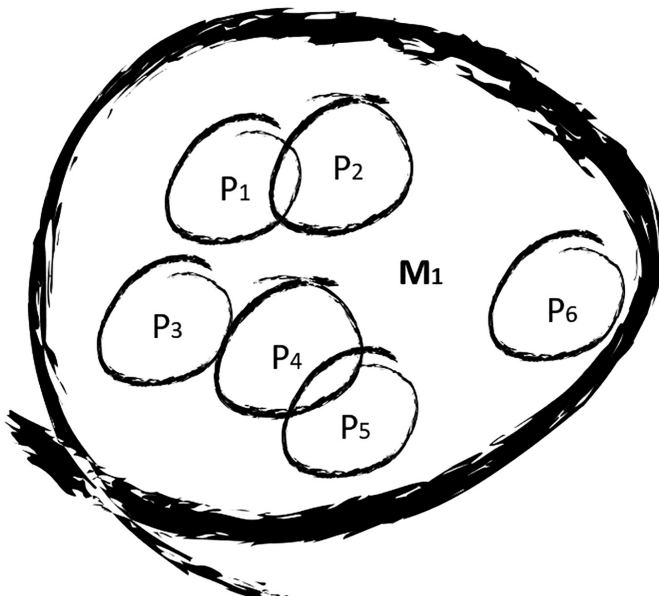


Figure 1: Depiction of a potential mess (M1) and its constituent problems (P1-6), after Hester and Adams (2014, 49).

A mess (M1) is defined as a “system of problems”. It consists of the identified Problems and their context (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P..., Pn) and “is in the interaction of these constituent problems and their associated context where the mess truly arises” (Hester & Adams, 2013: 313). It is not a mere addition of problems but the problems in their context, with their relations and indirect effects. To achieve this holistic understanding of a mess one needs to identify the problems that constitute it and the relations it establishes with other aspects of the situation, going beyond heritage or economy to see how they connect to the other pillars. Only through this systemic view we can truly address the aspects that lead to sustainable development. Often the “messes” of the post-industrial landscapes are addressed in a fragmented approach, looking at each project, building and problem in a short circle, which doesn’t allow us to understand their position or potential in the wider context that needs to be addressed. It is this complex web of relations, analysed by systems theory that provides the foundational underpinning for systemic thinking, aiming for a holistic and multidisciplinary approach to messes:

[...] no single discipline can solve truly complex problems. Problems of real interest, those vexing ones that keep you up at night, require a discipline-agnostic approach. They require us to get out of our comfort zone a little bit, to reach across the aisle, and embrace those fundamental concepts of other disciplines that may be advantageous to our effort. Simply, they require us to think systemically about our problem. (Hester & Adams, 2014: ix).

Engineers Hester and Adams have been key authors in promoting the use of systemic thinking in various areas, especially in engineering fields, aiming to increase understanding “about problems and messes of any size, complexity, or discipline” (Hester & Adams, 2014: 38). Solving a problem isn’t necessarily the ultimate goal of systemic thinking: “A singular view of “best” is not only not achievable but also not necessary. Instead, the goal of a systemic thinking endeavour is achieving increased understanding of a mess” (Hester & Adams, 2013: 314). The move towards that understanding can provide solutions for

problems, but it can also reach the understanding that we may not want to intervene and upset the existing equilibrium or the direction the system is taking.

Systemic thinking is an approach that favours flexibility and adapts to the uniqueness of each mess, being possible to adapt to each unique area, regardless of period, technology, geography or current state. It is what Hester and Adams have called a “lack of prescription”, allowing the manager to “adjust to real world nuances impossible to be captured by prescriptive approaches to understanding complex scenarios” (Hester & Adams, 2013: 318). This stems from the fact that there can be many perspectives over the same problem, making it that there is not a “correct” or “true” perspective regarding the solution of the problem, requiring a complementarity approach. From this approach, the different perspectives “reveal truths regarding the system that are neither entirely independent nor entirely compatible.” (Hester & Adams, 2014: 26).

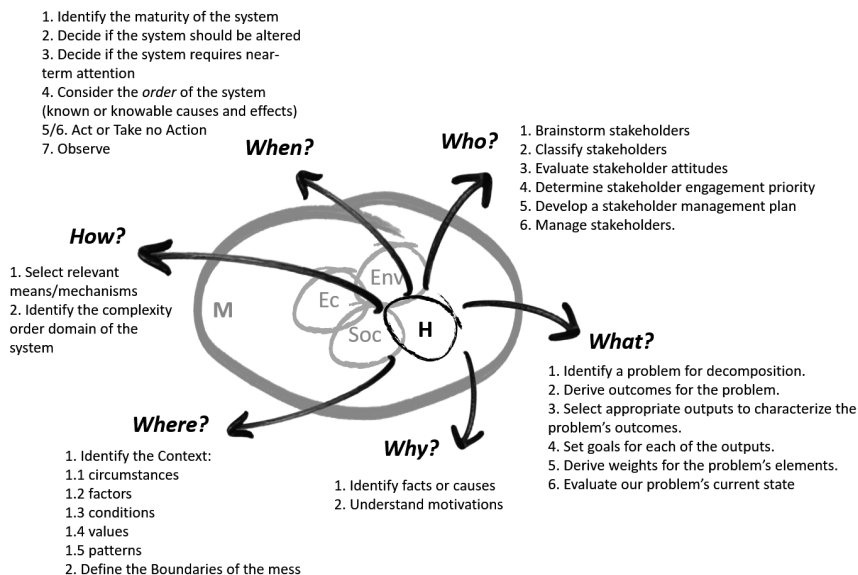


Figure 2: Applying Hester and Adams' Systemic Thinking Methodology to the heritage problem/ System of the Mess (M), not losing sight of its contextual setting amidst the economic, social and environmental problems.



Systems thinking, as proposed by engineers Hester and Adams (2014), recommends an analysis of the system under 7 main questions: Who?, What?, Why?, Where?, When?, How?, and Who?. Its strengths lie in being an organized method to address systems' problems, which can identify stakeholders, motivations, resources, or timings, in a collaborative and overarching way. By going deep in the understanding of these 7 aspects, and by promoting constant iteration between them to allow for updating and reviewing, the process allows for a clearer understanding of the situation and for a better assessment of the potential of each solution that can be applied to the problem. To achieve this holistic understanding of a mess one needs to identify the problems that constitute it. We have often been looking at the "messes" of the post-industrial landscapes in a fragmented approach, looking at each site, building and problem individually, failing to understand their position and potential in the wider context of the situations that need to be addressed in the community.

By seeing the post-industrial mining landscape as a mess, or a system composed of social, economic, environmental and heritage problems, the relation between these pillars of SD becomes further evident (Medeiros, 2018). It also allows us to focus on the heritage problem without losing sight of the others. This heritage problem — itself a system composed of many elements that create it, like infrastructure decay, lack of financing, bad decisions or competing heritage areas — can then be analysed using systemic thinking. This innovative tool proposes an 8-step analysis that, in its identification of stakeholders, integrated with goals and motivation, defined in context and time for action, leads the way into identifying how to address the problem. Furthermore, it sustainably promotes long-term change and ensures continued iteration and communication, continuously reviewing and analysing changes in the system.

To redefine the position of industrial heritage in the post-industrial society, we have to start where it really is needed, stating that heritage is not the new resource to be exploited, but a legacy to inform the other sectors of the society. Working on the cultural pillar of post-industrial areas can be transformative, through a set of direct and indirect relations that bring effects on other aspects of the life of the community, showing the reactive potential of heritage-led

development. This means focusing on the legacy as potential, not ignoring that it is also a problem, and unapologetically taking the lead in proposing solutions for social, economic and environmental problems.

The application of the current developments in systems theory can therefore be the key to transform our approach to cultural landscapes, whether we are trying to understand past time systems or current systems. It can be transformational also in addressing the request for management of change in these landscapes, and to promote change in areas that urgently need it, like post-industrial mining areas, because it is a tool that helps to visualize and organize both the problems and the opportunities in these situations. Looking at these areas as systems produces insights about the resources and elements of the landscape and their relations, allowing an improved understanding of the system and its key influencers.

While the use of indicators has often suggested that the world is like a machine with parts that need to be fixed, complexity theory looks at it as an organism that grows, evolves and adapts. And systems' thinking is helpful to understand the real complexity behind the apparent simplification of sustainable development on the three-pillar model, which hides a rich variety of variables to consider. Furthermore, the idea of sustainability today must address a variety of demands, making it so that for a landscape to be successfully managed we are required to know and value its past, respect its present uses and needs, and prepare for the future, while addressing all the several dimensions of the landscape and the expectations of the many stakeholders.

The current tendency is also to look at SD from a systemic perspective (Reid, 1995), and at post-industrial mining landscapes there is the possibility to explore the potential of systems theory for heritage-led development. It is not the same framework of the 70s; it has gained much insight from new areas of research that have applied it and from improved methods of data processing. The system we find will be unique in each landscape but also represent bigger tendencies, especially in our analysis of post-industrial mining landscapes. The main goal behind looking at the landscape as a system, in this case, and of using the current perspectives on systemic approach and prospective studies, is to provide the management tool that not only provides an

analysis of the landscape but also simultaneously addresses its needs towards the sustainable development of these areas.

Systems theory can be, again, “a new way of looking at old problems” hoping that “it will almost certainly lead to important new insights” (Doran, 1970: 294) today as well. In the late 1970s, Meinig suggested that one of the 10 possible “versions of the same scene” was landscape as system, pointing out how it derived from science and was in active development at the time. For the author this approach allowed to “understand things not apparent to the naked untrained eye” by “beginning with analysis, disintegrating things into their parts, and turning increasingly to synthesis, putting things together in such a way as to give us a new level of understanding interrelationships” (Meinig, 1979).

## **CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS**

Often development and heritage have been in opposite sides, seen as incompatible: the old had to give way to the new. Today we move towards enlarging the ways in which we see and operate heritage for the development of communities worldwide. Achieving sustainable development is a challenge loaded with social, economic, environmental and cultural legacies to which we often struggle to respond. The complexity of this legacy, which turns these areas into meta-problems, asks for a renewed landscape approach that can gather the relevant information, organize it, and act on it. To these ends, systems theory presents itself as a renewed approach to address these topics.

Systems are increasingly more complex, more interlinked, and they are not easy to read: multiple objectives and expectations, a potentially tremendous number of variables to account for, a web of interconnectedness that makes consequences of alterations hard to predict, the time it takes for the processes to take place, uncertainty, emotions, and so many other complicated characteristics. Any observer of this complexity will need to include as many perspectives as possible, to understand a problem accurately, using several contextual lenses to focus on the understanding of its elements. Seeing the elements as

organized in a system favors reading the web of influences between elements, systems and sub-systems, proving a greater understanding of the situation, or mess, and allowing the identification of key variables to which one can direct focus and efforts.

Systemic thinking, a method recently developed, informed by systems theory, has been presented here as a promising tool to address such complexity, to be applied in the analysis and study of heritage sites at the landscape scale, namely the increasing post-industrial landscapes. Also, a systemic approach to the landscape, by promoting the identification and inclusion of all stakeholders, allows professionals to be open about the research that is being made, constantly sharing the research and receiving contributions for its continuation, creating more channels of communication.

It does not offer a protocol or road-map, because the uniqueness of each landscape, community or definition of sustainable development cannot be encapsulated in a process that fits all. A rigid model is not recommended for these areas, as it is not something we can easily follow step-by-step without taking responsibility for adapting it to specific events and situations — which is why the iterative dimension of systemic thinking reinforces the relevance of the framework for the process of managing these changing landscapes. But it provides a set of elements to be addressed, questions to be answered and tools with which to analyse the situation at hand. It involves answering the questions of what we have, what we want to achieve and how we can achieve it, through a holistic view of the unique web of elements that constitute the mess to be analysed.

Just like deindustrialization was a process, just like landscapes are constantly changing, the recovery and renewal of these areas also has to be a process. The process is likely to be a long one, requiring commitment and a team. Just the step of identifying the heritage and creating an overview of the system, including all stakeholders and their wants, can take a long time before the question of *how* can be made and successfully answered. Also, the process would be a reflex of the cultural values and knowledge of the time and of the team affected to it. Nevertheless, heritage cannot be absent from the core of the discussion on development, and since heritage-led projects “provide a crucial public place and space for negotiating that core tension

between continuity and discontinuity" (Frisch, 1998: 248-9), if actively engaged with the other economic, social and environmental aspects of the system, heritage can be a truly sustainable motor towards renewal.

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## Part One

### Chapter 6

#### DANCE AS CULTURAL HERITAGE: SAMBA DE RODA THROUGH A CRITICAL LENS

Filip Petkovski & Luiza Beloti Abi Saab

##### Abstract

In this article, we argue that before they are recognized as intangible cultural heritage of humanity, dances such as the Samba de Roda undergo various processes of popularization, heritagization, and spectacularization that conceptually transform them from social dances into a category that we define as dance heritage. Before they were inscribed at UNESCO's lists, many dance examples were labeled as folk, traditional, and popular. The ambiguity of what a folk dance, traditional dance, and what heritage means to different people have become increasingly problematic as all of these terms are contested and changing. While folklore was mainly accessible through the means of documenting and writing, dance was transmitted as bodily knowledge and later reconstructed as a choreographic practice. Regardless of its alignment with different heritagization processes and its status as intangible cultural heritage, we do not consider Samba solely as "folk" or "traditional" dance as these terms objectify the dance practice as non-modern and limit the public perception of the dance as anything other than tradition. Rather, we argue that dance as intangible cultural heritage, as discussed in the following pages, is directly influenced by local and national cultural politics that dictate its process of safeguarding and its public appreciation. Dance heritage, as seen in the following pages, is made, and not found, while it is also commodified for consumption in order to establish continuity with the history and the past of the nation state in which it is located. Moreover, we are trying to expose some of the obstacles in the process of conceptualizing dance as heritage, while at the same time we regard the safeguarding process and the UNESCO inscription as further standardization.

**Keywords:** *Cultural Heritage; Samba de Roda; Heritagization; Heritage as Performance.*

## DISCUSSION

Along with the ratification of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, numerous dances have been progressively safeguarded and inscribed as elements at the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.<sup>1</sup> Through the process of inscribing, many dances gradually shifted their context from being perceived as local dance practices to cultural heritage of humanity. As representative examples, they intertwine the past, present, and the future with every performance and should be regarded as more than agents of certain authenticity that is rooted in a living memory. Moreover, they are a living phenomenon that is the result of various discursive, economic, and socio-political processes and cultural systems. They are the product of a desire to re-stimulate local culture as national in order to attach a more complex meaning that will be of value to the nation-state in which they exist. These dances are also continuously used for affirming national identity, promoting historical narratives, and tourism development, but mostly, they are canonized and commodified in order to prove useful in the process of creating national heritage. In this article, we elaborate on such processes by devoting our attention to a specific case study — the Samba de Roda from Brazil. We argue that in order to be considered as national, but also internationally recognized heritage, the dance has to undergo various processes of institutionalization, popularization, heritagization, and spectacularization that transform the dance from social practice into a new phenomenon that we conceptualize as dance heritage. Before we expand and contextualize our discussion, we would first like to define and theorize the concept of dance heritage.<sup>2</sup>

### WHAT IS DANCE HERITAGE?

By using the term dance heritage, we point out to a new category

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<sup>1</sup> See <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>

<sup>2</sup> This concept was first proposed by Filip Petkovski in his PhD dissertation *From Community to Humanity: Dance as Cultural Heritage* at UCLA in 2020.

that we use to refer to local dance practices that go through processes of heritagization and recontextualization and become perceived as cultural heritage. We argue that as the concept of heritage itself, dance heritage targets cultural practices, in this case dances, who need to re-connect with their past, in order to be cherished and safeguarded for the future. We draw from Laurajane Smith's theorization of heritage as performance who argues that:

Heritage can be usefully understood as a subjective political negotiation of identity, place and memory, that is a 'moment' or a process of re-constructing and negotiating cultural and social values and meanings. It is a process, or indeed a performance, in which we identify the values, memories and cultural and social meanings that help us make sense of the present, our identities and sense of physical and social place. Heritage is a process of negotiating historical and cultural meanings and values that occur around the decisions we make to preserve, or not, certain physical places or objects or intangible events and the way these are then managed, exhibited or performed. (Smith, 2015: 140-141).

Departing from Smith's discussion, the main purpose of dance heritage is to provide its community, or the nation state in which it exists an awareness of local, regional, national, but also cultural identities through the display of dance performances. In order to be considered as heritage, the dances are subject to what Regina Bendix refers to as heritagization (2009: 254) — a process that gives "second life" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998:149) to objects and cultural practices that run the risk of being forgotten. Like objects, dances are also the subject of such heritagization processes. This process is preceded by a process of institutionalization and popularization<sup>3</sup> that transforms the

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<sup>3</sup> Pierre Bourdieu points to similar processes of popularization as a form of recontextualization. He argues that "This ambiguity can only be understood if one bears in mind the history of the process which, as in the "elite schools" of nineteenth-century England, leads to the transmutation of popular games into elite sports, associated with an aristocratic ethic and world view ("fair play", "will to win", etc.), entailing a radical change in meaning and function entirely analogous to what happens to popular dances when they enter the complex forms of "serious" music; and the less well-known history of the process of popularization, akin to the diffusion of classical or

dances from local, into a category of popular or folk which makes them potential candidates for being appreciated as heritage, as it extends the value of everyday experience and positions the dances in between a sense of originality and familiarity. The process of heritagization, which is also a process of valorisation, is an attempt to appropriate local dances and render them politically and economically useful so they can serve the cultural, political, and economic demands of the nation states in which they exist.

The process of spectacularization is mostly evident through the process of creating a choreographic works that incorporates elements from social dances that are labelled “traditional” and modernizing and exotifying that movement in order to appear more grandiose, spectacular, and therefore, modern. The ideas of spectacularizing dance heritage follow the rhetoric of modernity that dictates that “everything is destined to be speeded up, dissolved, displaced, transformed, reshaped” (Hall, 1992: 15). Aware of the economy focused on theatrics and spectacle, many choreographers dismiss the idea that heritage should be unchanging and frozen in time.

While the concept of heritage may often allude to history and the past, we stress the notion no dance is considered as heritage at the time of its invention, since it has to undergo different processes of recontextualization in order to be ascribed with such value. The idea that a cultural practice, such as dance, is passed from one generation to another, often characterizes the dance as old and outdated. This means that any type of dance, not necessarily traditional, folk, social, popular, but any dance that has been and is ongoingly transmitted whether through participant observation, taught in studio setting, learned from observing, can be regarded as heritage. In order to be valued as UNESCO recognized Intangible Cultural Heritage [ICH], however, the dances undergo a process where they are taken out of their cultural and geographical surrounding and recontextualized in relation to other elements such as rituals, music, theatre, sites, and buildings that carry a significant historical and cultural importance to their nation states. Hence, dance as ICH is valued only by taking part

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“folk” music on LPs, which, in a second phase, transforms elite sport into mass sport, a spectacle as much as a practice” (1984: 209).

in a group of other cultural practices that are recognized as heritage. Valdimar Tr. Hafstein argues that UNESCO provides “an official seal of approval” (2009: 5) as the heritage at stake has to be assessed and recognized not only by local governments, but nationally, through government institutions, but also international organizations such as UNESCO. Just as museums valorise ethnographic artefacts and produce them for consumption, we argue that UNESCO’s Representative list presents another form of display where dances are listed together with other representative and highly valorised examples of humanity’s ICH.

### POPULARIZATION PHASE

In order to discuss how Samba fits the dance heritage model, we provide a brief discussion about its origin and its process of popularization. Even though a symbol of Brazilian national identity, there cannot be one single definition of what Samba is, given that there are different styles and interpretations of the dance in Brazil. The term *Samba* originates in the 19th century and it was first noticed in Bahia as a term used to describe the practices of enslaved Africans. The dance itself was born from a blend of religion and music and it became an important dimension of Brazilian culture that eventually manifested itself as a national representative dance of Brazil. As the dance style spread to the south of the country, the term was also used to refer to the dance and music practices of the populations of African descent. With the abolishment of slavery in 1888, Bahian blacks immigrated to Rio de Janeiro and adopted a new popular style of Samba that incorporated different features under urban influence. As the dance became popular over the years, being performed and celebrated as part of the African’s descendent culture (who were mostly slaves and set free in 1888), it started to change and adopted multiple characteristics with the present-day *Samba de Roda* from the *Recôncavo* region of Bahia. Some changes included faster rhythms and addition of popular instruments, such as *cavaquinho*, known today as Samba Carioca, which has its festivity’s apex during carnival manifestations (Samson & Sandroni, 2013: 5). As a consequence of the process of popularization, a full range of popular styles were created such as *samba de partido-*

*alto, samba de quadra, samba-batido, samba de terreiro, sambacação, samba carnavalesco, samba de breque, samba de exaltação, samba de gafieira, samba-choro, samba exaltação, sambalanço, samba-enredo, samba-rural,* and many others that incorporated different lyric structures, musical instruments, and rhythm patterns. As we are unable to include all of these regional styles into our discussion, we will focus on one specific style — the Samba de Roda, which was included in the III Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2005.

Over the years, Samba de Roda became a choreographic, poetic, and musical manifestation that became associated with the region of the Recôncavo Baiano in the state of Bahia. Samba de Roda became associated with a very peculiar cultural practice named *umbigada*, which is the choreographic gesture of the encounter of bellybuttons in an energetic way. While the group of dancers are positioned in a circle, they take turns, dancing in couples at the centre of the circle, using the *umbigada* as a symbol of salutation between two people to start or conclude an improvisation. In other words, any time that a couple enters the circle, they have to make an *umbigada* gesture before and after their dance. These performances can happen in a variety of different environments that include public squares, streets, and bars. However, Ralph Waddey argues that Samba de Roda is mostly an indoor event that takes place in the visiting rooms or halls in private houses, which makes the dance a domestic practice or a neighbourhood or community event (1981: 264).

Regardless of its general characteristics, Samba de Roda performances can be diverse and change its features depending on the region where the dancers live. Although Samba de Roda's groups are under a national identity official recognition, they have different roles in each respective society, meaning that each group has a unique relation to the dance. Most of these relations have to do with variations of the dance steps, the musical instruments and preferences on the rhythm. Accordingly, each group developed a different attachment to the dance: while some groups are more focused on the informal festivity aspect, others are more focused on the technique of playing and dancing. Such preferences resulted in multiple variations in the performance of the dance and the groups' understanding of what is

relevant in the dance's performance.

In the words of the performers of Samba de Roda, also known as *sambadores*, the name Samba de Roda could only be related to the way the participants organize themselves in the act of performing, which is always in a circle (Do Carmo, 2009: 57). Despite of some differences that differ depending on the region, Samba de Roda always begins in a circle, where men sit and play musical instruments, such as *pandeiro* and drums, while the women dance and clap their hands to support the rhythm. While the men sing and play, the women (although it is not unusual to see men dancing) move towards the centre of the circle and dance in front of the musicians, exalting their hips. After flirting by dancing in front of the musicians, the dancer leaves the centre of the circle and moves back to their initial position, greeting the new dancer that arrives dancing in the centre by gesturing with *umbigada*.

The structure of Samba de Roda has two main variations.<sup>4</sup> The first variation is called Samba Chula and it is considered as the slow version that does not include simultaneous singing and dancing. During such performances, the men first sing and play, and once they finish singing, the women, one by one, dance at the centre of the circle. The other variation is called Samba Corrido that features faster rhythms where the women dance in the middle of the circle for a few seconds, while the men are singing and playing the instruments. Such performances are popular during informal gatherings in the region of Recôncavo Baiano, but also during religious holidays. In both cases, the audience who claps in support of the rhythm is positioned out of the circle.

One of Samba's crucial characteristics that ties it with the status of heritage is its transmission process. During her research in 2014, Álea Santos de Almeida interviewed several *sambadores* who explained how they learned the dance and referred to their first contact with the dance that occurred in their childhood, by observing their parents and grandparents who were also *sambadores* (2014:72). According to them, there was no formal teaching process, but they learned

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<sup>4</sup> The structure described is explained in further detail in a documentary filmed by Instituto Brincando, named "Danças Brasileiras – Samba de Roda", where two interviewers conduct a fieldwork in the Recôncavo Baiano and interview *sambadores*, explaining and dancing Samba de Roda. The documentary can be accessed through the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbTwpqhWQiM>.

the dance through informal weekly and sometimes daily immersion with the dance. Considering the description gave by the interviewers, participant-observation appears as the main method of transmission. Due to the informal performance conditions of Samba de Roda, young people were much more familiar with the dance, in contrast to what we see today. The main reason for this paradox is the fact that the dance is no longer performed inside the houses and in conventional contexts, but only in stage setting and inside institutionalized spaces, such as Association of Sambadores from the State of Bahia [ASSEBA].<sup>5</sup> Samba de Roda became popular practice in the region of Recôncavo Baiano due to its history and symbolism that ties it with the origin of people with African descent and its ability to provide these people with cultural and racial identity. Given that Bahia is the Brazilian state with one of the largest population with people of African descent (almost 80%), the popularization of Samba quickly spread out in the region since it perceived as a social symbol of their history, culture, and resistance. The countryside of Bahia is known for its poor life conditions and modesty, which resulted in a connection between the peoples' lifestyle and preservation of traditions that were not affected by modernization, such as the case of Samba Carioca that is further described in this text.

## HERITAGIZATION PHASE

As it became a popular cultural practice in Brazil, but also around the world, Samba was included in the III Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2005, mostly because of its symbolic cultural syncretism in Brazil. However, as a consequence of some criteria of UNESCO's application, the ICH status could be granted to just one particular style of Samba, which in this case, it was Samba de Roda. It is important to highlight that since 2002 Brazil was under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's presidency, along with the Worker's Party's (Partido dos Trabalhadores). During this period, the world — under

<sup>5</sup> ASSEBA has more than seventy Samba de Roda associated groups from the region of Recôncavo Baiano, such as *Coisas de Berimbau*, *Filhos da Terra* and many other that can be checked on their website: <http://www.asseba.com.br/>



capitalism system — was in a favourable situation and the government had the chance to implement important public policies for the country, such as UNESCO's application to elevate the Brazilian cultural identity. Carlos Sandroni who was employed at the Brazilian Ministry of Culture during this period describes the process as an urgent move to ennoble the nation. Sandroni, who was also the coordinator responsible for Samba de Roda application in 2004, says that the initial plan was to nominate the Samba Brasileiro — a naive attempt of gathering all styles of Samba in one application that would show the power and importance of such manifestation for the nation (2010: 375). Given that UNESCO requires a dance rooted in geographically well-defined communes or ethnicities<sup>6</sup> and guided by the misconception that the dance is allegedly threatened by the increasing commodification and globalization of the practice, Samba de Roda became a better option to be adapted to the proposed model.

The reason for its inclusion was due to pragmatic criteria: the Brazilian Samba, that is the practice of Samba in its different styles around the country, was simply not a viable candidate, given that the Proclamation's goal is not simply to promote remarkable cultural forms, but to prioritize cultural practices in risk of extinction. According to Sandroni, UNESCO required that the proposed elements presented intrinsic qualities which require the cultural practice to be integral part of the cultural traditions of a community and be threatened with extinction (2013: 19). Given that few cultural practices in Brazil could fulfil such criteria, the decision to select Samba de Roda was based on two major motivations: the promotion of Brazilian national identity, rooted in the idea that the dance is a cultural manifestation that is spread out all over Brazilian territory, and the risk of extinction. As it happens, Samba de Roda was able to fulfil the criteria "F" of the

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<sup>6</sup> Some of the required criteria include "a) its outstanding value as a masterpiece of the human creative genius; b) its roots in a cultural tradition or the cultural history of the community concerned; c) its role as a means of affirming the cultural identity of the peoples and cultural communities concerned, its importance as a source of inspiration and intercultural exchanges and as a means of bringing peoples and communities closer together, and its contemporary cultural and social role in the community concerned; d) excellence in the application of the skill and technical qualities displayed; e) its value as a unique testimony of a living cultural tradition; f) the risk of its disappearing, due either to a lack of means for safeguarding and protecting it or of processes of rapid change, or to urbanization, or to acculturation" (Samson & Sandroni, 2013: 19).

Proclamation and it became a cultural representative of the Brazilian nation (Samson & Sandroni, 2013: 27).

The decision to include Samba in the UNESCO proclamation, however, was not based on a demand expressed by communities associated with Samba de Roda performance. Quite opposite, the proposal came from the Ministry of Culture, even though the inscription process was based on dialogue and significant amount of representators from the main groups of Samba de Roda from Recôncavo's region (Sandroni, 2005: 52). In other words, the attribution of the status of ICH to Samba de Roda came from "the outside-in", a proposal from the government to the community, considering that until 2004, none of the *sambadores* were familiar with the concept of intangible heritage (Sandroni, 2010: 384).

Being recognized as UNESCO masterpiece, but also as Brazilian representative cultural practice, the Ministry of Culture became invested in creating a "general" and "representative" Association of Sambadores from the State of Bahia [ASSEBA]. Given that the *sambadores* did not start this initiative on their own, the Brazilian Government initiated a process of formalization of the groups, whose objective was to transform Samba de Roda from a "diffuse object", meaning not formally structured, into an "object of patrimonial policy" (Sandroni, 2010: 389). Such transformation is visible in the current practice, since the idea of a formal and structured group did not exist before the safeguarding actions.

As part of the safeguarding process, one of the projects of ASSEBA was to record a CD and a DVD containing documentary components of Samba de Roda. This process entailed recording audio and video performances of thirteen groups of Samba de Roda from the Recôncavo region, but only one of the groups had to be elected to represent the other ones on a national tour. This peculiar situation was an imposition of the record company "Sonora Brasil", responsible for the process of recording. The company, as many other companies in the music industry, had only one concern: to guarantee that the groups would subscribe the schedule of presentations and perform all the concerts in the agenda. In other words, the groups had to fit their performance according to the company's criteria which included shortening their music as a three minutes soundtrack, while informal

Samba performances usually take fifteen minutes. Such propositions were imposed by UNESCO's safeguarding politics, which inevitably resulted in modified Samba de Roda performances as a result of its heritagization phase.

It is important to stress that dances such as the Samba de Roda, achieved their recognition, first as national, and later as world heritage because of the discourse created around their traditions. As Pierre Bourdieu points out that "transforming the basic dispositions of a life-style into a system of aesthetic principles" is reserved for members of the dominant class" (1984: 57), dance heritage follows a similar rhetoric. In order to be valued as heritage, the dances have to be ascribed with such, not only aesthetic, but political, and economic values, yet not by their practitioners, but by state and international institutions that are in power to ascribe such values. As these institutions, that also include UNESCO have had the opportunity to determine the meaning and significance of the dances, dancers themselves are unable to ascribe their own sets of values to the dance if they would like to be internationally recognized. Moreover, as Theodor Adorno argues, the culture industry fuses the old and familiar into a new quality, according to a plan that will make it available for mass consumption (1991: 98). Turning dance into heritage follows this rhetoric as well, as the dances, often characterized as old, popular, or traditional, must adopt a quality of heritage appreciation if they are to be internationally recognized.

As we point out, Samba de Roda underwent a phase of institutionalization that produced an "official" version of the dance, excluding relevant performances of Samba de Roda in informal contexts that are much closer to the origins of the cultural practice. The institutional politics, whether of UNESCO or The Ministry of Culture, delegate that without the safeguarding process, many aspects of Samba de Roda would vanish from the reality of those who practice it. Yet, according to UNESCO politics, in order for the dance to be considered as heritage, it has to change and adapt to the surrounding where it exists, which also entails changes in its form and structure. Such changes and transformations of the dances existed for a long period of time as they are also a part of the transmission process. As opposed to being traditional or authentic, dance heritage is embodied and living practice that cannot be unchanging since with every

performance, it is reinvented, recreated, reshaped, rechoreographed and most importantly, reheritagized. What this means is that in order to maintain its status as heritage, the dance needs to “live” with every performance that would only further acclaim its status as heritage.

## SPECTACULARIZATION PHASE

Despite going through phases of popularization and heritagization, Samba has undergone a phase of spectacularization that recontextualized the dance from a communal practice into a spectacle that is often associated with carnivals in Brazil. As Carvalho argues, the process of spectacularization is a typical process of mass society, in which events of ritual or artistic character are transformed into a spectacle for the consumption of the audience, disconnected of the community of origin (2012: 51). *The process of recontextualizing samba into a spectacle that is based on certain tradition is directly related to a process of commodification, given that sambadores are interested in “selling” their product to a larger audience that prefers spectacle than tradition (Carvalho, 2012: 51).* Related to their economic condition, the *sambadores* are usually compelled to adapt to the needs of the market in order to capitalize from it and be recognized. In order to do so, the dancers abandon their ties with tradition and spectacularize the dance by shortening their presentations through which they expropriate the original context of the dance and its cultural symbols, such as the traditional instruments, and choose new ones features (instruments, modern costumes, etc) that are valued by mass culture (Graeff, 2012: 15).

By researching performing groups of Samba de Roda in 1995, Rosa Zamith (1995: 60) noted the beginning of the rapprochement between the dance and the music industry, as Samba de Roda groups were starting to be involved in the industry and adapted their performances to fit a commercial structure. This phenomenon could be also named as professionalization, as it implies an increasingly recurring need to monetize Samba de Roda as a product, stimulated by the sense of “group promotion” attributed by the Safeguard Plan (Carmo, 2009: 111). As a consequence of its immersion in the industry, Samba de

Roda started moving away from its African influences the further it moves away from the rural area and gets closer to urbanization, losing its variety of instruments, dance and musical structure. Graeff sees this process as a “condition”, since it seems that the incentive of Samba de Roda exists only through cultural projects and its institutionalization (2012: 13).

Another famous example that points out to the processes of institutionalization and spectacularization is the *samba-carioca* that often takes place during Brazilian carnivals. In 2007, despite of its meta-genre complexity, the Brazilian National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute [IPHAN], registered Samba from Rio de Janeiro as an artistic heritage — a genre of samba that combines characteristics of different rhythmic styles of samba around Brazil. During this process, officials associated with the Institute had the task to understand the various factors beyond its musicality, including its religious connotation in different performances of the dance. In addition, they had to analyse the connection between the dance, its form, and the space in which it is performed, as well as its links to religion and the symbolism of the musical instruments that accompany the samba performance.

Samba performances that take place during carnivals, such as the one in Rio de Janeiro, are fundamental in understanding the process of spectacularization as they point out to not only to the wide spread of the dance, but also the need for constant maintenance that requires transforming Samba into a cultural event, in line with different trends and innovations in performance. Carnivals in Brazil often include different layers and features of Samba performances despite the “traditional” ones such as Samba de Roda. Along the year, Samba-Carioca is mainly performed informally, in bars and samba clubs in Rio de Janeiro. During Carnival, people from all over the country go on the streets wearing their carnival costumes and spend the day singing traditional Carnival songs, dancing along the streets with the crowd. The main step is *samba no pé*, a basic samba step based on the movements of the feet which that makes it possible to walk and dance along the street at the same time. Each neighbourhood has its carnival band and sound structure, leaving to the people the choice to follow their favourite group. In order to attract more people, some groups invest in the decoration of the neighbourhood, sound equipment and

innovation of the musical repertoire, updating their quality every year. During carnivals, *carnavalescos* (directors of carnival groups who are responsible for the carnival parades) are concerned with the production of spectacle and utilize technological accessories, lights, colours and shapes in order to essentialize the dance. These Samba performances that follow the latest fashion trends of the year take place on the streets and can last up to five days. Such needs to modernize the performance of Samba are not typical for Samba de Roda, where the focus is on the preservation of its tradition and origins without allowing interferences from the contemporary world. As we can see, Carnival in Brazil is in constant adaptation, assuming its instability as a movement and not a subsisting, fixed thing. The motor for creating and innovating has always been the audience and the success. According to Edson Farias, the power to generate effects on the audience and the specialized criticism during carnival is the main aspect that creates the knowledge and tradition shared among the artistic groups of carnival (2015: 211). In this sense, it has created a strong relation between Carnival and its commodification, relating the level of success with the audience reception and impressions, who are always expecting to be surprised with the late industry trend (music, fashion, special effects, technology etc) of the respective year.

Choreographing, but also performing dance as heritage, allows for the culture of "the people" to be extended in the realm of theatrics, included in the popular domain, as it becomes situated in new surroundings such as carnivals. The attempts to popularize and spectacularize this culture are also attempts to exotify local traditions of people as choreographed spectacle. This phenomenon only further confirms the idea of the longing to preserve history and tradition, mostly because this tradition will be of particular importance to negotiate a sense of identity and belonging, not only to the community where it existed, but for the nation state that will utilize it in the process of imagining the nation. Spectacle is purposely produced, not only as commodity, but as a medium through which the dancers can express personal ideals of what heritage, expressed through dance looks like. The stage turns dance heritage into a commodity as it transforms the character of the dances as commodities whose main purpose is consumption, as they use theatrics to create the idea of authentic experience. Due

to the increasing interest in cultural heritage, as a response to fear of globalization and loss of markers of cultural and national identity, as well as due to the expansion of authenticity tourism, choreographing and showcasing dance as heritage is more than desirable, but necessary. Heritage performances become a medium through which the nation state, propagates how heritage is defined, while at the same time, it encourages an appreciation for the heritage that is available for mass consumption. The purpose of such heritage performances is to offer a cultural, but also an educational experience — a look within the long-lasting traditions of a certain community or the nation state. Following Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett's theory of heritage as "a mode of cultural production that has recourse to the past and produces something new" (2012: 199), the task of these performances becomes to make past and/or current heritage practices appealing to an audience that might not have strong ties with the traditions that the nation state considers to be of national value. Performance, then, gives these traditions a chance to live, to be embodied and disseminated nationwide, and cherished by the people who will regard them with utmost respect. One of its principle tasks is to validate dance as a medium that transcends certain values that are inherited from the past, as its purpose is to prove them worthy of appreciation, and be used in the political projects of the state.

While being equally entertaining and educating, public performances of dance heritage are seen as a medium through which heritage can be safeguarded, preserved, and maintained. Such performances of dance heritage project what Pierre Bourdieu theorizes as "the spectacle of the people", arguing that such "is an opportunity to experience the relationship of distant proximity, in the form of the idealized vision purveyed by aesthetic realism and populist nostalgia, which is a basic element in the relationship of the petite bourgeoisie to the working or peasant classes and their traditions" (1984: 58). By observing a dance heritage performance, especially when performed in a form of spectacle, the audience is situated between the exotic and the local. While there might be heightened nationalist feelings produced by the sense of watching "our own heritage", these performances can also appear foreign and exotic to audience members for whom the dances are not part of the mainstream culture.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Dance heritage is a form of knowledge, mainly bodily knowledge, but also knowledge related to memory, oral histories, and ongoing traditions. To be considered as heritage, this dance knowledge has to be inherited and cannot be constructed at the time of its actualization. When at its highest social status as a recognized national asset, dance heritage follows a top-down approach, given that the mission to teach dancers to cherish, safeguard, and value their dances usually comes from experts affiliated with institutions. When categorized as heritage, the dances automatically adopt a paradigm of value that makes them worthy of national recognition and therefore makes them fit to be included in as representative elements of humanity's heritage. When labelling them as traditional, the public assumes that they are practiced by traditional societies that cherish traditional values. *Genre-ing dance*, then, becomes a need to classify a dance practice, but always in opposition to other, and always as a response to a new emerging form of dance that has yet to be classified and create a discourse around itself.

However, the important question is who makes the decision of what aspects of culture are all right to vanish, while other are not? In other words, what dances are important to be safeguarded and which ones are allowed to be forgotten? Most importantly, why? As we argue, there are several reasons: the primary reason is that Samba was institutionalized for the purpose of creating an national archive as a storage of local knowledge for the purposes of utilizing that knowledge in the creation of national culture; second, the decision of what dances made the cut was left to government officials who were predominantly interested in studying dances that were popular, but also traditional and authentic; and finally, because they can be used a basis for producing spectacle from which the nation state can profit from.

In consequence, dance as an ICH should not be regarded only as a heritage, traditionally and folklorically speaking, narrowing the spontaneous influences that might be developed from the dance to the performance itself. Dance, either traditional or spectacular, should be considered a heritage. In this sense, the originality of our approach



comes from the fact that we suggest that these movement practices which we include in the category of “dance heritage” involve both the social and presentational aspects of any dance that is regarded as heritage by its country.

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## **Part Two**

### **URBAN POLICY MAKING**



## Part Two

### Chapter 1

#### REVISITING THE URBAN REHABILITATION PROCESSES OF BOLOGNA AND PORTO: LESSONS FOR THE CONTEMPORARY DEBATE ON URBAN HERITAGE

Andréa da Rosa Sampaio

##### Abstract

The paradigmatic experiences of rehabilitation of the historic centres of Bologna and Porto, from the late 1960s to the 1990s, are discussed in this paper, exploring their lessons for the contemporary debate on urban conservation, especially on social appropriation and the sustainability of urban heritage. There can be acknowledged a common ground approach between the Plan for the Bologna historical centre, coordinated by Pierluigi Cervellati and the Ribeira-Barredo Renovation Plan, by Fernando Távora, both from 1969, despite their distinct scales and conceptions. The current discussion of their remarkable methodological frameworks is justified for their social committed urbanistic results for safeguarding and rehabilitating the precarious architectural ensembles in the ancient cities cores, based on innovative approaches, as urbanistic conceived, socially participative and focused on the crucial role of the habitation in those processes.

Urban heritage conservation policies for whom? The underlying political dimension of this question is unveiled from the investigation of the balance of urbanistic, housing and social policies of the cases. There can be observed a shift of the target community benefited from the interventions, particularly in the Portuguese case, if compared to prevailing rehabilitation processes, under tourism and gentrification pressures which threaten the pre-existing rehabilitation culture, nevertheless the current guidelines of heritage protection. The argument highlights the key role of housing for a living heritage and thus, towards the safeguarding of the urban heritage cultural significance for qualifying life in the contemporary city.

Revisiting these cases may contribute to problematizing the multiple challenges of rehabilitation plans, especially for the implementation of integrated conservation policies, evolved and advocated from Bologna's Plan. Updating the knowledge on those referential cases

reinforces an agenda on cultural heritage as an active attribute in continuous social construction, enrooted to cultural practices and aligned to contemporary life.

**Keywords:** *Urban Rehabilitation; Conservation Plans; Integrated Conservation; Bologna's Historic Centre; Porto's Historic Centre.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Safeguarding and Conservation of cultural heritage rely, in the XXI century, on significant theoretical, technological and normative frameworks. However, there are observed practices and results which are uncommitted to conservation theories, unrelated to local sociocultural expectations and segregated from urban policies. These issues instigate the present discussion and justify the urgency of revisiting theoretical assumptions and updating the knowledge of referential cases towards a debate on cultural heritage as an active attribute in permanent social construction, aligned to the context of contemporary city life.<sup>1</sup>

In this sense, to reinforce the debate on cultural heritage history and politics, this paper aims to revisit the paradigmatic experiences of rehabilitation of the historic centres of Bologna, in Italy, and Porto, in Portugal, from the period of the late 1960's to the 1990's, searching for their lessons to the contemporary debate on urban heritage.<sup>2</sup> Those processes have become remarkable for being theoretically grounded and socially committed, working with innovative approaches for safeguarding and rehabilitating the decaying and precarious urban ensembles in those ancient city cores.

The 50th anniversary of the Bologna Plan for the historic centre and Porto's Barredo Urban Renovation Study, both from 1969, seems

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<sup>1</sup> Consonant to Rossa (2015), Smith (2006), Viñas (2011), among other authors who theorize on the contemporary uses of heritage.

<sup>2</sup> This discussion has evolved from an earlier version, less comprehensive, published in portuguese as Sampaio, Andréa da Rosa. 2017. "Centros Históricos de Bolonha e do Porto: lições de Reabilitação Urbana para o debate contemporâneo". *Revista CPC USP*, 23: 40-64. doi:10.11606/issn.1980-4466.v0i23p40-64.



to be an opportune moment to reflect on those plans legacies. Likewise, after four decades from the Amsterdam Declaration<sup>3</sup> and European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, both from 1975, it is time to appraise the achievements and challenges to the adoption of Integrated Conservation policies, advocated by these doctrinal documents towards a social reappropriation of the city. This new paradigm of urban heritage conservation principles is related to the Bologna case, as will be discussed.

The purpose of this discussion is to overview the results, the theoretical and methodological frameworks, the intervention criteria of the mentioned Italian and Portuguese experiences, searching for their current resonances, which may offer lessons for the contemporary debate on urban Conservation of historic cities, particularly in terms of managing the changes and the role of collective participation. For analysing such experiences, this paper adopts an urbanistic approach towards the architectural and urbanistic interventions, which are renowned for combining social and urban aspects, which underlie the political dimension of those conservation policies.

The rereading of the rehabilitation experiences of Bologna and Porto seeks to contribute to the reflection on social reappropriation and the sustainability of the urban heritage, highlighting, in both experiments, the key role of habitation for safeguarding the cultural significance of their sites. However, those historic centres have not remained immune to urban and political dynamics, nor speculative interventions, particularly in Porto case. Nevertheless, the so postulated Integrated Conservation has proved challenging to achieve, particularly in areas subject to intense urban transformation and Real Estate valuation as in globalised cities, facing touristification pressures. These cases offer, therefore, new perspectives for problematising the current processes of financialisation of urban rehabilitation and the threats of the gentrification of the rehabilitated areas.

The proposals for the renovation of the precarious old urban settlements of Barredo in Porto and the historic centre of Bologna are contemporary within the context of the post-1968 European political

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.icomos.org/en/resources/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/169-the-declaration-of-amsterdam>

effervescence. The conceptual affinity of these cases in terms of objectives and methodology — socially committed and tied to housing policies — has been previously discussed by Portuguese authors on their investigations about the policies of safeguarding the heritage and urban rehabilitation in Portugal (Pinho, 2009; Aguiar, 2014; Moniz *et al.*, 2014; Moniz *et al.*, 2017; Gonçalves, 2018).

Both experiences have become referential also for social participation in the rehabilitation process. Guided by the permanence of the traditional resident population, the plans of Barredo and Bologna were based on detailed diagnoses of physical characterisation of buildings and surveys of the social residents, conducted by multidisciplinary teams who assessed the precarious living conditions, demographic and sociological issues. Whereas their plans, guided by social concerns, have conserved the morphological relations and the traditional social fabric, some scenographic interventions are currently observed, particularly in Porto, with predatory outcomes, which threaten the integrity and identity of the historic sites, despite the current guidelines of cultural heritage protection applied to the site.

Hence, the question to be posed is: urban heritage conservation policies for whom? An overview of those plans reveals a shift of target audience benefited from the interventions if compared to nowadays rehabilitation processes. The problematisation of the cases tackles the challenges of management of urban policies with heritage conservation as an identity issue, managing cultural landscape as a living space with contemporary uses for their inhabitants, avoiding its musealization and mischaracterisation.

The discussion commences from delimiting the key concepts for this investigation, which will give support to the perspective over the cases, for then approaching the significant aspects that deserve attention in the experiences of Bologna and Porto that may contribute to broadening the reflection on more inclusive and integrated conservation policies in the contemporary times.

## **A BRIEF CONCEPTUAL GROUND**

The arguments of this discussion are anchored in the understanding

of the city as a cultural asset, as advocated by Meneses (2006) who conceives it as a socially appropriate artefact in three intertwined dimensions: the “artefact”, as a product of society; the “field of forces” dimension, where socioeconomic, political and cultural tensions and conflicts emerge, and the “meanings dimension”, which endows the meaningful space and its intelligibility. Moreover, cultural aspects are considered as a social dimension — not the reverse, as the inhabitant is the main subject of culture, as argued by Meneses (2006).

According to Rossa (2015), cultural heritage is assumed as an active past, an inheritance that requires permanent management and can be considered one of the assets of the contemporary city. As an underlying concept for reading the relations of built cultural assets in the contemporary city, we adopt the urbanistic heritage, as defined by Rossa (2015), as the “stable formal relations system on which the city is created and re-created”, which enables analyses that fuse cultural values and identity with the continuous landscape changing. As a historical and identity asset, the urbanistic heritage encompasses both material and immaterial values.

A broader perspective of heritage is a contemporary trend that has evolved since the 1960s, which marks a turning point in the notion of cultural heritage, as registered in the Venice Charter<sup>4</sup>, through the recognition of heritage as those objects with cultural significance, including the modest and rural architectures. Thus, the acknowledgement and safeguard of urban heritage have occurred since then, when has been assigned value to non-monumental heritage. This position has, afterwards, gradually contributed to saving from *tabula rasa* several ancient sites which would be bulldozed for being considered worthless, inadequate and unhealthy areas in modernist plans, including the sites here studied.

Although the genesis of the urban heritage concept goes back to the pioneering studies of the Gustavo Giovannoni<sup>5</sup>, still in the

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<sup>4</sup> Outcome from the II International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, 1964. Adopted by ICOMOS in 1965. See <[https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf)>

<sup>5</sup> Giovannoni, Gustavo. 1913. *Vecchie Città ed edilizia nuova*. *Nuova Antologia*, CLXVI, n. 995, p. 449-472, I giugno 1913; Giovannoni, Gustavo. 1931. *Vecchie Città ed Edilizia Nuova*. Torino: UTET. The contribution of Giovannoni has been recognized by F. Choay after a long ostracism

early twentieth century, in the Italian context, proper attention to morphologic attributes of historic fabric only emerge after Modern Movement critical review, in the 1960 decade. The Italian engineer has addressed value to the non-monumental architecture and designed plans to avoid the demolition of blocks, which he considered as urban heritage. Significant contributions by Giovannoni can be posed, such as his conception of heritage integrated to the urbanistic configuration and urban planning, in a vision of “integral city”, aligned with his defence of the old centres of modern cities as an issue of both restoration and urban planning.

The struggle for better physical and social conditions in cities emerges in the bulge of the European Spring 1968 protests, opening ground to participative projects such as the cases to be discussed - Porto and Bologna Historic centre rehabilitation processes, which were conceived within that context. Indeed, the influence of the Bologna Historic Centre Plan (1969) for the formulation of safeguard and rehabilitation plans, not only in Italy but also in Portugal, and other countries is widely acknowledged by heritage conservation scholars (Pinho, 2009; Gonçalves, 2018, Bandarin & Oers, 2015). Its early success was considered exemplary in terms of Integrated Conservation and exposed in the Congress on the European Architectural Heritage (1975), which resulted in the Amsterdam Declaration.<sup>6</sup> This document addresses the conservation of architectural heritage as one of the major objectives of urban and regional planning, which was a significant shift of paradigm in urban management.

The Amsterdam Declaration advocates the Integrated Conservation as the main issue, recommending that the rehabilitation of the old neighbourhoods should be carried out, as far as possible, without significant modifications of the social composition and thus all layers of society would benefit from the operation financed by public funds. This approach of integrated policies has marked a turning point of urban heritage conservation principles from aesthetic issues towards a social reappropriation of the city, even though frequently more in

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about his work for political reasons. CHOAY, Françoise. 1992. *L'Allégorie du Patrimoine*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil.

<sup>6</sup> It was the crowning event of the European architectural heritage Year – 1975. See <<https://www.icomos.org/en/and/169-the-declaration-of-amsterdam>>

discourse than in practice. Cultural heritage issues become increasingly interdisciplinary, as approached in later Doctrinal Documents, as well by scholars, parallel to the expansion of the universe of cultural assets, initially limited to exceptional historical monuments and currently, more inclusive, encompassing popular and immaterial cultural assets (Choay, 2011; Smith, 2006).

This fundamental conceptual shift has opened new ground for broader urban conservation policies leading to the recent Historic Urban Landscape [HUL] approach, proposed as a recommendation by UNESCO<sup>7</sup> in 2011, based in the notion of urban heritage as a resource for the entire city and for its sustainable development. Bandarin and Oers (2015) as mentors of HUL approach, acknowledge the importance of Amsterdam Declaration principles and its interdisciplinary approach towards the Integrated Conservation but criticise the effectiveness of results, defending HUL as a possible methodology for dealing with contemporary problems.

Conceived as a methodological framework, neither as a heritage category, the HUL approach seeks to reconnect heritage precincts with the contemporary city and urban conservation with the process of city planning and regional development, among other objectives (Bandarin & Oers, 2015). The authors emphasize the need of specific frameworks for its application, defined by particular issues locally defined. In this sense, in their book, they gather distinct urban conservation and management cases, including Bologna, in order to build a conceptual framework and operational approach for HUL, as a toolkit: civic engagement tools; knowledge and planning tools; regulatory systems and financial tools. The proposal of the concept-action HUL reveals a shift towards the challenging regulation of change as an inherent condition of urban spaces, which is challenging to tackle for the necessary concertation among stakeholders, particularly controversial in terms of the approval and application of heritage and urbanistic ordinances.

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<sup>7</sup> See Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), adopted in the 36th session of UNESCO General Conference, in Paris, 10/11/2011. Retrieved from: < <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf>>. For conceptual background, see BANDARIN, Francesco; OERS, Ron Van (2015); Further reading: Jokilehto, Jukka. 2010. Notes on the Definition and Safeguarding of HUL. *City & Time* 4 (3): 4. <http://www.ct.cecibr.org>; Bandarin, Francesco and Ron Van Oers. 2012. *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell/John Wiley & Sons.

These brief conceptual perspectives lead to the idea of heritage as a cultural practice, involved in construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings of the cultural assets, as posed by Smith (2006), and in other words, by Meneses in his conception of city as a cultural asset. This viewpoint enlightens the discussion of a trial of reconnecting the so-called historic and modern city, quoting Bandarin and Oers (2015) statement, as may be observed through the following cases of Bologna and Porto.

## **BOLOGNA: CONSERVATION AS A REVOLUTION**

The distinctive urban landscape of Bologna within walls is characterised by the sequence of porticoes<sup>8</sup> that outline its urban ensemble of singular typological regularity and high historical stratification. The diversity of uses of shops and services on the ground floor along the porticoes and the dwellings on the upper floors contributes to maintaining the vitality of the historic centre of this vibrant industrial and business centre.

As a notorious University city and important industrial pole, Bologna is remarkable as a vanguard place and plays a paradigmatic role in the heritage conservation movement and urban rehabilitation, for its pioneer conception and implementation of the Plan for the Bologna historic centre — *Piano urbanistico di salvaguardia, restauro e risanamento del centro storico*<sup>9</sup>, formulated by the team coordinated by Pier Luigi Cervellati in 1969, based on a study by Leonardo Benévolo and team.<sup>10</sup> The innovative Plan ideology was grounded on the premise that Conservation signifies the social reappropriation of the city and therefore, “conservation is revolution” (Bandarin, 1979).

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<sup>8</sup> The exceptional value of the great linear sequence of porticos is object of application to World Heritage Site and included in the UNESCO list in 2006 attempt. See Bocchi, Francesca e Smurra, Rosa. 2015. *I Portici di Bologna nel Contesto Europeo*. Bologna: Luca Sossela Editore. See the candidacy details in <<http://comune.bologna.it/portici/>>

<sup>9</sup> See Cervellati *et alli* (1977).

<sup>10</sup> Benevolo et alli. 1965. Obiettivi e strumenti per la pianificazione intercomunale dell'area bolognese In: De Carlo, Giancarlo. *La pianificazione territoriale urbanistica nell'area bolognese*. Padova: Marsilio Editori.

Debating on university towns, Portas (2005) infers that currently, the main Bologna industry is the knowledge due to the *Università di Bologna*. It is noticeable that the University is the primary catalyst for the dynamics of the historic centre, nourishing not only economic activities but also notorious social activism which, together with the politicization of local society, was essential for the implementation of the referred Plan of the historic centre of Bologna. The participatory culture remains in force, now renewed by digital media and available social networks.<sup>11</sup>

In the context of post-war reconstruction within an extensive process of city centre decay, Cervellati's Plan advocated the use of the historic centre in the present, as part of a territorial policy, based on the strategy of recovering the centre and restraining the expansion to the peripheries, reversing the speculative processes. The Plan proposed "to create an ancient city for a new society" through safeguarding the neighbourhood as social fabric, according to urbanistic principles (Cervellati *et al.*, 1977).<sup>12</sup>

The goal of maintaining the low-income inhabitants in recovered buildings was feasible by the conjoint execution of the housing plan Piano per l'edilizia Economica e Popolare [PEEP], Plan of Economic and Popular Construction, implemented since 1973 (Bandarin, 1979) in five priority sectors.<sup>13</sup> That was a determinant differential in the process, and for the case has been remarked as one of the most relevant experiences in housing-led revitalization.<sup>14</sup>

Bandarin (1979), still in the late 1970s, analysed the success of the rehabilitation of the historic centre of Bologna, from the political will to make social reappropriation of the historic centre an ideologically revolutionary act, within the conditions created by the communist

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<sup>11</sup> See Urban Center in <<http://fondazioneinnovazioneurbana.it/urbancenter>>.

<sup>12</sup> See the public exhibition of the Plan in Cervellati, Pier Luigi et alli. 1970. *Bologna Centro Storico. Catalogo per la Mostra "Bologna/Centro Storico"*. Bologna: Editora Alfa.

<sup>13</sup> The priority sectors were: Santa Catarina, San Leonardo, Solferino, Fondazza e San Carlo. See Comune di Bologna.1973. *Peep Centro Storico*, Bologna; De Angelis, C. 2013. *Quarant'anni dopo. Piano PEEP Centro storico 1973. Note a margine, tra metodo e prassi*, IN\_BO. Ricerche e progetti per il territorio, la città e l'architettura, 4(6), 35-52.

<sup>14</sup> Further reading of the case, within an European perspective, see Pinho (2009); Tiesdell, Steve, Taner Oc and Tim Heath. 1996. *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Government. For the author, the success of the Plan can be attributed to the political will to make social reappropriation of the historic centre an ideologically revolutionary act, within the conditions created by the communist government. Besides, for Bandarin (1979), the case reveals that a coherent methodology and a democratic decision-making process can contribute to saving the invaluable character of the historic centre. “Bologna shows that a battle for a better city is not lost” (Bandarin, 1979: 201). Recently, the same author reaffirms the case as one of the post-war attempts to reconnect the parts of the city (Bandarin & Oers, 2015).

The Historic Centre of Bologna was the object of an extensive typological inventory of the urban ensembles, based on morpho-typological categories, distinguishing the urban sets of smaller architecture — the documentary building — from the great monumental complexes, such as convents and university headquarters, called historical containers, which would house collective uses, interspersed by open free spaces within the blocks. The study divided the area into thirteen homogeneous urban sectors, from a morphological, functional and socioeconomic point of view. The Plan criteria were based on six specific degrees of intervention – from restoration to demolition, according to the classification of buildings and social needs (Cervellati *et al.*, 1977). Observing the previous critical state of conservation of the blocks and the results of the recovery works, it is noticeable a certain degree of aesthetic homogenisation, due to the adoption of typological restoration criteria for the urban sets of smaller architecture, and not precisely scientific restoration criteria. There are some criticisms of this position by authors who examine the subject from the perspective of restoration theory.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, that must be relativized as it may be justifiable from the perspective of the urbanistic heritage and the evolutionary dynamics of the historic urban landscape and mostly, for the feasibility of works, if considering the plan magnitude and the social purpose of the intervention. Orioli and Massari (2020) pose that the “typological approach offered a grid of standard solutions, a

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<sup>15</sup> See Bortolotto, Susanna and Maria Cristina Palo. 2007. “La nuova cultura delle città di Pierluigi Cervellati: il Piano per il centro storico di Bologna, 1969”. In: Giambruno, Mariacristina (Org.) *Per una Storia Del Restauro Urbano: piani, strumenti e progetti per i Centri storici*. Novara: CittàStudi Edizioni: 171-184.



system of references and “certainties” to draw on, which has certainly safeguarded the image of the city”.

Thus, as a *Restauro urbano* intervention, the accomplishment of its social purpose of adapting the buildings for their low-income residents through typological recovery may be considered effective for overcoming historicizing criteria. Besides, the meticulous typological studies are worth as historical record of the transformations of the urban fabric and architectural inventory. Furthermore, recapitulating Cervellati’s vision, it can be posed that architectural preservation cannot exist outside of social conservation (Bravo, 2009).

On the other hand, the monumental buildings have been classified as large containers, as unique, specialized buildings, which were due to maximum protection category, for which the restoration was restricted as scientific restoration (Orioli & Massari, 2020). These building houses public equipments and act as important urban nodes.



Figure 1: Via San Vitale at the Plan Sector San Leonardo. Typical buildings with mix use: housing over the shops. There is also a hotel in this quarter. Source: the author, jan. 2020.



Figure 2: Via Santa Apollonia at the Plan Sector San Leonardo. Typical housing buildings, presenting irregular conservation. Source: the author, jan. 2020.

For celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Plan, the literature on the subject has been renewed, with debates and publications, including an interview with Pier Luigi Cervellati<sup>16</sup>, who re-evaluated his plan, pointing out that its technical and operational validity stood in proving that the theory can be translated into practice if there were political interest. In this review, Cervellati argues that if it were to solve only the social dimension, the city would have been destroyed, as in other cases. Nevertheless, the architect criticizes the current Real Estate speculation and financialisation of access to housing and the privatization of public services, from the 1990 decade onwards.

Throughout the western world, the 1990s has brought the rising of the global economy and neoliberal economy, in parallel to political and administrative changes and the review of legal frameworks. In the Italian context, it then became possible for the Government to alienate

<sup>16</sup> See Bravo (2009) and Cervellati's interview in Agostini (2013).

social housing units, which has generated some gentrification process in the former public housing blocks. The nomination of Bologna as European Capital of Culture in 2000 has resulted in interventions in public space and cultural equipment and followed by a rising of tourism flow.

Nevertheless the noticeable signs of ongoing gentrification processes in the sophisticated shops and restaurants in the city core, a diversity of uses such as popular housing, student housing, University, institutional equipment, artisanal commerce, still can be observed today, configuring the human dimension of the city. Characterized by Gulli and Talò (2012) as a multicultural area, for the Plan has promoted a mix of uses considered compatible with the historical-environmental structure, due to the diversity of the population of the thirteen original sectors of the historic centre plan, currently formed by descendants of the old residents, students, immigrants, artisans, teachers, micro-traders. For these authors, this variety gives the historical core an irreducible character of complexity, vitality and diversity, even when affected by large public transformation projects.

The legacy of the plan seems, thus, evidenced by the immanent cultural significance of the historic urban landscape and the sociability and urbanity of the vivid historic centre of Bologna. Furthermore, according to Orioli and Massari (2020), there are two kinds of legacy: the material one, perceived in the city conservation and the development of a preservation tool for ancient cities, replicable both as methodological and regulatory approaches; and the intangible one, which consists in social conservation, in terms of “right to the city”<sup>17</sup> and above all, in the management and in the narration of the planning process, which influenced a new city identity and its planning approach. This legacy has been built over time through subsequent narrative phases that have contributed decisively to the international success of the “Bologna model”. For the authors, in this model, more than a space to be preserved, the historic centre is an urban laboratory, where policies are developed and verified and where a new identity for the city emerges.

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<sup>17</sup> Aligned with the seminal book by Lefebvre: Lefebvre, Henri. 1968. *Le droit à la ville*. Antropos: Paris.

At this point, it is worth to recapitulate the character of Bologna's urban policies as a process and remember an early argument by Bandarin (1979), on the fact that other Italian cities, such as Ferrara and Brescia, have achieved significant results inspired by Bolognese methodology. For him, the case could not be considered a model to be applied in other urban centres since each city has its structure, derived from its history, its economic and social conditions and particular problems. As Gabellini (2015) argues, Bologna can be considered an excellent example of the evolution of the approach to the historic city, as reflected in the planning instruments developed between 2007 and 2009, which founded by theoretical reflections have expanded the concept of "historic centre" towards the "historic city".

## **PORTO: CONSERVATION AS CONTINUOUS INNOVATION**

The historic centre of Porto has been a laboratory of practices on urban heritage in Portugal, not only the emblematic rehabilitation plans and actions but also some current ones that may be considered mischaracterizing. This is reflected in the mosaic of contrasting landscapes: whereas in the tourist circuits, buildings are recently renovated or underwork, for lodging, commerce, bars and sophisticated restaurants; outside this area, there are abandoned buildings, ruins, and poorly conserved public spaces, amidst popular housing ensembles, including those rehabilitated between the 1970s and 1990s, in the hills of the medieval urban fabric and in Ribeira-Barredo in the Douro riverfront area. Furthermore, in this intricate urban fabric, popular housing predominates, punctuated by some renovated properties for touristic lodging.

The outstanding values of the urbanistic heritage of the Porto historic centre and its continued and qualified process of conservation management contributed to the success of its inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1996. The so-called urban rehabilitation culture of Porto<sup>18</sup> stems from the paradigmatic project of recovery of

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<sup>18</sup> Loza (2000), in a commemorative book of CRUARB's 25 years, refers to a culture of urban rehabilitation in Porto.

the residential ensemble in the Ribeira-Barredo Renewal Plan in 1969, followed by the proposals from the Commissariat for Urban Renewal of the Area of Ribeira – Barredo – CRUARB – from 1974 to 2003, which encompassed a larger area of historic centre than the former. Such interventions, guided by the intention to solve the critical conditions of physical and social vulnerability, combating poverty and social exclusion in the historic site, have conserved the morphological relationships and social fabric. The quality of urban rehabilitation interventions in Ribeira-Barredo endures to this day, as a housing resiliency cluster, despite the current speculative pressures on the surroundings, from tourism and Real Estate market, which result in façadism interventions as will be further related.

Coordinated by the architect Fernando Távora, the “Barredo Urban Renovation Study” was a pilot project for the Ribeira-Barredo area, aiming to integrate human, social and landscape issues in the life of Porto. Conceived as a model for the rehabilitation of other critical areas, in the Plan, Távora defended “no longer a ghetto nor a pile of ruins, but a living centre and a beautiful element of the urban landscape” (CMP, 1969).<sup>19</sup> The relevance of this Plan consists in its innovative — even visionary — proposal of associating physical action with social intervention, reinforcing participatory processes, care in the conservation of what was valuable, in order to reconcile with the need for adaptation to contemporary life (Moniz *et al.*, 2017).

For Távora, the essence of the proposal would be to “continue-innovating”, with a global and open spirit, seeking to understand the whole and the detail both concerning existing buildings and in the use of contemporary languages in new constructions, always respecting the environmental character. Otherwise, the renovation would mean destruction. About the design of the interventions, the architect postulated that this delicate work should not be conducted in a purist orientation of restoration, for all the human, economic, technical and functional problems that it presented (CMP, 1969).

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<sup>19</sup> Based on detailed surveys on the severe housing conditions, prepared by students of the Institute of Social Work, as well as surveys of housing by students of the Architecture course of the Superior School of Fine Arts of Porto (ESBAP). Moniz *et al.* (2014) discuss the importance of this work for the renovation of Architecture education in the School of Porto, where Távora worked as a professor.



Figure 3: Rua do Barredo – Typical housing buildings, of Barredo Plan intervention area. Source: the author, jan. 2016.

As Bologna, also forefront to its time, this project was already attuned to the integrated conservation model later advocated in the mid-1970s, as the Barredo Plan proposed “a cautious, socially attentive rehabilitation” as an alternative to razing this area, then considered unhealthy in Master Plan (Aguilar, 2014). Hence, it should be pointed out that the term renovation of the Plan’s title should not be misconceived with urban renewal in the sense of bulldozing operations. In fact, Tavora’s Plan can be considered as an urban rehabilitation plan, a term not yet adopted then.

In the context of the re-democratization of Portugal, post-revolution of April 25, 1974, public policies had major concern of social issues, and especially, housing demands.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in response to solving the insalubrity and the acute housing problems of Porto’s old city core,

<sup>20</sup> The most innovative action in this sense was the implementation of the SAAL - Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local - Local Ambulatory Support Service, established from 1974 to 1976. See: PORTAS, Nuno. 1986 O Processo SAAL: entre o Estado e o poder local. *Revista Crítica das Ciências Sociais*, Coimbra, n. 18/19/20: 635-644 [www.ces.uc.pt/rccs/index.php](http://www.ces.uc.pt/rccs/index.php).

*the Central Government established the CRUARB, an Agency in charge for an enlarged rehabilitation area in relation to Barredo's Plan. Following the line proposed previously by Távora, who acted as a consultant, the CRUARB urban rehabilitation measures have operated in the various social dimensions providing, besides social housing, also urban equipment, which have been essential for the permanence of community in the area (Loza, 2000).*

Pinho (2009) distinguishes the experience of Barredo from the widespread practices in Portugal, as for her, Barredo's Urban Renewal Study did not enter into dichotomies between interventions versus plan, being an integrated approach to an urban area, in urbanistic and social issues. On the other hand, the author argues that the scattering of projects of CRUARB, without an integrated perspective of a plan, was a negative point of that programme (Pinho, 2009).

In the 1980 decade the CRUARB was municipalized and operated with *a multidisciplinary team of architects, engineers, historians and social workers, always focused on local solutions for community issues. This rehabilitation procedure locally based was a differential in Portuguese conservation policies from those times, upon the creation of Local Technical Offices programme, in 1985, within the Urban Rehabilitation Program, later revised and renamed as Program for the Recovery of Degraded Urban Area in 1988, as extensively investigated by Pinho (2009).*

One of the highlights of CRUARB's accomplishment was the successful application in 1991 for the inscription of Porto's historic centre to UNESCO World Heritage list, approved in 1996. In this decade, the operation of CRUARB has expanded its rehabilitation area and intensified the works, undertaking projects focused on both conservation of heritage and social exclusion (Pinho, 2009). The significant achievements of CRUARB are presented in the report of architectural and urbanistic interventions of the programme for the occasion of its 25th anniversary (Loza 2000).

Through mechanisms of financing and technical support from the Porto City Council and Central Administration, CRUARB enabled the owners to act in the conservation process, assuring resident's subsidized rental (Loza, 2000). Nevertheless, administrative changes, as well as operational and financial difficulties, led to the extinction of

the program in 2003, within the transition to a new legal framework towards the implementation of Urban Rehabilitation Societies [SRU].<sup>21</sup> The CRUARB had then become contradictory with the ongoing idea of a minimal State, which was installed since then.

Henceforth, in contrast to the social sensitivity of the herein referred projects, based on careful rehabilitation, the new model is settled in order to promote a new image for the historic centre, driven by tourism and leveraged by the preparations for the city as European Capital of Culture in 2001. The large-scale interventions promoted by the Society of Urban Rehabilitation [SRU] Porto Vivo<sup>22</sup>, in the Historic Centre, have mischaracterized the urban ensemble, with scenographic and façadism results, disregarding the criteria of protection as National Monument and UNESCO World Heritage.



Figure 4: Cardoso's Quarter – new open space within the demolished-rebuilt quarter. Source: the author, jan. 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Established by Decree-Law No. 104/2004, the Urban Rehabilitation Law System (RJRU) was revised and supplemented successively by legislation regulating Urban Rehabilitation Areas (ARU).

<sup>22</sup> The SRU Porto Vivo - Society of Urban Rehabilitation of Baixa Portuense SA was created in 2004. Information available in: <http://www.portovivosru.pt/pt>. There was a major shift in 2019 when Porto Vivo was Municipalized.



The icon project of this new model is the Passeio das Cardosas<sup>23</sup>, situated at a place of high centrality in Porto. The ancient quarter has been entirely renovated to incorporate residential units and installation of a luxury hotel, in an old mansion. The extensive demolitions and the poor architectural quality of the pastiche language- due to the materials and proportions, besides the gentrification, have been severely criticized by experts as expressed in the Porto Declaration approved by ICOMOS – Portugal in 2013.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the current interventions are destructive in terms of urbanistic heritage value, not only in its bulk physical structure but especially in terms of living conditions of the historic place. The traditional shops and dwellers have been replaced by touristic facilities, depriving the potential socially committed outcomes of urban rehabilitation. The gentrification trend has increased the properties prices, turning the area attractive to foreign investors and less accessible to the local population.

This situation represents the dismantling of the integrated conservation from previous policies, as criticized by heritage conservation specialists, and emphasized in ICOMOS protest against the disastrous outcome of the Cardosas Quarter project, which can be considered an affront to the notable urban rehabilitation practices over decades. Nevertheless, this predatory model of interventions cannot be generalized as the only current architectural practice in Porto, as there can still be perceived a few appropriate and impressive interventions, unfortunately, less visible than the majority of the large and façadist ones. Within a context of a housing crisis, especially accessible income ones, exacerbated by the tourism lodging demand in the historic centre, the recent Municipalization of the SRU Porto Vivo may bring a shift in housing policies, based in the discourse of increasing affordable housing. There are plenty of derelict houses in the historic centre waiting to be rehabilitated outside the main touristic axes.

This reflection seeks to be an alert for this situation, which seems,

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<sup>23</sup> The Master Plan of Cardosas Quarter is available: <http://www.portovivosru.pt/pt/area-de-atuacao/detalhe-quarteiroes/cardosas>

<sup>24</sup> The case was discussed at the ICOMOS Portugal Seminar. See: <http://www.icomos.pt/images/pdfs/dec25.10.pdf>. See critical reviews by Álvaro Domingues <https://ssru.wordpress.com/>; Aguiar (2014) reports that ICOMOS-Portugal has denounced the case to UNESCO.

as stated by Aguiar (2014: 63), “an amnesia purposefully launched on the practices and results of two decades of urban rehabilitation experiments”. This argument can be related to Gonçalves’s provocation, in his critical study on the urban rehabilitation policies in Portugal: if it is already known what to be done, what remains to be done? (Gonçalves, 2018).

## **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

This review of the rehabilitation experiences of Bologna and Porto seeks to contribute to the reflection on social reappropriation and the sustainability of living heritage, thus avoiding its musealization and mischaracterization. In both cases, it has been highlighted the crucial role of habitation for safeguarding the cultural significance of the urban heritage for qualifying life in contemporary cities. This point should be more emphasised in urban agenda, as the inhabited heritage may qualify the dwelling and assign value to identity and urban memory.

The paradigmatic experiences of rehabilitation of historic centres of Porto and Bologna, here discussed, demonstrate the positive results of the combination of the social and urban dimensions as conditions for intervention projects in the cultural assets and are useful to question the prevalent segregated management of the urban heritage in several places worldwide.

Guided by the settlement of the traditional resident population, the plans of Barredo, CRUARB and Bologna were based on detailed diagnoses of physical characterization of the buildings and social residents, carried out by multidisciplinary teams that have surveyed the precarious conditions of habitability, demographic and sociological aspects. By relying on the residents as users, the referred plans promoted a mix of uses and identity bonds with their living places. However, how to proceed when the properties are vacant and derelict buildings, as it currently occurs in the historic centre of Porto, as well as in the urban voids of other metropolitan areas? That may be a crucial issue for discussing the risk of gentrification brought by rehabilitation actions.

Regarding the design criteria, it is interesting to verify how these cases, from half a century ago, were ahead of their time, being possible to align them with the recent interpretations of the restoration theory by Muñoz Viñas (2011). In his critical perspective of scientific restoration, the Spanish theorist advocates that the Restoration should be made for the person who identifies values in the object, thus its current or future users and not for the objects themselves. This polemic point of view should be relativized for the risks for the object's integrity, but it should be highlighted for the social awareness of the heritage uses (Smith, 2006) as a principle of contemporary conservation.

Throughout the reasoning of this paper, there were raised some issues which summarize the multiple challenges of rehabilitation plans. The main one is that Integrated Conservation has proved to be hard to implement, particularly in areas undergoing intense urban transformation and Real Estate speculation. It reinforces, therefore, the need for critical reflections on the subject, theoretically grounded and socially committed, anchored in studies that contribute with perspectives for promoting the necessary articulation of urban, housing and heritage policies.

The present discussion may assume greater strength if the public authorities put into practice the statements of goal 11 of UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda: make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.<sup>25</sup> To this target, it should be enhanced inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries, besides strengthening efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage.

Thus, it is time to rethink and overcome the current fragmented urban policies, which reinforce spatial segregation and defeat cultural assets significance, by advocating heritage safeguard in development (Gonçalves, 2018; Rossa, 2015), through integrated conservation and inclusive urban policies, as developed by the pioneers experiences here discussed.

From the acknowledgement of culture as a driver and an enabler of sustainable development, the answer to the question initially posed

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<sup>25</sup> See targets 11.3 and 11.4 in Goal 11. <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/cities/>

— urban heritage conservation policies for whom — may resume the social and urbanistic precepts from Cervellati's and Tavora's plans. This point converges with the Choay's (2011) proposal of a struggle for the cultural heritage from three fronts: a) education and training; b) ethical use of our built heritage; c) collective participation in the production of living heritage. Learning from the best practices of the history of cultural heritage conservation may enable us to tackle the challenges of reaching an inclusive and sustainable city.

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## Part Two

### Chapter 2

#### THE PRIVILEGED CENTRE: THE AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE AND URBAN SPACE IN A PHILIPPINE TOWN

Jay Allen Villapando

##### Abstract

Preservation of built cultural heritage in the Philippines has steadily expanded from its beginnings in the early 20th century with the simple marking of places tied to persons and events tied to the fight for independence from Spain, to a present-day legal framework that puts a presumption on all structures at least 50 years old as important cultural properties. This latest legal development is often invoked when “ancestral houses” — vintage homes of the socio-economic elite, usually located in a town centre — are to be altered in the course of public works projects such as road widenings. One such example is Sariaya: a town in the central Philippines whose elites profited from the coconut export boom of the 1930s and with their increased wealth and power reshaped the town’s urban fabric. When a road widening project was threatening the integrity of the “heritage streetscape”, a determined and vocal section of town society successfully obtained a stop order – for now preserving the homes of the elite while preventing the congested road to be widened.

This paper explores, through the work of the advocates for the preservation of central Sariaya’s elite-shaped urban space, how the “Authorised Heritage Discourse” (Smith, 2006) in operates in the context of the Philippines, and how it undermines genuine broad-based decision-making by neutralising opposition and leaving underlying issues tied to class and privilege unaddressed. Moving forward, this paper sees the benefit of heritage managers, practitioners and advocates in the Philippines engaging with critical heritage studies, by looking at heritage contestations from more nuanced and experientially diverse angles and understand where public apathy, if not outright opposition, toward their work come from.

**Keywords:** *Authorised Heritage Discourse; Preservation; Law; Civil Society; Public Policy; Critical Heritage.*

## INTRODUCTION

In December 2015, a group of homeowners and heritage conservation advocates obtained a “stop order” memorandum that finally suspended road construction along the busy stretch of the Pan-Philippine Highway which traverses the historic downtown core [*población*] of Sariaya, an urbanising town 125 kilometres southeast of the capital, Manila. This was the culmination of an 18-month-long process that involved meetings both closed-door and public, national media attention, and open expressions of frustration and distrust between stakeholders on both sides of the issue.

While this was a victory for the heritage advocates and the preservation of built cultural heritage, the long-term protection of Sariaya’s “heritage streetscape” has remained unaddressed. In fact, apathy and political inaction toward built cultural heritage protection remains in Sariaya, and in many other cases in the Philippines (Akpedonu & Saloma, 2011). No specific protective legislation for this ensemble of properties has been enacted at the local or national levels, nor is it being tabled on the horizon. What was it about the heritage advocacy in Sariaya that did not translate into increased public and political support? I argue that the Authorised Heritage Discourse and the way it neutralises opposition provides the answer.

## THE “AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE”

From its original sense of referring to material, intellectual or spiritual legacies handed down from ancestor to descendant, the word “heritage” came to be more associated with material remains in the landscape which helped construct the identities of nation-states in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Davison, 2008). Today, heritage can be understood as “the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the present”, involving both the selection of



the contents, interpretations and representations of these resources according to present demands, and the placement of meanings upon them (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007). Simply put, heritage, rather than being a “given” with intrinsic value existing outside of our cultural frameworks, is anchored in present-day concerns.

Heritage has also been described as a discourse — a way through which “social meanings, forms of knowledge and expertise, power relations and ideologies” are embedded and reproduced through language (Smith, 2006). Smith argued that there exists a certain way of thinking, writing and talking about heritage which dominates and legitimises present management practices — the “authorised heritage discourse” [AHD] (Smith, 2006). The AHD works under the assumption that heritage is inherently valuable since it represents “all that is good and important about the past” (Smith, 2006: 29). This high esteem attached to heritage therefore requires entrusting its “proper care” to experts so that it can be “saved” for future generations; thus it is only with the guidance of experts can the meanings and values ascribed to heritage objects or places be altered or changed (Smith, 2006: 29). This then excludes non-experts from rewriting the meaning of the past to challenge and change cultural and social meaning in the present (Smith, 2006: 29).

Heritage experts may also be influenced by charters and policy documents which insist memory, “sense of place” and “cultural significance” are embodied in the “fabric” of material objects and physical space (Smith, 2006: 91–92; Waterton, Smith & Campbell, 2006: 348), at times resulting in them taking an uncritical stance in which aesthetics, intactness, authenticity and scientific values are pursued at the expense of other legitimate social, cultural and economic concerns (Smith, 2006: 284). Given its roots in the emergence of 19th-century nationalism, the AHD also tends to reinforce “nationalising discourses” which seek to assimilate those in the margins of power — ignoring a diversity of other marginalised, non-elite cultural and social experiences, and controlling the critique of the dominant discourse (Smith, 2006: 30).

It is to be expected that, just like in any other field, particular internalised discourses shape the social life, behaviours and practices of any community of heritage managers, practitioners and supporters (Smith,

2006: 15). What does this look like in the Philippines, especially with regard to the policy and practice of conserving built cultural heritage?

## **THE PHILIPPINES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS BUILT CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY**

The Philippines is an archipelago of more than 7,000 islands at the edge of the Asian mainland, inhabited by 105 million Filipinos, nearly 47% of whom live in urban areas (CIA, 2018). Although in recent years the economy has grown faster and more resilient to global economic downturns, estimated levels of poverty (21.6% in 2017), unemployment (5.7% in 2017) and underemployment (17 to 18%) remain “high” (CIA, 2018).

The Philippines is among the more vibrant but democracies of Asia, but has been described as “dysfunctional”, with a record of development that is “chronically dismal” (Hermida, 2014). Modern Philippine democracy traces its roots to the early 20th century when the Americans, having taken over a 330-year old Spanish colony that already lacked democratic institutions and had entrenched elite networks at the local level, introduced popular elections (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005). But rather than build genuinely democratic institutions, the Americans permitted local and national elite networks to use clientelism and political patronage as dominant strategies to win local posts, accumulate power and stay in power (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005). Colonial economic policy also favoured keeping the status quo in a bid to obtain the cooperation of the elite; when they gained control of the national legislature, they opposed significant increases in taxes on agricultural lands or income (Owen, 1971). Thus the high level of economic and social inequality inherited from the Spanish regime remained (Owen, 1971). Thus a recurring theme in Philippine history, argue Abinales and Amoroso (2005), is the capture of institutions by elite and sectoral interests, producing a weak Philippine state that persistently has been unable to deliver for the majority of its citizens.

While still under American rule, the growing assertiveness of an increasingly Filipino-dominated legislature in defining a national identity

was expressed in the first legal enactments concerning built cultural heritage (Act No. 2760, 1918; Act No. 3720, 1930; Executive Order [EO] No. 451, 1933). Statutes were at first limited to the maintenance of publicly-owned property and the installation of historical markers on private ones, but when self-government became a reality in 1935, the nascent Philippine state also began to involve itself in acquiring private properties (Commonwealth Act No. 169; EO No. 91, 1937). In the post-World War II era, even as the historic sites increased in age and grew in number, the newly independent Philippine state still did not involve itself in imposing and enforcing restrictions on the maintenance, alteration or repair of privately-owned properties outside of the capital. It took until the term of President Ferdinand Marcos for legal protection to be extended to sites not merely tied to significant historical events or persons, under the more general term “cultural property” (Republic Act [RA] No. 4846, 1966; Presidential Decree [PD] No. 374, 1974). Apart from expanding the scope of what is considered worthy of legal protection, Marcos-era laws also shaped how built cultural heritage conservation was officially thought of and approached in the Philippines. In the preambles of his dictatorial decrees, Marcos reiterated the state’s role in safeguarding the “intrinsic value” of cultural properties; stressed that cultural properties were “indispensable” in the “correct understanding” of the country’s history and culture; and declared that the development and preservation of sites were necessary for tourism, which explicitly tied physical heritage to economic value for the first time (PD No. 260, 1973; PD No. 374, 1974).

Such ways of thinking about and using heritage, containing features of the AHD, deems material culture as possessing unchanging and universal values; therefore, in order for future generations to benefit from a similar understanding remnants need to be preserved in their original condition — something over which only heritage professionals have proper authority (Labadi, 2013; Mason, 2002; Smith, 2006; Waterton, Smith & Campbell, 2006). That these laws reflected the dominant philosophy of the time are not surprising, but given that a paradigm shift — in which heritage values are no longer seen as intrinsic to an object (Mason, 2002) — has been taking place in the last few decades, it is interesting that an official manual on caring for

Philippine built cultural heritage published in 2007 still opined that the “conservation of heritage is best entrusted to trained professionals” (Villalon, 2007), and specifically promotes adherence to the problematic (Smith, 2006) 1964 Venice Charter when conserving material heritage (Mata, 2007).

## **HERITAGE ADVOCACY AND THE CURRENT BUILT CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY**

Private foundations have been bringing heritage conservation to public consciousness since the 1970s (Salcedo *et al.*, 2002), but it was in the post-Marcos era that heritage advocacy groups became more established at both national and local levels, mostly in response to the growing number of built heritage “losses” (Zerrudo, 2008). Today local groups are often the first ones to alert national agencies about potential issues, given that nationwide monitoring of all declared and presumed cultural properties is lacking (Diokno, 2012). Members of prominent groups also contributed in drafting and pushing for the first major built cultural heritage law since the Marcos era: Republic Act No. 10066 or the “National Cultural Heritage Act” [NCHA] (Salcedo *et al.*, 2002; Zerrudo, 2008).

Under the NCHA, any structure at least 50 years old is presumed to be an “Important Cultural Property” unless declared otherwise. The law can also order development proponents to cease and desist from activities deemed “improper”, or compel owners to repair or maintain neglected structures. Seen as a much-needed overhaul of the legal framework on cultural heritage preservation in the Philippines, the NCHA nevertheless still suffers from several deficiencies, including its structure of financial incentives for cultural property owners and the feasibility of executing many of its ambitious provisions (Akpodonu & Saloma, 2011; Diokno, 2012; Senate of the Philippines, 2013; Venida, 2007).

Perhaps most pertinent for a post-colonial country with lingering issues of inequality like the Philippines, the NCHA extends state intrusion into communal and private spaces which have long been under, and continue to be in, the ownership, stewardship or curation of “non-experts” in cultural heritage management. Since the law does

not mandate or provide a venue for deliberation — where excessive regulatory burden from the State or less reasonable demands by interest groups can be challenged — this can affect how those at the margins of power engage with heritage, as in the case of Sariaya.

## SARIAYA AND THE EVOLUTION OF ITS URBAN LANDSCAPE



Figure 1: Map of the southern part of Luzon Island, showing the full territorial extent of Sariaya municipality, and the locations of urban centres of Manila, Sariaya and Lucena, as well as relevant roads and topographic features (after Google, 2017).

Sariaya is a municipality of 150,000 inhabitants in the province of Quezon, located along the national highway between Manila and the provincial capital Lucena. The spatial organisation of its *población*, home to around 10,000 residents, is typical of Philippine towns founded during the Spanish colonial period: streets are in an orthogonal grid, while the town church and municipal hall flank a central civic plaza (Mata, 2010). The landed elite — usually members of pre-existing native noble classes, or of the town's founding families — lived in houses around or in close proximity to the town's central plaza, thereby also maintaining their proximity to the centres of temporal and spiritual power (Mata, 2010; Dedace, 2013e).

Elements of Sariaya's current urban landscape can be linked to the landowning elite's entrenchment at the top levels of power at the dawn of the 20th century. With the new American colonial government encouraging a plantation economy vast, fertile areas at the foot of the dormant Banahaw volcano were converted into plantations for coconut — its oil highly valued in the world market as raw material for the industrial manufacture of soap, margarine, and later explosives and pharmaceuticals (Borja, 1927; Boyce, 1992). In Sariaya, the bigger landowners were able to convert lands for coconut production starting 1910 (Boyce, 1992; Dedace, 2013c). This was accomplished at the expense of poor and illiterate farmers who were unable to acquire titles and subsequently lost their lands in the process (Dedace, 2013c). Benefiting from the economic windfall, the landowning and educated elite of Sariaya built or renovated their houses using Art Deco, Beaux Arts and Art Nouveau designs by top foreign-trained architects from Manila, craftsmanship of non-local artisans, and furnishings from Europe and the United States (Dedace, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Rodriguez, 2011). One such house is the Natalio Enriquez mansion, built in 1931 and named after its builder, a former provincial governor. Declared a "heritage house" in May 2008 for being an exemplary early 20th century structure in the Beaux Arts and Art Deco styles, as well as its ties to prominent Filipino politicians and artists (NHI Resolution No. 02, 2008), it is enclosed by a wrought iron fence and gate that dates to the same time.



Figure 2: Street view showing the Natalio Enriquez mansion and its enclosing fence and gates made of wrought iron, brick and concrete (Google, 2016).

The wealth generated during the coconut boom era of the 1920s and 1930s was also used to reshape public space in central Sariaya (Dedace, 2013c, 2013e): the large church plaza was split, allowing the national highway to be straightened into its current path; the civic park was landscaped and two monuments were erected therein; and electric lamp posts were installed around the park, benefiting the elite who lived in the immediate vicinity. The construction of the Natalio Enriquez mansion also filled the vacant lot east of the church, which previously served an important purpose for ordinary folks as venue of market days and town fairs (Dedace, 2013c).

After the fall in demand for coconut oil in the world market, four conflagrations and the Second World War, many of Sariaya's traditional elites moved to Manila or immigrated overseas in the 1950s and 1960s, and hired caretakers for their surviving houses (Dedace 2013a, 2013d; Lolarga, 1999). Some of these elite families' descendants are now members of local advocacy groups aiming to preserve these homes (Dedace 2013a; Rodriguez, 2011).

## **ROAD WIDENING AND OPPOSITION**

In March 2014 the Department of Public Works and Highways [DPWH], claiming high public support, began work on several projects aimed at easing traffic congestion along the national highway, one of which involved expanding the segment within downtown Sariaya from two lanes to four (Mallari Jr., 2014a, 2014c; Mangahas, 2014; Zoleta & Macairan, 2014). Along this stretch are several nationally-recognised historic places, as well as more than 20 private properties — all with ties to families that have attained some measure of political, social or economic success in the town — which were identified as having heritage value (<https://www.philippineheritagemap.org/>). In response, a group of concerned residents formed Sariaya Heritage Council Inc. [SHCI], a non-profit organisation aiming to “conserve, preserve, promote and disseminate the cultural heritage of Sariaya”; in no time, it became the town's most vocal and visible heritage advocacy group. When it became apparent that official DPWH pronouncements from the higher levels (DPWH, 2014) were contradicting actions observed on the

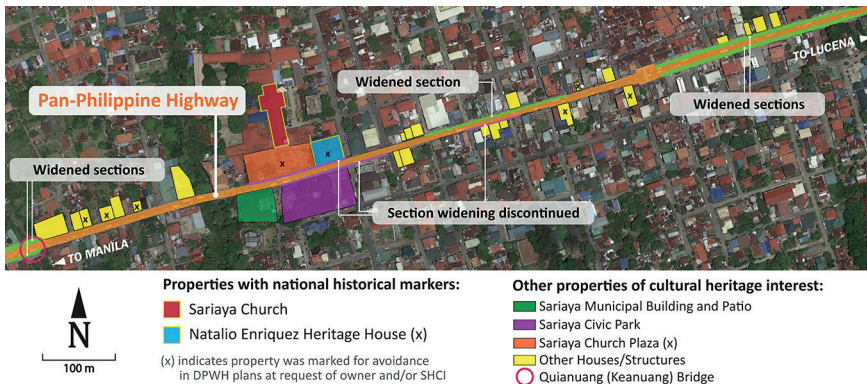


Figure 3: Map of Sariaya's poblacion showing the Pan-Philippine Highway and its post-road widening widths as of late 2016, with adjacent properties of heritage conservation interest marked (after Google, 2016 and Philippine Heritage Map, 2017)

ground (Zoleta & Macairan, 2014), SHCI actively publicised roadwork's in progress and the threat they posed to properties along the highway in both traditional (print and TV) media and online social media (Mallari Jr., 2014b; Mangahas, 2014; Sembrano, 2015). The media attention led the country's primary culture agency, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts [NCCA], to pressure the local DPWH district office to suspend work on some segments and propose a revision that would only widen select stretches; this first revised plan was still rejected by SHCI and the affected homeowners (Mangahas, 2014).

In early March 2015 SHCI alerted national media outlets to the supposed imminent threat of demolition of the "heritage fences" of the Natalio Enriquez mansion and the adjacent church plaza, along with ten other 50+ year-old houses whose owners oppose the roadworks (Mallari Jr., 2015a; Oiga, 2015). This prompted the NCCA to issue a cease-and-desist order against the local DPWH district office, which compelled the latter to meet with municipal officials and SHCI members, and led to new promises of sparing the requested heritage properties (Mallari Jr., 2015b). Steadfast opposition to any further roadwork despite many rounds of dialogue bore fruit when SHCI and its provincial-level counterpart finally secured a "stop order" memorandum in December 2015 from the office of the DPWH Secretary, which suspended all roadwork (DPWH, 2015).

Throughout 2014 and 2015, other local and national heritage interest



groups, who expressed solidarity with what they saw as a noble cause, also lent support to the SHCI in terms of logistics and resources. While the NCCA did facilitate arbitrations, conferences and meetings throughout 2015 (Aning, 2015; Macas, 2015; Mallari Jr., 2015c; Maristany, 2015), this only helped all stakeholders acquiesce to what was already a foregone conclusion favouring the better-resourced heritage advocates. Minor effort at publicising was made (i.e., merely posting an event notice at the municipal hall), but absent were genuine efforts conducting scientific opinion polling to properly gauge public sentiment at large, or proactive public information campaigns to provide ordinary citizens the proper background needed to make informed decisions.

When looking at the success of civic group efforts against road widening in Sariaya, is it merely a continuation of what Philippine historian Norman Owen (1971: 113) described as the elite successfully defining their own interests as those of the public?

### **CLASS, PRIVILEGE AND THE CENTRE**

The spatial arrangement within a typical Philippine *población* is undoubtedly an embodiment of the socio-political “hegemony” (Mata, 2010) of the colonial-era elite. This was the case in Sariaya: elite power was expressed and reinforced during the coconut-fuelled economic boom of the American period, when central Sariaya’s landscape was modified through beautification projects and the construction of the Natalio Enriquez mansion over a former communal space. What is rarely brought up in public discussions about tourism and heritage issues, however, are class and privilege.

Owners of vintage homes (colloquially called “ancestral houses”) claim that there no longer exists a distinction between “rich” and “poor” in Sariaya, citing their employment in local tourism and heritage groups as one reason (Rodriguez, 2011). Those who belong to the “old rich” are also especially averse to discussing inequality in the stories that they tell regarding local history, despite contemporary Sariaya being replete with tangible evidence (e.g. the front-most church pews specifically marked with the names of the rich families, consigning others to

the back), and intangible memories (e.g. children of elite families being favoured in school) or perceptions (e.g. people self-identifying their position in the social hierarchy based on their proximity to the centre) of the advantages they enjoyed at the expense of the lower classes (Dedace, 2013a, 2013b; Guevarra et al., 2014; Ozaeta, 2010; Rodriguez, 2011). Clearly, to avoid being labelled as part of the upper class is to downplay the power asymmetry with the common folk, but this avoidance also deliberately prevents an engagement with competing discourses not just about the past, but also the present, where the influence of class and privilege on shaping urban space can still be seen.



Figure 4: Street view in Sariaya, showing the municipal “covered court” (left) opposite the Natalio Enriquez mansion (right), along the Pan-Philippine Highway (Google, 2015).

For example, Sariaya’s mansion owners and their allies in heritage and tourism groups continue to push the municipal government to implement the 2008 plans for the “rehabilitation” of the civic park, drafted by the University of the Philippines College of Architecture with input by heritage professionals (Aning, 2015; Rodriguez, 2011). The most contentious aspect of that plan was the proposed removal of the municipal “covered court” which had been built within the civic park grounds in the 1990s (Aning, 2015; Rodriguez, 2011). Structures like this serve as a recreational and communal space for many ordinary

citizens, but all across the Philippines heritage advocates and *población* elites living nearby vilify their presence because they “ruin” the “carefully balanced architectural composition” of the plazas (Akpedonu & Saloma, 2011). Sariaya is no different. Homeowners of nearby mansions consider Sariaya’s covered court an “eyesore” that not only destroys the park’s “aesthetic value” but also obstructs views to the mansions, while to the common folk it holds a different value tied to its use for recreation, in addition to its value as a designated evacuation centre and public events venue (Aning, 2015; Rodriguez, 2011).

Meanings ascribed to physical space *do* differ by class in Sariaya, but the kind of heritage advocacy seen here is far from being an inclusive exercise in which wider segments of the population were actively encouraged to participate. Currently the laws do not specify how the NCCA or the local government is supposed to prepare for and conduct a hearing or forum to resolve issues. This is where the work of the AHD has benefited better-resourced heritage advocates of Sariaya the most.

### **THE AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE: AN ASSET TO NEUTRALISE OPPOSITION**

The way “heritage” is thought of and advocated for in Sariaya avoids engaging with the topics of class and privilege. This prevents the wider public from seeing the past through the lens of social inequality, and from seeing present heritage advocacy efforts as an extension of historical privileges afforded to the upper class. The AHD was successful in neutralising opposition in two ways.

First, heritage advocates defended the “top-down relationship” between experts, users and heritage site (Smith, 2006: 34), by publicly denouncing those who challenged the worth of preserving built heritage for being unable to understand the significance of these places the same way they do (Mangahas, 2014; Sembrano, 2015). This effectively shames the less powerful from voicing their legitimate concerns. Second, in the process of settling the road widening issue, the most engagement the wider community ever got was merely “receiving the wisdom and knowledge” of experts, with the public as uncritical, passive recipients of authoritative knowledge (Smith, 2006: 34).

The result is evident in the quality of knowledge and opinion amongst Sariaya residents. In printed or aired media interviews which solicited opinions from residents not engaging in pro-preservation advocacy (Mallari Jr., 2015a; Manio, 2015), responses rarely referenced the heritage values of the church, elite mansions or the streetscape, unlike their pro-preservation counterparts. Even by early 2016, months after road work along the highway had been suspended, some residents still thought the main church structure and Natalio Enriquez mansion themselves would be entirely demolished (Rojo *et al.*, 2016). This belief was spread throughout social media by heritage groups in early 2015 (Oiga, 2015); at one point it was even used to recapture media attention through a deliberately misleading anonymous tip (Mallari Jr., 2015b). However, when student documentarists Rojo *et al.* (2016) clarified that only the fences would be affected, respondents agreed with the road widening plan. Those who did oppose spoke as if they were repeating *the* only possible stance that an upstanding resident of Sariaya should have. They also could not elaborate more on their position: one respondent just cited the old age of the mansion as reason enough (Rojo *et al.*, 2016), mimicking the authorised discourse. Public support for preserving Sariaya's heritage streetscape, if at all expressed, is thus based on unexamined, received wisdom from heritage advocates, as well as incomplete, misleading or imperfect information that heritage advocates also had some responsibility in helping spread. This scenario is not confined to Sariaya; there are towns all over the Philippines dealing with similar local histories and development pressures.

## **IMPORTANCE OF CRITICAL HERITAGE STUDIES**

Many heritage professionals and commentators in the Philippines decry the lack of wider public appreciation and support for preservation; this paper reveals aspects of why this is the case. In a country where the legal framework on built cultural heritage preservation lacks broad participatory mechanisms, what can happen, as the case of Sariaya illustrates, is that desired outcomes of those championing the authorised heritage discourse become adopted by default without

clear support from the wider community. In a way, the actions of the elite and their allies in heritage advocacy also helped them regain a measure of influence over the physical landscape without having to fully engage with their continued role in determining what is worthy of development or preservation in the present.

By not meaningfully engaging with the larger public, heritage advocates in Sariaya and their sympathisers in government agencies prevented the dominant discourse from being critiqued, challenged and changed. Thus a full reckoning of the value of the houses and street features they are trying to preserve was not achieved. As a growing town, however, Sariaya — as a proxy for many similar locales throughout the Philippines — is bound to face more developments that will relitigate this subject. The work of the NCCA, as well as other heritage-related state agencies, must go beyond just “managing away” the underlying issues through uncritical alignment with pro-preservation groups. Through the lens of critical heritage studies, heritage managers can contextualise contestations and see the political, social and cultural work that the seemingly neutral and noble act of built cultural heritage preservation does in the present-day, and thereafter guide decision-making toward more open, inclusive and equitable solutions.

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## Part Two

### Chapter 3

#### **RIO DE JANEIRO'S HISTORICAL CENTRE AND ADJACENT NEIGHBOURHOODS: CHALLENGES OF URBAN POLICY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE BUILT CULTURAL HERITAGE**

Evelyn Lima & Leonardo Mesentier

#### **Abstract**

The focus of this chapter is to discuss the necessary integration between urban planning and heritage preservation policies concerning interventions in the peripheral districts of Rio de Janeiro's historical centre. Throughout the 19th-century, this area was mainly residential. At the beginning of the 1900s, this occupation became less intense, but in districts close to the city centre, dwellings continued to be built. Housing and local services created organic links between the social and urban fabrics, establishing a connection amid the memory and collective identities. In the last decades of the 20th-century many of those urban areas spotted with listed old buildings of valuable heritage — support of memory and representation of collective identities — ended up being occupied by new social segments attracted by the so-called "creative industry" causing gentrification. The field research, the collected statistic data and the analysed municipal laws indicated that unsuccessful interventions have often been based only on shape and image, ignoring social structure as a crucial genetic and generating element, which guarantees urban sustainability. Starting with a theoretical approach grounded in Halbwachs (1950), Lefebvre (1974), and Rossa (2015), we identified the urban dynamics' consequences in the city center and its adjacent districts regarding their social fabric. Therefore, urban and cultural heritage preservation policies cannot be restricted to the maintenance of the architectural features of a building or an urban set of buildings that support memory. It is also insufficient to transform the historical area into a service or creative industry centre as planned by later municipal authorities, without residences, local trade, or incentives for the more characteristic crafts of the region, the very social and economic structure of the peripheral areas of Rio de Janeiro's historical centre. So, aiming to maintain those areas' cultural

identities, we concluded that a sustainable development perspective demands local policies that contemplate the original social fabric of the built environment.

**Keywords:** *Cultural Heritage; Urban Dynamics; Cultural Identity; Historical Areas; Rio de Janeiro.*

Throughout the 19th and early 20th-centuries, the centre of Rio de Janeiro and especially the neighbourhoods bordering this area were occupied by residential use. At the beginning of the last century, this phenomenon became less intense, but in districts close to the city centre, dwellings continued to be built. Housing, specific small manufacturing stores, and local services created organic links between the social and urban fabrics, establishing a connection amid the memory and collective identities in the city.

In the last decades of the 20th-century, a new perspective emerged in cultural heritage in the *Centro*, associated with the service economy, with an emphasis on artistic-cultural production. Therefore, many of the built sets of valuable heritage — support of memory and representation of collective identities — ended up being occupied by new social segments attracted by the new so-called “creative industry”, causing gentrification mainly in those urban areas spotted with listed old buildings.

The focus of this article is the discussion of the necessary integration between urban planning and heritage preservation policies, concerning projects in the districts peripheral to the centre of Rio de Janeiro. We consider that unsuccessful interventions were often based only on shape and image, ignoring social structure as a crucial genetic and generating element that can guarantee urban sustainability (Rossa, 2015: 12). Therefore, the urban and cultural heritage preservation policies must not be restricted to maintaining the old buildings that support memory and identity but must incorporate policies that guarantee the original social fabric of that environment.

Starting the analysis with a theoretical approach grounded in Halbwachs (1950), Lefebvre (1974), and Rossa (2015), we identified the consequences of the urban dynamics in the *Centro* and its peripheral areas concerning the social fabric and the cultural identity

of these areas. It is insufficient to transform the area into a service centre and a creative industry centre as planned by later municipal authorities, without residences, local trade, or incentives for the more characteristic crafts of the region, the very social and economic structure of the peripheral areas of Rio de Janeiro's historical centre. Rio de Janeiro's 1992 *Master Plan* (local) and the *Brazilian 2001 City Statute* (central government) publication state that urban actions should first consider the assets of cultural value to preserve before establishing an urban plan. Hence, this article seeks to examine the integration of these policies, observing urban interventions in the older districts adjacent to the central area, which encompasses the neighbourhoods of the Docklands Area, Rio Comprido, São Cristóvão, Santa Teresa, and Paquetá Island (Paquetá). The location of Rio de Janeiro's *Centro* and adjacent neighbourhoods is indicated in Figure 1, and the statistics of current inhabitants still living in those districts are in Table 1.

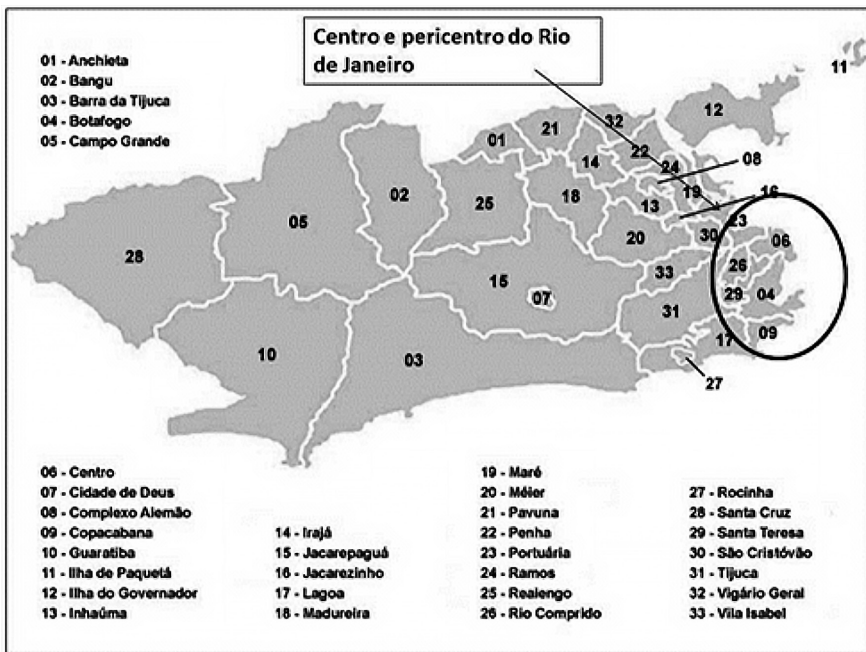


Figure 1: The Centro of Rio de Janeiro is in fact at the entrance of Guanabara Bay, where the city was founded in 1565. The adjacent neighbourhoods to the Centro are surrounded by the black circle, except for Paquetá Island (number eleven). Source: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro.

<b>Administrative Sector</b>	<b>Neighbourhood</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Pop</b>	<b>Density</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>Docklands Area</b>	Saúde Gamboa, Santo Cristo, and Caju	<b>49.507 hab.</b>	<b>Medium-low and low.</b>
<b>II</b>	<b>Centro</b>	Centro and Lapa	<b>41.855 hab.</b>	<b>Medium-high, medium and medium low</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>Rio Comprido</b>	Catumbi, Cidade Nova, Estácio, and Rio Comprido	<b>80.343 hab.</b>	<b>medium low and low.</b>
<b>XXIII</b>	<b>Santa Teresa</b>	Santa Teresa	<b>41.635 hab.</b>	<b>Medium-high and medium</b>
<b>VII</b>	<b>São Cristóvão</b>	Benfica, Mangueira, São Cristóvão e Vasco da Gama	<b>86.378 hab.</b>	<b>medium, medium low and low</b>
<b>XXI</b>	<b>Paqueta</b>	Paqueta	<b>3.419 hab.</b>	<b>medium, medium low</b>

Table 1: Population and density in the Centro and adjacent neighbourhoods. 2012. Source: <http://www.riocomovamos.org.br>

Having selected the centre and adjacent neighbourhoods as a case study, we examined the historical process of the formation of the urban fabric, after which we analysed the area at the present time. Following this, we discussed, from a theoretical perspective, the current consequences of the intra-urban dynamics of these areas and their impacts on the social fabric in the built environment with cultural value. The focus on the relationship between urban policy and heritage policy, as well as the role of the organic links between the social and the urban fabric, pointed to a re-evaluation of interventions applied in areas adjacent to Rio de Janeiro's centre. The purpose of this essay is, therefore, to reflect on this process by asking:

- (i) How is the current urban development in Rio affecting the central area social fabric and, consequently, the connections between cultural heritage and social memory?

(ii) What are the impacts of the social fabric disintegration resulting from the displacement of the cultural heritage areas residents?

(iii) How does the loss of the organic links between the built environment and the social fabric affect inter-subjective relations in Rio?

Responding to these questions required an analysis of the association amongst urban fabric, social fabric, memory, and identity, but first it demanded an understanding of the links between urban policy and the policy of maintenance of cultural heritage. The field research, the collected statistic data and the analysed municipal laws indicated that unsuccessful interventions have often been based only on shape and image, ignoring social structure as a crucial genetic and generating element, which guarantees urban sustainability.

## **THE FORMATION OF THE CENTRE OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND ITS ADJACENT NEIGHBOURHOODS**

Since the second half of the 19th-century, due to (i) political, economic and social changes associated with the expansion of the coffee economy, (ii) the transition from slavery to waged employees, and (iii) the establishment of the first industries in the city, Rio de Janeiro has undergone significant growth.

In a short period, between 1838 and 1870, the city's population grew by 72%, while the *urban parishes*, closest to the *Centro*, expanded by 97% in the same period (Abreu, 1987: 39). Between 1872 and 1890, the accelerated growth of the city continued, with the population of the urban parishes rising from 228,743 to 429,745 — an increase of 88% (Abreu, 1987: 54). In other words, the population of these parishes quadrupled between 1838 and 1890, with most of this expansion occurring in the *Centro* district and the peripheral areas around it. The necessity for cheap housing for the growing contingent of workers migrating from the country who needed to settle in the centre to ensure their survival, alongside privileged landowners and tenants with a chance of obtaining good incomes, led to the construction of new types of collectivized housing. These houses varied and could be either inns, concentrated, high density urban housing where people

live with poor sanitation and hygiene conditions, such as tenement-houses and *cortiços*, which, due to the agglomeration of people, led to a drastic decrease in living conditions, causing constant epidemics in the city.<sup>1</sup>

With the rapid expansion of the city centre in the second half of the 19th-century, the low-income population settled in areas that, at the time, were on the outskirts. At the turn of the new century, the districts around the Centre of Rio de Janeiro, such as The Docklands, São Cristóvão, Estácio, Cruz Vermelha, Lapa, Santa Teresa, and Glória were already densely inhabited. A housing crisis affected mainly the poorest segments of the population. In this accelerated development process, particularly after the 1880s, it became obvious that the city needed a central business district and consequently, prohibitions on the building of tenements around the *Centro* became more forceful, while the municipality banned new projects for residential use in the central area.

Modernity was fundamentally an urban phenomenon in the 20th-century, with the introduction of new means of production presented by machines and factories, new means of circulation introduced by mechanized transport, and the rise of mass consumption. Due to population growth, to a large-scale migration to Rio,<sup>2</sup> and the opening of factories and manufactures, the government decided to implement urbanization inspired by European rationalist experiences. At the very beginning of the century, inspired by Haussmann's incisive interventions in Paris, Mayor Pereira Passos built Rio Branco Avenue and a new cosmopolite environment for the city centre. This involved the demolition of large numbers of tenements and the eviction of squatters, considered intolerable in a cosmopolite city (Rocha & Carvalho, 1986). The central streets and avenues began to house mainly commercial activities, newspaper offices and private companies besides government agencies. However, in the adjacent neighborhoods such as Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo, São Cristóvão, Estácio,

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<sup>1</sup> To understand the housing problems in Rio de Janeiro in the last century, see Vaz, Lilian F. 2002. *Modernidade e moradia. Habitação coletiva no Rio de Janeiro nos séculos XIX e XX*. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras.

<sup>2</sup> Rio de Janeiro was the capital of Brazil from 1763 to 1960. Since the beginning of the 1900s, the city attracted rural migration to the central area in search of jobs at the manufactures.



Cruz Vermelha, Lapa, Glória and Santa Teresa, residential use was still permitted.

After the building of Rio Branco Avenue (1903-1906), Rio de Janeiro's city centre would undergo further intense transformations such as the "Removal of Castelo Hill" (1922), involving the eviction of the low-income population and demolition of the Jesuits' College and San Sebastian Church. Although the Federal Historic and Artistic Heritage Service [SPHAN] was created in Brazil in 1937, especially to protect baroque and neoclassical churches and palaces, a little later, from 1938 to 1945, a drastic urban surgery would be carried out during the construction of Presidente Vargas Avenue, removing the poor population who lived in the city centre, and demolishing three significant churches, a hospital, several public buildings and the most popular square in Carioca songs: the Praça Onze.<sup>3</sup> The habit of destroying urban fabrics to build new buildings, without any concern for the memory of the inhabitants and urban spaces, was adopted by governments as a rule until the last quarter of the 20th-century.

In the 1950s, the government also removed Santo Antônio Hill, promoting a further displacement of the low-income population to the peripheries, aiming to eliminate the dwellings of poor immigrants or internal migrants in the city centre, usually consisting of subdivided old houses or slums. Fortunately, the Convent of St. Anthony and the neighbouring Church of the Third Order of St. Francis, both exceptional works of baroque art, have been preserved.

### **IMPACTS OF THE DISAGGREGATION OF THE SOCIAL FABRIC IN THE CITY CENTRE AND SURROUNDING AREA**

Although these case study districts are not all connected as a homogeneous urban fabric, they have numerous urban and morphological qualities that allow us to observe a certain harmony in their ambiance. The alignments and rhythms of land subdivision, with long narrow lots of land, houses with medium and low height,

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<sup>3</sup> For more detail on those demolitions, see Lima, E. F. W. 1995, *Avenida Presidente Vargas: uma drástica cirurgia*. Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria das Culturas/DGDI.

and similar coating materials and constructive systems, with few exceptions, shaped the physiognomy of the constructed landscape in the neighbourhoods adjacent to the *Centro* (Lima, 2004). Since the Central Business District [CBD] was established along Rio Branco Avenue, the *Centro* became associated with labour activities, and its peripheral area — the first parishes dating from the 19th-century — began to be considered as part of the “old” city inhabited by the working class. Throughout the 20th-century, residential use was expressively reduced in the central area, but it never completely disappeared from the districts near to the centre.<sup>4</sup>

New transportation systems induced higher-income population to move to distant areas, and reduced residential use in the central area, except for the lower-income inhabitants. Thus, in the areas nearest to the city centre, the population who inhabited most of the real estate with cultural value usually had insufficient income to guarantee the conservation of their dwellings, which required specific artisanship for architectural maintenance and restoration.

Simultaneously, this process of urban dynamics created organic links between this population and the built environment of cultural value in relation to the social and the urban fabric, engendering a relationship with the urban supports for collective memory, therefore contributing to the establishment of different identities in the city. It is worth adding that living near the city centre means living near the core of the city, where labour, public and private services are nearer, and transportation is less expensive.

Moving to more remote locations to make room for higher social strata causes the existing social fabric to disintegrate. Unfortunately, gentrification — by imposing the dispersion of a social group in the territory — dissolves that group and ends up leading it to a loss of identity. This process results, in a first moment, in loss of identity and, in a second moment, in processes of reconstitution of identities dissociated from the historical memory and daily life of the group of origin.

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<sup>4</sup> I have coordinated the first APAC with housing proposals for the existing *sobrados*. See Lima, Evelyn F. W. *et al.* 1992. “Cruz Vermelha e adjacências: Um plano para a preservação da área”. In *Cadernos do Patrimônio Cultural*, 2. Rio de Janeiro. 2-44.

## THE CITY CENTRE OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS AT THE PRESENT TIME

From the 1980s to 2010, urban interventions, taxes incentives, and economic-social dynamics in Rio de Janeiro prioritized the city centre as the main financial area in the whole state. This means the *Centro* is currently: (i) the best-endowed area of the city in terms of cultural equipment; (ii) a broad and diversified trade area; (iii) a concentration area of hotels, restaurants, pubs, and bars (iv) an area of numerous educational institutions, including universities; (v) the most massive area of public, federal, state and municipal bodies and civil society organizations; (vi) an area of exceptional historical and cultural heritage buildings; (vii) the city's largest area in terms of urban mobility; (viii) the area with highest concentration of services in the city. Therefore, business activities, commerce, and services were consolidated in *Centro*, spreading toward adjacent neighbourhoods, and inciting the inhabitants to move.

The city centre regeneration continued during the 1980s, involving both actions seeking its effective revaluation, with a much comprehensive recognition of the built real estate value and the establishment of cultural enterprises. In the mid-1980s, the concerns on the Cultural Heritage shifted from buildings and monuments of exceptional individual value for the history of the city which were listed and protected, to also include in the preservation the set of buildings that were representative of the city urban history different phases. The first protection area was the *Corredor Cultural* area, the older part of the city.<sup>5</sup> Regarding the cosmetic preservation policies adopted in many historical centres, as it happened in Rio, Rossa states that:

For the centres, however, one believes that the restructuring of the public space in a cosmetic process equivalent to the

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<sup>5</sup> For more information on the positive and negative aspects of the Corredor Cultural Area, see: Mesentier, Leonardo. 1995. "A renovação preservadora: um ensaio sobre a gênese de um modo de urbanização no centro do Rio de Janeiro". In *Anais do V Encontro Nacional da ANPUR*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG/CEDEPLAR. (1)123-143; and Lima, E. F. W. 2005. "Preservação do patrimônio: uma análise das práticas adotadas no centro do Rio de Janeiro". In *Patrimônio- Revista Eletrônica do IPHAN*, [www.revista.iphan.gov.br](http://portal.iphan.gov.br), <http://portal.iphan.gov.br/portal/baixaFcdAnexo.do?id=525>.

facade restoration campaigns (chromatic or not) is enough or, at least, healthy, when they are no more than illusory and non-responsible palliatives. And consequently, centres are being isolated, treated as a burden of respectable old age, but always a burden.<sup>6</sup>

We agree with the assertion that restoring no more than facades and forgetting the population that inhabits the properties or could inhabit them is a mistaken view, but it was the policy that contained the fury of real estate speculation in the city of Rio de Janeiro at that moment. On the other hand, in the peripheral areas to the *Centro*, significant assets were being demolished.

Nevertheless, it was the *1992 Master Plan* signed by the public local authorities that created the Protection Areas for the Cultural Environment [APACs] that began to curb the greed of the real estate market, although it did not guarantee the inhabitants permanence.<sup>7</sup> Following the APAC's Rules, financial incentives for the physical restoration of *sobrados* (two or three floor-old houses) only consisted of exemption from IPTU (Urban Land Tax) and the Construction Tax for the owners who restored their properties. Well-intentioned municipal government measures, however, resulted in some undesirable effects. In the *Corredor Cultural* area, for instance, the real Central Business District of the city, the land valorisation caused by the conversion of the mixed-use buildings to exclusively commercial use, justified the conservation and maintenance of old buildings by the urban territorial tax high value, which owners stopped paying. However, this did not occur in the adjacent neighbourhoods, also occupied before the 1890s, a time of expansion of housing and activities, resulting in a

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<sup>6</sup> Rossa, 2015: 40. ["Para os centros acredita-se, contudo, que a reforma do espaço público numa cosmética equivalente às campanhas de recuperação de fachadas (cromática ou não) é suficiente ou, pelo menos, saudável, quando na realidade não são mais que paliativos ilusórios e desresponsabilizadores. E assim se vão isolando os centros, tratando-os como um fardo de velhice respeitável, mas sempre um fardo."].

<sup>7</sup> In 1992, with the Decennial Master Plan, a clear and effective public policy of protection of the cultural heritage established the Protection Areas for the Cultural Environment - APACs, instrument used for the built environment protection. The old APAs that protected the built heritage became APACs, and the Areas of Environmental Preservation [APAs] started to be used only for the natural environment.

noteworthy complex of assets with significant historical value. In these peripheral areas, mostly encompassed as APACs, the urban land tax is much lower, and its exemption does not cover the high cost of carrying out conservation works in old listed houses of cultural value.

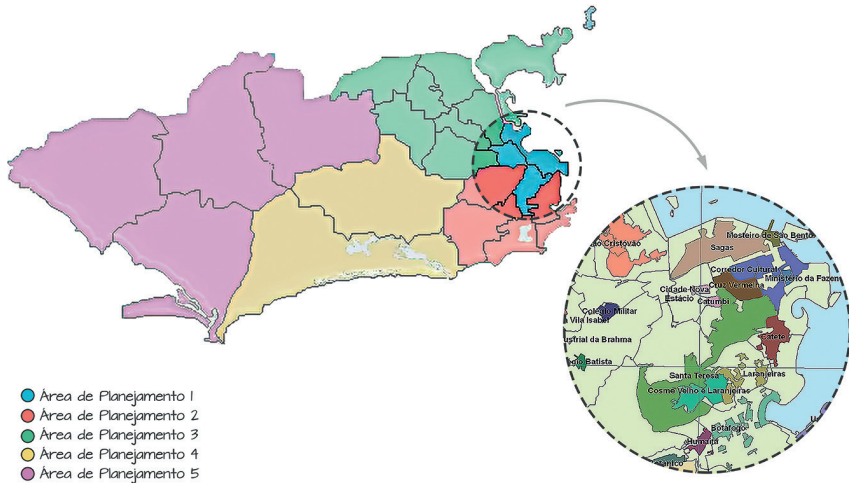


Figure 2: Protection Areas for the Cultural Environment [APACs] for the central neighbourhoods. The purple area is the Corredor Cultural, the older part of the city and essentially non-residential. Source: City Hall of Rio de Janeiro.

A new perspective of the residential use began to emerge in the 1990s, involving a reversal of long-term tendencies, which had begun in the late 19th-century or earlier. Consequently, previously abandoned areas of cultural value began to be re-adapted and occupied by activities related to cultural use. This happened in the Lapa district, in Praça XV — between the Imperial Palace and the Banco do Brasil Cultural Centre —, in Sacadura Cabral Street, and in the area between São Francisco da Prainha Church and the Valongo Wharf in Saúde. In the mid-1990s and in the new millennium, the municipality invested in urban interventions aiming at the physical recovery of the built cultural heritage, the redevelopment of public areas, and the reconnection of the road system to ensure better accessibility.

To encourage housing in the *Centro*, the *New Alternatives Program* was created in the years 1996-2003 to adequate the many abandoned

historic-cultural properties existing in the central area and adjacent neighborhoods, benefitting from urban infrastructure networks. Rehabilitations and adaptations used government funds for housing of social interest and allowed to sell the dwellings at a low cost to the low-income population. Intending to develop economic and social development actions, the *New Alternatives Programme* promoted mainly the construction and/or adaptation of housing, associating them with trade and services. Nevertheless, the results were under expectations, and the program was interrupted in the change of the municipal government.

On the other hand, the recovery in economic growth (2003-2010) triggered new developments and a rise in the valuation of real estate, as well as a continuation of the removal of the lower-income population, leading to gentrification. The relationship between the social and the urban fabric collapsed, consequently producing an impact on the dynamics of social memories and identities in the city. It is obvious that improving the infrastructure and illuminating public spaces implies a process of land valorisation. The greatest danger occurs when these improvements cause the immediate increase of rents and taxes, expelling the resident population, often consisting of traditional families of former workers who end up seeking accommodation in the periphery or in *favelas*.

According to Rio de Janeiro municipal data, between 1970 and 2000, *Centro* and surrounding areas lost almost 27% of their resident population. Between 1991 and 2000, the population decreased at the rate of 12.6%, the highest among all the regions of the municipality. Thus, as the population of the city centre and adjacent districts declined, commercial, services and business activities improved, advancing towards the adjacent districts. New activities replaced older ones in the remaining urban fabric, causing social disruption.

One of the major problematic projects started in 2009 when the city of Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the 2016 Olympic Games, and as part of the city's preparation for the event, at the end of 2011, started the *Operação Urbana Consorciada* of the Port of Rio de Janeiro [Consortium Urban Operation of the Port of Rio de Janeiro]. According to the municipality, with the objective of providing the region with public equipment and stimulating the construction of commercial and

residential real estate, the *OUCPRJ* occupies an area of 5 million square meters, where about 30 thousand people live in different favelas and in the neighbourhoods of Saúde, Gamboa, Santo Cristo, and São Cristóvão. Most families living in the region have low incomes and low power to influence political decisions and public administration. More than 50% of the residents have a monthly household income per capita of less than a minimum wage, that is, € 216, and 26% of the residents, one to two minimum wages.<sup>8</sup>

These projects redesigned vast areas with different programs and facilities, concentrating large spectacular architectural structures for museums and cultural centres. It is even possible to understand that scenographic architecture can increase the self-esteem of middle-class travellers, but these strategies, in fact, aim to attract international investments to the municipality and ignore the residents' expectations. Cultural equipment, such as the many museums that embellish the Docklands region, cannot hide the distress of thousands of families who live in the region or have been violently removed to give way to the real estate capital. The old streets and spaces previously intended for sociability exchanges — the real “lived space” as defined by Lefebvre — assume the condition of the “representation of an artificial space”, unrelated to residents and users, since they were created all at once, without considering traditions and local identities (Lefebvre, 1974: 43-59).

As Rossa points out, the urban heritage “cannot withstand the economic vandalism, the new rich, arbitrary and deprived of socio-cultural concern work as synonymous with progress.” (2015: 26).

The expansion of the service sector — which has become the strongest sector in Rio de Janeiro's economy, and specifically, the growth of cultural and leisure activities implied intra-urban dynamics restructuring, more expressively in central areas and surrounding neighbourhoods. Therefore, the renewal of central and adjacent areas has recently become the main object of large urban intervention projects, encompassing actions to restore constructed cultural heritage, often in a state of degradation.

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<sup>8</sup> Data obtained from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas [IBGE] — Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2010).

Especially in those spaces occupied by architectural complexes with significant cultural value, the gentrification process is a contemporary fact, and emerges in preserved areas which aggregate support for the memory and representation of collective identities. Unfortunately, the cultural heritage ends up being occupied by the new segments attracted by the so-called the “creative industry” that induces the expulsion of the former residents. Due to the rise in the rent of old dwellings of cultural value, dislodgments of the lower-income population continue to occur, because urban policies cannot contribute to maintaining the population. Gentrification thereby produces a disaggregation of the relationship between the social and urban fabric, promoting a discontinuity in the relations between both, and affecting the dynamics of memories and identities in the city.

### **THE RELATIONSHIP AMONGST THE URBAN AND SOCIAL FABRICS, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY**

The analysis proved a problematical interface between heritage and urban policies, which displace populations and disaggregate the urban fabric and the dynamics of traditional populations’ collective memory. Mauricio Abreu rightly points out that the memory of place is the “locus of the social group because the memory of the place or of a city is the collective memory itself” (Abreu, 1998: 78). The French theorist Maurice Halbwachs, who conceptualizing it as a set of memories built and referenced transcending the individual, further asserts that collective memory is a continuous stream of thought that retains from the past only what is alive or capable of living from the consciousness of a group. For him, if memory can be an individual property, places and dates that “only make sense in relation to the place to which we belong” can only reference memories (Halbwachs, 1950: 5). The end of the Enlightenment, which preached the idea of progress in a homogeneous and linear time, triggered a deep desire for investigating the past. One of the theorists who discussed this aspect was Le Goff (1990: 14) for whom “historical time finds, at a very sophisticated level, the time of old memories, which intersects history and feeds it” (Le Goff, 1990: 13).



According to Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (1994), old homogenous times coexist and interact with recent times. Social memory, therefore, establishes relationships with materiality inherited from the past, but it does so in accordance with the social conditions of the present. In other words, a photo, a building, or a document are elements of memory, but how this recovery will occur depends on the social conditions of the present. The role of a building in collective memory, therefore, depends on the existence of the building itself, but also on how social structures interact with each other and with the building. Thus, for example, the exchange of residents of a building because of a process of urban restructuring that modifies land use in a certain urban area will result in a restructuring of collective memory. On the other hand, Françoise Choay (1992) criticizes the urban sceneries formed by the facades of old buildings, whose interiors have been demolished and which are intended for economic or tourist-cultural use (Choay, 1992: 240). This author denounces in particular the inflation of the historical-architectural heritage scenographic practices that started in Europe since the 1960s, criticizing it a cult that becomes fetishism.

However, we believe that the search for the past reflects the emergence of a new relationship between the inhabitants and places that imply collective memory, although much of what existed in urban landscapes no longer exists. It is worth remembering Pierre Nora's concept of memory, when he points out that Memory is life, always carried by living groups and, in this sense, it is in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembrance and forgetfulness, unaware of its successive deformations, vulnerable to all uses and manipulations, susceptible to long latencies and sudden revitalizations. [...] Memory is rooted in concrete, in space, in gesture, an image, an object (Nora, 1993: 9).

The impositions of the real estate market on urban dynamics induce processes of segregation, such as Rio de Janeiro housing policy, which prioritized the transfer of the low-income populations to places far from the city centre. Places without urban infrastructure, transportation, schools, medical care, and other services, which abounded in *Centro*, much valued since the urban legislation prohibited residential use in its area, altering it for business, commerce, and administrative services

uses. Currently, however, the focus of real estate dynamics shifts to its central and adjacent areas, as highlighted by Neil Smith when he states that “the value of built improvements on a piece of land, as well as on surrounding land, influences the ground rent that landlords can demand; on the other hand, since land and buildings on it are inseparable, the price at which buildings change hands reflects the ground rent level” (Smith, 1979: 4).

One of the questions is that cultural heritage in these districts is often occupied by dwellers whose incomes do not guarantee their preservation. The physical rehabilitation of the built heritage ends up implying population displacements and loss of the organic links between the social and the urban fabric. Therefore, the exclusive maintenance of the visual identity of places of cultural value culminates by contradicting the maintenance of their identity.

The removal of residents due to gentrification has undeniable repercussions on urban culture, distressing the inter-subjective relations in the city, as the loss of collective identity causes a lack of consensus around collective objectives. This often intensifies alienation, racism, social prejudice, which result in diffuse, chronic, and sometimes acute violence.<sup>9</sup>

It is worth mentioning that the built environment carries the marks of history, culture, and income of residents of the diverse areas of the city. In Rio de Janeiro, the different characteristics between irregular settlements and the formal city; the suburbs and the southern zone; the most central historical areas and the modern expansion areas conform dissimilar urban landscapes and give identity to social groups. The loss of organic links between the built environment and the social fabric weakens the identity of the affected groups and leaves these groups at the mercy of identity reconstitution processes that are not determined by their historical trajectories. Therefore, groups that are victims of gentrification processes lose their ability to react and claim their interests, and dissolve into artificial mechanisms of identity production.

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<sup>9</sup> In Rio de Janeiro, this situation established what could be described as the “culture of critical socio-territorial segregation”, including the establishment of limits on circulation in certain areas of the territory for elements outside the area, often by barriers of drug dealers and militias in areas unassisted by the public authorities, leading to urban violence.

As a result, the formulation of urban policies and cultural preservation must not be restricted to the maintenance of the architectural features of a building or an urban set of buildings that constitute the support of memory, but when seeking a sustainable development perspective, it is also essential to incorporate policies that contemplate the social fabric that has always occupied that constructed heritage.

## CONCLUSION

In the last half of the XIX century, due to the accelerated expansion of Rio de Janeiro and the housing crisis, the areas near the city centre constituted the first peripheries of the city. Subsequently, along the 1900s, after the construction of large avenues, the removal of hills, and large real estate investments, the old central neighbourhoods were in decay and the lower income populations had to move into the older adjacent docklands area or other industrial neighborhoods, in which rents are lower, often in old houses of recognized cultural value, but without any conservation.

After studying the historical formation of the city, we noticed that new intra-urban dynamics had intensified the services sector, especially in the *Centro*, with a tendency to expand service activities towards the neighboring districts, promoting displacements of the inhabitants and imposing new patterns of social segregation on the territory (Mesentier, 2007: 1-10). The organic links between the population and the constructed environment of cultural value, that is, between the social and the urban fabric, caused the loss of inhabitants' identity and often of their cultural and traditional expressions. Urban policies in Rio transformed the real "lived space" as defined by Lefebvre, existing in the old neighbourhoods, into the new "representation of an artificial space", unrelated to residents and users, constituted at once by the government, disregarding local traditions and identities (Lefebvre, 1974: 54).

The new intra-urban dynamics induced processes of dissociation between the urban and the social fabric and increased the socio-territorial segregation, affecting the processes related to the displaced social groups' collective memory and identity. This process often

develops a cultural context marked by the idea of competition between social groups and individuals, with the corresponding loss of social support and of the sense of collectivity, implying an urban environment in which values and behaviors generate a greater entropy in daily life.

One of the possible answers for the problems lies in urban policies based on integrated planning that involves social monitoring, through projects of technical and multidisciplinary offices that may listen to the residents' wishes and seek to involve them in the project of which they must constitute an integral part.

The formulation of urban policies and cultural heritage should not be restricted to the preservation of the architectural complexes, which support identities. In Rio de Janeiro, since urban and cultural heritage policies are intrinsically related, according to the *1992 Master Plan* and in the *2001 City Statute*, the municipal government needs to establish a social management body to listen to the residents affected by urban restructuring projects, especially in the central areas of the city and its peripheral districts, to avoid their departure, and to assist them on how to get help to maintain their homes. Urban and social action plans must work together in order to support local inhabitants, while promoting the rehabilitation of real estate.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, specific regeneration projects, in general, disassociate the conception of an urban space from the necessary social policies. Degraded areas produced in the post-industrial period and the processes used to restructure them give rise to an idea of the city as a set of fragmented spaces. When seeking a sustainable development, it is essential to incorporate policies that assure the permanence of the inhabitants who have always lived in that built heritage, through social assistance, in parallel with urban and heritage institutions.

In urban culture, it is crucial that buildings whether symbolic palaces or simple workers' dwellings can undergo refurbishments that maintain their aesthetics and justify their new uses, without expelling the former residents. Therefore, we consider it essential that these uses are multifunctional, in other words, it is insufficient to transform the area

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<sup>10</sup> A proposal on that possibility is discussed in Lima & Steinhauser, 2002: 4-10. Web Source: <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/02.019/825>

into a service centre of creative industry, as public authorities intend, without including dwellings, small businesses, and small manufacturing micro-enterprises, characteristics of the old neighbourhoods that can support sustainability.

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## **Part Two**

### **Chapter 4**

#### **CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND CONTEMPORARY CITY: THE CONCEPT OF LANDSCAPE APPLIED TO URBAN POLICIES IN RIO DE JANEIRO**

Marcela Maciel Santana

##### **Abstract**

The present paper intends to discuss how the concept of landscape integrated to urban policies can contribute to the sustainable management of cities. It is proposed to discuss the theme from the emblematic case of Rio de Janeiro, whose cultural landscape was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2012. The inclusion of the cultural landscape of a city with metropolitan scale in the World Heritage List, such as Rio de Janeiro's, brought a forerunner debate into the international scene. Such novelty stems from the fact that so far, the recognized sites in this category were related to rural areas, traditional farming systems, gardens, and other results of the interaction between humankind and nature.

Meanwhile, Rio de Janeiro's recognized site deals with an urban landscape that emerged "between the sea and the mountain" including a forest, gardens, rock formations, waterfronts, and public spaces which deeply marks the cultural identity of the city. It is also important to mention that some neighborhoods and "favelas" are included as buffer zones. And so, this inscription at World Heritage List shows an unprecedented challenge considering cultural heritage in a wide and complex scale. Even though the areas classified by UNESCO already had environmental or cultural protection mechanisms, the inscription was faced by the Brazilian institute of heritage as an opportunity to create an integrated management system for this urban landscape.

To contribute to this discussion, this paper intends to examine how the concept of landscape integrated to the urban control policies, can contribute to the management of the cities, encompassing their diverse cultural, social, and environmental layers. Thus, the case of Rio de Janeiro will be used to perceive the main challenges, controversies, and expectations of the application of the concept of landscape in urban areas, in theoretical and methodological terms.

**Keywords:** *Cultural Landscape; Urban Landscape; Cultural Heritage; Urban Policies; Rio de Janeiro.*

## INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, the ideas about the sustainability and the development of cities have increasingly advanced towards an integrated and global discussion among urban, territorial and environmental policies in which cultural heritage has a prominent place. The complexity of the debate implies extrapolating the idea of conservation of historic centers, buildings and/or monuments to cover issues of urban management and planning, in which the contemporary city is the main object.

In this context, the inclusion of the cultural landscape of a city with metropolitan scale in the World Heritage List in 2012, such as Rio de Janeiro's, brought a forerunner debate into the international scene. Such novelty stems from the fact that, so far, the recognized sites in this category were related to rural areas, traditional farming systems, gardens, and other results of the interaction between human beings and nature. Meanwhile, Rio de Janeiro's nomination deals with an urban landscape that emerged "between the mountain and the sea" including a forest, rock formations, waterfronts, gardens, and public spaces, that deeply marks the cultural identity of the city. It is also worth mentioning that the city has a very complex urban dynamic, characterized by real estate speculation, enormous social and spatial inequalities, among other conflicts.

In order to contribute to this discussion, the present paper intends to debate how the concept of landscape integrated into the urban control policies, can contribute to the management of the cities, encompassing their diverse cultural, social, and environmental layers. Thus, the case of Rio de Janeiro will be used to perceive and illustrate the main challenges, controversies, and expectations of the application of the concept of landscape in urban areas, in theoretical and methodological terms.



Figure 1: Rio de Janeiro — viewpoint of the statue of Christ the Redeemer on Corcovado Mountain — authors' photo.

## DISCUSSING THE CONCEPT OF LANDSCAPE: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

### a) Cultural Landscape

Even before the concept of landscape was adopted as a category of World Heritage List, its 1972 Convention already used it as an attribute to give outstanding universal value to groups of buildings: “[...] groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.” (UNESCO, 1972: 2).

Despite this reference, in the context of cultural heritage, the natural environment appeared only as a background to the heritage that really mattered to include in the World Heritage List — historical monuments, urban ensembles, and sites. Until then, within the framework of the Convention, nature and culture were clearly separated into two distinct categories, despite the fact that there was the category of “mixed site” — in which the attributes that confer outstanding universal value on the properties are separately natural or cultural, representing a sum of the two categories and not an interrelationship between them.

In 1992, on the occasion of the 16th session of the World Heritage Committee, the “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” were revised in order to include a category capable of embracing, at the same time, natural and cultural attributes of outstanding universal value: the cultural landscape. The new category emerged to fill a gap and overcome conceptual difficulties with nominations of rural sites which seemed to contain both cultural and natural values (Fowler, 2003). In this sense, the new category began to embrace the “combined works of human being and nature”, illustrating the evolution of human society and its settlement over time, under the influence of physical conditions of natural environments and social, economic and cultural forces (World Heritage Committee, 2017).

In the operational guidelines for the implementation of the convention, cultural landscapes are classified into three categories, encompassing both the landscapes conceived or modified by human beings, as well as the natural landscapes that have cultural meanings attributed by certain social groups:

- Clearly defined landscape — to landscapes intentionally conceived and created by humankind, which encompasses gardens and parks;
- Organically evolved landscape — to landscapes that result from a requirement of social, economic, administrative and/or religious origin, which has reached its present form by association and in response to the natural environment;
- Associative cultural landscape — for those landscapes that associate religious, artistic or cultural phenomena with natural elements.

According to Taylor (2015), the major theme underpinning the cultural landscape focuses on the relationship or interaction between culture and nature, in which the natural elements are not seen as merely physical entities, but as entities that are meaningful for people. Thus, the cultural landscape perspective recognizes values beyond the ecological values of places, considering historical, cultural and intangible values as well (Mitchell & Buggey, 2000). It also adds the relation of people to the places they inhabit, reconnecting “[...] a fragmented perspective of the environment and is grounded in the way people view places

and the values of those places in relation to their lives.” (Mitchell & Buggey, 2000: 45). In other words, the emphasis is on the relationship of the natural environment to human beings and on the various ways in which they appropriate of this environment by attributing meaning and symbolism to it, or adapting it, according to their necessity of food production, locomotion, leisure and also to their artistic or aesthetic needs. Therefore, considering that the idea of cultural landscape was created to designate this cultural relationship between human beings and the environment in which they live, it makes sense to consider that the urban landscape is also, in essence, a cultural landscape (Fowler, 2003; Ribeiro, 2016).

In Brazil, the notion of landscape has appeared since the first Law that established the legal basis for the national heritage in 1937<sup>1</sup>, which indicated the possibility of classifying the natural monuments, as well as the sites and landscapes, which were important to be protected because of their remarkable features endowed by nature or organized by human beings. However, just as in the notion of UNESCO until 1992, the natural and cultural heritage were conceived separately and the idea of landscape was only linked to cultural heritage as the background to ensembles and monuments, as in the case of some historic cities of Minas Gerais, classified entirely in the 1930s, which eventually included the surrounding landscape.

In the context of Rio de Janeiro’s candidacy, the concept of Cultural Landscape was officially incorporated into the country as a new category for national heritage by Ordinance No. 127 of 2009, IPHAN (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage), which also established a new legal instrument for its protection. This instrument is consistent with UNESCO’s definition, conceptualizing the Brazilian Cultural Landscape as “[...] a peculiar part of the national territory, representative of the process of human interaction with the natural environment, to which human life and science imprinted marks or attributed values”<sup>2</sup> (IPHAN, 2009).

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<sup>1</sup> SPHAN, 1937. *Decreto-Lei nº25 de 30 de novembro de 1937. Organiza a proteção do patrimônio artístico nacional.* [Decree-Law No. 25 of November 30, 1937. Organizes the protection of the national artistic heritage].

<sup>2</sup> Original translated by the author “[...] *uma porção peculiar do território nacional, representativa do processo de interação do homem com o meio natural, à qual a vida e a ciência humana*

## **b) Historic Urban Landscape**

The concept of landscape used for urban areas has been a subject which is frequently debated by several authors in the scope of architecture and urbanism and the expression “urban landscape” was already known in the 1960s in the writings of Gordon Cullen (Cullen, 2009). The author defines “urban landscape” as the art of making coherent and visually organized the tangle of buildings, streets and spaces that constitute the urban environment. According to Cullen (2009), a building is architecture, but two would already be urban landscape, and in this sense, landscape appears as an organizing element of the various components that form the city. For Rossa (2015), it is essentially the image that constitutes the urban landscape, which has implicit the construction and significance of what is seen in the land, in this case, of the city.

According to Föwler (2003), for years there was not much space to discuss the urban landscape within the World Heritage in UNESCO. In the first decade of the existence of this category, the cultural landscape was used in the practice of the committee to designate essentially the rural landscapes, although several cultural landscapes containing urban settlements were approved (Fowler, 2003). However, some sectors associated with the preservation of historical centers still identified the need for broader approaches to integrate the historic center to the environment in which it is inserted, and cultural practices and immaterial values associated with those sites (Ribeiro, 2016; Castriota, 2013).

In this sense, the urban landscape began to play the leading role in UNESCO’s discussions in the 2000s and had as one of the main milestones the International Conference “World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture — Managing the Historic Urban Landscape” that occurred in 2005, when the “Vienna Memorandum” was conceived. This document addressed for the first time the term “historic urban landscape” and focused on the discussion of the impact of contemporary development on the urban contexts of world heritage. It reviewed the paradigms of conservation, defining urban historical areas not as a mere sum of monuments with the urban

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*imprimiram marcas ou atribuíram valores.” (IPHAN, 2009).*

fabric, but as a system, with marks of history, morphology, social and cultural relations.

After a series of debates and controversies, the discussion about this approach was taken up with the "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape" by UNESCO in 2011 (Rossa, 2015). Unlike the cultural landscape, the Historic Urban Landscape did not emerge as a category for world heritage, but as an approach, to address cities, historic sites and urban areas. Recognizing the landscape dimension of cities, the approach proposes dealing with urban areas beyond the notions of "historic center" or "historical site" to address larger and more complex dimensions of urban environments (Bandarin & Oers, 2015).

The recommendation refers mainly to the concern about the essential values of cities that are at risk due to the impacts of globalization, the deterioration of the quality of urban environments and their surrounding areas, the standardization of cities, mass tourism and urbanization that has been taking place on an unprecedented scale worldwide. In this sense, the Historic Urban Landscape encompasses the various elements that make up the urban space, such as natural features, as well as the historical or contemporary built environment, infrastructures, open spaces, the patterns of land occupation, the visual relations, among other elements. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and intangible heritage (Bandarin & Oers, 2015).

In the recommendation, the city as a living heritage is valued for its contribution to contemporary life, and thus, the challenge of dealing with urban heritage is no longer just a matter of preservation, but also of urban planning. The use of the approach requires the application of a range of traditional and innovative tools adapted to local contexts, including civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems and financial tools. In this sense, the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape is "[...] a milestone document aimed at redefining the role of urban heritage in society, and the parameters to be used in managing its conservation, evolution, and integration within the broader urban decision-making process." (Bandarin, 2015: 3).

Despite the acknowledged advances of this approach, its innovation

has often been questioned. Rossa (2015) questions the fact that UNESCO has resorted again to the concept of landscape, which leads to confusing several concepts of analysis, intervention and management of heritage and city, without affirming what really matters: the urban heritage in general, whose focus is on the city as a human habitat. In addition, Ribeiro (2016) criticizes the lack of dialogue between the Cultural Landscape and the Historic Urban Landscape, considering that in the documents referring to the Historic Urban Landscape, the Cultural Landscape is not even mentioned. According to Ribeiro (2016), it seems that the Cultural Landscape is not adopted for the cities, and it also seems that the new approach does not use ideas that are already present in the discussion about the Cultural Landscape. These issues reinforce the idea that the Cultural Landscape serves only rural areas, small towns, traditional populations and parks, while the Historic Urban Landscape would be left for more complex urban spaces. Thus, as it is only an approach and not a new category for World Heritage List enrollment, urban areas remain subject to be classified as a historical site, which for the author, ends up restricting the construction of these new values discussed.

### **INSCRIPTION OF RIO DE JANEIRO'S CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

On July 1, 2012<sup>3</sup>, the World Heritage List had for the first time an inscription of a large urban site in the Cultural Landscape category, after the candidacy of Rio de Janeiro, entitled "Carioca landscapes: between mountain and sea", concluding a process which started in 2001<sup>4</sup>. It is worth pointing out that the nomination of the Rio's landscape took place in a context in which the Recommendation of the Historic Urban Landscape had just been launched, which shows that it was an important moment for the urban issue as a focus of attention of the World Heritage Center.

Located in southeastern Brazil, Rio de Janeiro had been the Capital of

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<sup>3</sup> Decision taken at the 36th Session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.

<sup>4</sup> See more of the candidacy process in Zamant (2015) and Lodi & Ribeiro (2010).



the country until 1960 (before Brasília) and it is currently the second largest city in the country: the municipality has a total of 6,320,446 inhabitants, surpassing 12 million in its metropolitan region (2010 Census — IBGE *Cidades*, 2018). The city has the function of the capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Despite losing its administrative and financial role in Brazil throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Rio de Janeiro nowadays remains one of the most important cities for the country's economy, accounting for 5.35% of Brazil's GDP (Brazil's second largest GDP, just behind the city of Sao Paulo). The city's current economic activities refer to those that attend a regional demand, as well as those of exportation, especially the industrial hub, the oil and gas complex and the port, which is the third most important in Brazil (*Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro*, 2009).

It could not fail to be observed that Rio de Janeiro is often considered the cultural capital of Brazil, since it is a significant cradle of very meaningful cultural expressions, like the carnival, samba and *bossa nova*. The city also detains some of the most important entertainment, phonographic, and audiovisual industry of the country, as well as many of the most important museums, art galleries and theaters. It is also worth mentioning the economic strength of the service sector, especially regarding tourism-related activities since the city is the main tourist destination<sup>5</sup> in Brazil. This tourist interest is linked, among other factors, to the cultural and entertainment offer and also to the attractiveness of the beaches and the natural beauties.

It is also worth noting that, that the magnificent urban landscape that the city of Rio de Janeiro currently presents is due to ambitious interventions and engineering works, which allowed to overcome the natural barriers of this complex and limited terrain. In addition, throughout history, the city has built an exceptional architectural collection, with examples of Portuguese-influenced architecture, international styles such as eclecticism and art deco, and important masterpieces of Brazilian modern architecture, with works by Oscar Niemeyer, Lúcio Costa, Affonso Eduardo Reidy, among others.

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<sup>5</sup> According to the survey "Study of International Tourism Demand", by the Ministry of Tourism (2018), Rio de Janeiro appeared as the main destination for leisure tourists in Brazil (29.7%), followed by Florianópolis (17.1) and Foz do Iguaçu (12.9). Available in: <http://www.dadosefatos.turismo.gov.br/2016-02-04-11-54-03/demanda-tur%C3%ADstica-internacional.html>.

In this sense, the city is worldwide recognized as a “Wonderful City” [*Cidade Maravilhosa*], due to the richness of its natural landscapes and the way the city has appropriated the geographical context in which it is inserted. Because of all these reasons mentioned, Rio de Janeiro is, undoubtedly, the Brazilian’s most internationally known city.

## CARIOCA LANDSCAPES BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS AND THE SEA

The nomination of Rio de Janeiro’s landscape to the World Heritage List contemplates some sectors of the city that grew between the sea and the mountains which during its process of urbanization received several interventions — constructed for the defense of the city, for its expansion, for circulation and even for the leisure of inhabitants. In this context, the cultural value recognized in the landscape refers to the agency of nature and its relationship with urban life, which interconnects the natural and cultural attributes of the site, thus grounding the nomination of the property in the Cultural Landscape category.

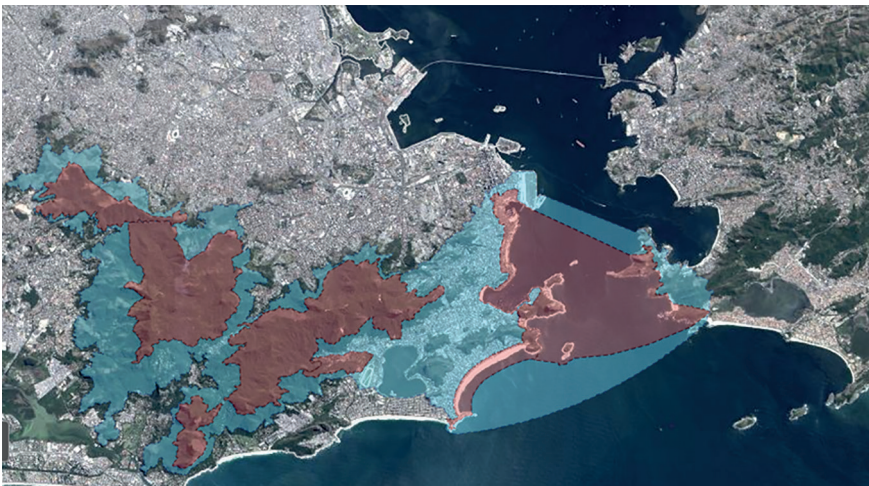


Figure 2: Delimitation of the cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro. In pink, the protected area, in blue, the buffer zone. Source: IRPH. Available in: <http://pcrj.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html>

The city is situated along the Guanabara Bay, which since the conquest by the Portuguese, has been the main determinant factor for its urbanization and for its urban landscape. Such landscape is marked by the diversity of occupation forms, with densely built and vertical areas and some nuclei occupied by small townhouses. The landscape is also marked by parks and public spaces that maintain a unique relationship between city, sea, forest and mountain. The World Heritage site is located in the southern portion of the city, encompassing a small portion of the city of Niterói, on the other side of the Guanabara Bay. The delimitation of the site includes the elements that structure the cultural landscape of the city which are grouped into 3 sectors.<sup>6</sup>

- Sector A — the mountain, the forest and the garden: This sector is bounded by the Botanical Garden and Tijuca National Park. The botanical garden was created in the colonial period to acclimatize plant species from other parts of the world, as well as to serve as a space for leisure and contemplation of nature by the city's population. The Tijuca National Park, on the other hand, includes one of the most famous symbols of Rio de Janeiro — statue of Christ the Redeemer, at the top of Corcovado Mountain — and also, the one of the largest urban forests in the world, which was reforested in the second half of the 19th century;
- Sector B — the entrance to the Guanabara Bay and seafront: The entrance of Guanabara bay played a crucial role in the occupation of the site, and over the centuries has received urban interventions that emphasize the strong relationship of urban life with the sea. This sector comprises the promontories, with the rocky formations (as the Sugar Loaf) and the main fortifications, built since the 16th century to defend the territory from foreign attacks. This sector embodies also intentionally created landscapes as the Copacabana beach and the Flamengo Park, both designed by the renowned Brazilian architect Roberto Burle Marx;
- Sector C — the urban landscape: This sector refers to the buffer zone of the protected landscape, fundamental in the interconnection between sectors A and B. It is a densely populated

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<sup>6</sup> For more details, see the World Heritage Nomination Document. Available in: <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1100rev.pdf>

urban area, situated between the sea and the mountain. This zone includes districts as Copacabana, Botafogo, Jardim Botânico, and Urca. It is also worth mentioning that some *favelas* such as Santa Marta and Babilônia are included in this buffer zone (although they are not specifically mentioned in the nomination document).<sup>7</sup>

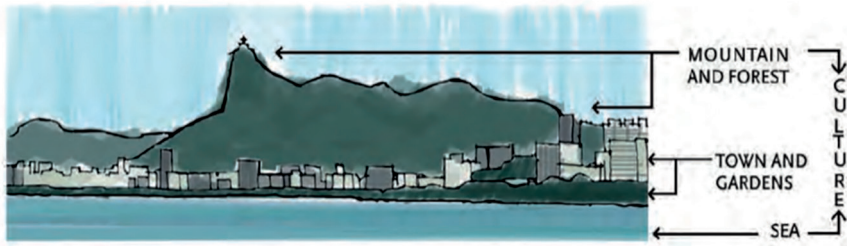


Figure 3: Rio Landscapes between the Mountains and the Sea. Source: IPHAN, 2012: 84.

Natural and cultural attributes of these referred areas confer to the landscape of Rio de Janeiro an outstanding universal value which enabled its classification by two of the criteria established in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*: V and VI, in which the relation between nature and city plays a central role. Criteria V is attributed to the fact that the relationship between culture and nature in this site reflects “an interchange based on scientific, environmental and design ideas that led to innovative landscape creations on a major scale in the heart of the city”.<sup>8</sup> In the same sense, Criteria VI emphasizes the fact that Rio’s landscape inspired “many forms of art, as literature, poetry and music”. The criterion of authenticity and integrity is guaranteed by the preservation of the original characteristics of the intentionally designed landscapes and also by the appropriation of the landscape by society and the current urban culture.

<sup>7</sup> A fact that was pointed out by urban planner Raquel Rolnik on her blog shortly after the UNESCO application was approved: “*Favelas cariocas entre a montanha e o mar são patrimônio da humanidade*” [“Slums in Rio de Janeiro between the mountains and the sea are a heritage of humanity”]. Available in: <https://raquelrolnik.wordpress.com/2012/07/02/favelas-cariocas-entre-a-montanha-e-o-mar-sao-patrimonio-da-humanidade/>

<sup>8</sup> See “Rio de Janeiro: Carioca Landscapes between the Mountain and the Sea” in the World Heritage List. Available in: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1100>

The nomination of Rio's cultural landscape considered the values attributed to the landscape and its structuring elements. Therefore, the property is included in the three categories of cultural landscape established in the Operational Guidelines:

- Clearly defined landscape or landscape designed and created intentionally: represented by the leisure and contemplation spaces that connect the urban daily life with nature, such as the Botanical Garden, *Passeio Público*, Flamengo Park and Copacabana beachfront;
- Organically evolved landscape: represented by the natural elements — especially the reforested Tijuca National Park, that is in a continuous process of regeneration over the centuries;
- Associative landscape: represented by several features which are part of the social imaginary of this landscape in literary, musical and pictorial representations, such as the contours of the mountains, the entrance of Guanabara Bay with the old fortresses, and the environment created by the urban life between the forests, beaches and natural beauties.

### **"CARIOCA LANDSCAPES" AND ITS MANAGEMENT TOOLS**

The areas included in the delineation of the cultural landscape classified by UNESCO already had mechanisms to protect their cultural values: with various assets registered at the national and the local level. There were also protections of their ecological values since the largest area of the site was already protected by natural conservation units. An inscription on the World Heritage List could have been regarded as a merely symbolic act in the management of these previously protected areas. However, this inscription that simultaneously incorporates the protection of cultural and natural values was seen by IPHAN, which is the Brazilian institution responsible for the national cultural heritage, as an opportunity to create an integrated and global urban landscape management system. The nomination of Rio de Janeiro's cultural landscape was faced as an "[...] opportunity to endorse new approaches and perspectives on the city and its cultural heritage, allowing to broaden the debate on policies, practices and uses of

public spaces for a more inclusive, democratic and sustainable vision of the city.”<sup>9</sup> (Lodi & Ribeiro, 2010: 393).

For this reason, it was created in 2011, as part of the requirements of the nomination to World Heritage, the Landscape Management Committee of Rio de Janeiro which is composed of representatives of the municipal, state and federal spheres in the cultural, environmental and urban areas, as well as the managers of the Botanical Garden, the Tijuca National Park and the military fortresses. The need for a landscape management committee takes into account the “[...] extension of the proposed site, the complexity of its attributes and the challenge for its shared management.”<sup>10</sup> (*Portaria n° 464/2011*). The Managing Committee is responsible for managing the property in an integrated manner, monitoring the governmental actions necessary to safeguard the site and promoting the articulation and compatibility among the municipal, state and federal policies which aimed at revitalizing and recovering areas. It is also up to the committee to collaborate with the decision making regarding the architectural or urbanistic interventions in the delimited area.

As part of the commitments that the Brazilian government assumed with this nomination, the Landscape Management Plan was approved in 2014. The unprecedented classification of Rio Cultural Landscape required that the management plan of the site contemplated an equally innovative approach, and so, in the plan itself, there is an acknowledgment that it cannot follow the standards of cultural landscape management plans associated with rural or small town areas. In this sense, the Management Plan is based on strategies of cultural and environmental sustainability, with the aim of building more democratic spaces and contributing to the transformation of notions of heritage.

The main goal of the Plan is the integration of the management

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<sup>9</sup> Original translated by the author: “[...] oportunidade de referendar novas abordagens e olhares sobre a cidade e seu patrimônio cultural, permitindo ampliar o debate sobre políticas, práticas e usos dos espaços públicos para uma visão mais inclusiva, democrática e sustentável da cidade.” (Lodi & Ribeiro, 2010: 393).

<sup>10</sup> Original translated by the author: “[...] extensão do sítio proposto, a complexidade de seus atributos e o desafio para seu gerenciamento compartilhado.” (Portaria N° 464, de 29 de dezembro de 2011).

tools of the various areas that already had protection status, and that therefore also had management plans and master plans. Based on the attributes that give exceptional value to the site, projects and actions that were already foreseen in the existing plans were selected. From this selection, it was sought to find orchestrated public policies, according to the demands of the cultural landscape, in order to be a part of the management plan. Among the programs that make up the Landscape Management Plan, it is worth mentioning the programs for the conservation of cultural and natural heritage, the safeguarding of intangible heritage, infrastructure and training, which show the comprehensiveness and interdisciplinarity of the landscape management process.

Although it is important to recognize the advances proposed by the Plan and the importance of its contents and diagnoses, it should be mentioned that it has been prepared in a hurry to meet the deadlines established by UNESCO. Due to this, the plan turned out to be a very technical instrument, without the due time of debate with the stakeholders and with the community of Rio de Janeiro. Likewise, the management committee operates without participatory mechanisms, with closed meetings and no social participation, with only one representation from the Federation of Residents Association.

The landscape issue is also prominent in the city's current Master Plan (from 2011), which was prepared in the context of the candidacy to the World Heritage List, continuing a process initiated in 1992. In the Master Plan, the landscape is considered to be the "most valuable asset of the city" and it has its value recognized both for the identity of the city ("responsible for its consecration as a world icon") and also for its insertion in the economy, as a resource of tourism and employment. In this way, the valorization, protection and sustainable use of landscape and heritage are presented among the principles of the urban policy of the municipality. And so, the vegetation cover, the seafronts and the landscape are considered important conditioners of the urban occupation. The definition of landscape in the Master Plan refers to "[...] interaction between the natural environment and culture, expressed in the spatial configuration resulting from the relationship between natural, social and cultural elements and in the

marks of human actions, manifestations and forms of expression.”<sup>11</sup> (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2011), thus, the urban policy of the municipality, it is considered a concept of landscape consistent with the definition of cultural landscape of UNESCO.

As for the policies proposed for the protection of the landscape, the plan considers the protection of the cultural heritage, the environment and the enjoyment of the landscape by the citizens. A “municipal landscape policy” is proposed with the aim of promoting the quality of public spaces, ensuring visual balance and strengthening the urban identity of the city. The guidelines of this policy propose the creation of technical, institutional and legal instruments for landscape protection and the promotion of community participation in the processes.

Also within the scope of municipal policy, shortly after the nomination to the World Heritage List, the municipality created *Instituto Rio Patrimônio da Humanidade* [IRPH], a municipal institute responsible for managing the site recognized by UNESCO and interfacing the various institutions involved in the protection of the city’s cultural heritage. Currently, IRPH is also responsible for the municipal heritage policy and for managing the archeological site of Cais do Valongo, which became part of the World Heritage List in 2017. Despite the various progress made in recent years, the existing regulations for intervention in the delimited site still refer to each of the individual protected areas, with criteria established before the recognition of their values for the landscape. Therefore, the reports and technical opinions of IRPH and the Management Committee are based on subjective aspects contained in the Nomination Document and in the Management Plan. It is also worth mentioning that despite the enormous conceptual advances achieved with the city’s Master Plan, the landscape policy has not been put into practice.

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<sup>11</sup> Original translated by the author: “ [...] interação entre o ambiente natural e a cultura, expressa na configuração espacial resultante da relação entre elementos naturais, sociais e culturais e nas marcas das ações, manifestações e formas de expressão humanas.” (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2011).



## CHALLENGES FOR THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF RIO DE JANEIRO

The notion of cultural landscape used to recognize the exceptional attributes of the city of Rio de Janeiro has not always been clear and it continues to generate series of controversies, even though the approach of the Historic Urban Landscape has helped the understanding of such complex proposal by UNESCO (Zamant, 2015; Schlee, 2017). Despite the fact that it is an essentially urban cultural landscape, the downtown area, which owns the majority of the built heritage of Rio de Janeiro, which is already classified by the heritage institutions, was excluded from the site classified by UNESCO and its buffer zone. For this reason, and due to the various attributes of exceptionality and representativeness recognized in this area related to the works of architecture and urbanism, as well as their intangible expressions, Sampaio (2017) argues that it would be coherent to include it in the official delimitation of the cultural landscape.

However, it is worth noting that the nomination of this cultural landscape, without having a proper “historical center” collaborates, according to Ribeiro (2016), for a discussion about other values in the world heritage, different from those linked to conventional architectural heritage. In this sense, the inscription of the cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro “[...] does not become an exclusive hostage of historical value but has in the spatiality of the property its principal signaling element. In the case of assigning value to the site’s nomination, the focus is on the socio-spatial relations.”<sup>12</sup> (Ribeiro, 2016: 250).

Another point of conflict refers to the fact that the delimitation of the buffer zone of the cultural landscape ended up including, among other urbanized areas, slopes occupied by *favelas* (slums). However, both in the Nomination Document and also in the Management Plan, they are referenced only due to the environmental risks and the need to monitor these areas for the protection of the landscape. In other words, it seems that these occupations have no cultural assets associated with the landscape or do not need public attention in terms of cultural

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<sup>12</sup> Original translated by the author “[...] não se faz refém exclusiva do valor histórico, mas que tem na espacialidade do bem seu principal elemento balizador. No caso da atribuição de valor para a inscrição do sítio, são as relações sócio-espaciais que estão no centro da atenção.” (Ribeiro, 2016: 250).

policy. Thus, by neglecting the issue of *favelas*, the opportunity to promote an even broader debate about the Rio landscape is missed. Schlee (2017) adds that when considering *favelas* as part of Rio de Janeiro's heritage, recognition policies and cultural values of these areas may come out, helping to transcend social polarization and segregation that characterizes the Brazilian society. Even if it is understood that *favelas* in the buffer zone do not have the exceptional attributes that allow them to be included in the delimitation of the world heritage site, they cannot be ignored as important places of urban life that confer cultural value to the landscape of the city. It is also worth noting, in agreement with Huguenin and Andrade (2014), the importance of *favelas* in the emergence of *samba* and carnival, essential parts of the urban and cultural dynamics of the city of Rio de Janeiro and consequently of its landscape.



Figure 2: Delimitation of the cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro. In pink, the protected area, in blue, the buffer zone. Source: IRPH. Available in: <http://pcrj.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html>

These and many other controversial issues that permeate the theme of Rio de Janeiro's Cultural Landscape show the practical challenge of "transforming into heritage" such an area of extensive, complex and of huge symbolic importance. This challenge consists mainly of looking at the city as an object of cultural value beyond the dimensions of monuments, architectural ensembles and historical values. It is also surpassed, the urban planning focused on a flat dimension, recognizing the need of considering the visual aspects, ways of living, the enjoyment of spaces by its inhabitants and the intangible dimensions of urban culture. These perspectives meet the requirements of the Recommendation of the Historic Urban Landscape, which in the specific case of Rio de Janeiro is fundamental to complement the notion of Cultural Landscape, which still has a very limited approach to dealing with large urban centers with such complexity.

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## **Part Three**

### **QUESTIONING LANDSCAPE (MIS)UNDERSTANDINGS**





## Part Three

### Chapter 1

#### INDUSTRIAL COLONIAL HERITAGE — SHARED AND TRANSNATIONAL?

Beatriz Serrazina

##### Abstract

Industrial development and colonialism in Africa were deeply linked as both grew together and supported one another. Private companies, operating at the borders of empires, played a major role in this process. They promoted international flows of people, ideas and techniques that shaped the territory. Company towns and mining villages were created to explore and exploit large areas, but despite their resilient aftermath, industrial legacies remain little explored. These extractive places grew not only as built landscapes composed of machinery, warehouses, social facilities and houses but also as scenes of power and identity struggles taken by various actors: the state apparatus, enterprises and civil society. Since post-colonial “expectations of modernity” were dashed, heritage seems now to be played out as a communication tool that is expected to boost peace, social cohesion, tourism and employment. Setting off from the backdrop created in Dundo, Angola, by the Diamond Company of Angola (Diamang), this article thus considers the instrumental use made of industrial heritage produced in colonial times that keeps ruling mining sites. Then, it also explores the transboundary nature of private enterprises as a hint to question the still-dominant Western discourses and practices of heritage. Companies’ strong cross-border connections challenge the idea of “shared heritage”: when addressing settlements designed and inhabited by international groups of workers, “whose heritage” are we speaking of? By leaping over the ruling approach, that still mostly relates to the dichotomy colonizer-colonized, the concept of “shared heritage” is put in perspective and provides ground to discuss the contemporary and thriving African heritage agenda that is being drawn on transnational linkages, that do not fit into national-colonial boundaries but recall precolonial ancestral native kingdoms. Could this strategy be considered an alternative way of decolonizing heritage?

**Keywords:** *Company Towns; Mining Companies; Diamang; Angola; Colonial Legacies; Shared Heritage; Industrial Colonialism.*

## INTRODUCTION

The *Scramble for Africa*, in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, merged exploitation purposes with the need to “effectively” occupy vast areas of the territory. Between these challenges, that required new strategies from the European colonial powers, private companies stood out as a valuable resource to meet such goals and became important agents of the formation and creation of Empires (Coquéry-Vidrovitch and Forest, 1983). Numerous commercial ventures were created in several colonies to rule and cover regions until then both unexploited and unexplored and “model” settlements were built throughout their concession areas. These corporations – a follow-up of previous “chartered companies”<sup>1</sup>, but then upgraded with new technologies — would be responsible to deeply link industrial development and colonialism. More than just occupiers, enterprises became vehicles of the so-called “civilizing mission”.

Nonetheless their connection with national governments and imperial projects, most of colonial enterprises moved on an international scene. Not only their financiers had several nationalities — in order to “neutralize” each other — but also their places of operations were often borderlands, where raw materials were located, namely diamonds, copper or gold. As a consequence, they were always in close contact with cross-border neighbourhoods and constantly learning and evolving with one another. Private enterprises were thus crucial promoters of international circuits of knowledge: multiple flows of people, ideas and techniques enhanced strong transcolonial ties and fostered the creation of distinctive multi-national spaces.

Most of these companies’ industrial sites were designed to be pleasant so that workforce would be compelled to settle in such remote places; it was a kind of “social gardening” to make margins readable to the

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<sup>1</sup> Private business formed to exploit colonial territories. See James Rochfort Maguire (1896), *The Pioneers of Empire, being a vindication of the principle and a short sketch of the history of chartered companies*. London: Methuen Publications.

centre. The built scenario was thought as a powerful tool to attract both European and African employees and workers to the promising edges of Empires (Wright, 1987), where “corporative communities” were expected to support extractive activities. Along these lines, mines and industrial settlements became sites related with ideas of development, modernization and welfare (Cooper, 2004) and several urban and architectural models were transferred and adapted to the African landscape. They worked as a symbol of a “modern way-of-life” that could be achieved through working on private enterprises. The concept of the “company town” set the main tone to build a “workingman’s paradise”<sup>2</sup>. Large areas of single-family houses were laid down along orthogonal grids and lapped to several social facilities: clubs, sports grounds, gardens, parks, hospitals and schools. Every house had its own green lawn; it was the “absence of Africa in Africa” through wide boulevards with lined trees – *just like California*, it was said. The idea of Africa as a “living laboratory” (Tilley, 2011) was boldly deployed: every building was temporary, tentative and experimental. Companies’ eagerness to rise as “role models” of a “scientific occupation” process that would increase their authority and influence over the workforce, the state apparatus and among international organizations ended up as a way to think the potentialities of spatial design while linking the local and the global.

Despite this dissimilar and curious background, filled of buildings, hopes, dreams, flops and struggles, companies are still “experts off-radar” (Lagae & Raedt, 2014) and their industrial legacies in Africa — both material and immaterial — remain little explored. While this article does not focus on these sites as industrial built heritage<sup>3</sup>, it questions

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<sup>2</sup> About the urban model of the company town, see J.D. Porteous. 1970. “The nature of the company town”. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 51. The Royal Geographical Society, 127-142; John Garner. 1992. *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*. Oxford University Press; Margaret Crawford. 1995. *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The design of American Company Towns*. London and New York: Verso; Peter Carstens. 2001. *In the Company of Diamonds: De Beers, Kleinzee and the control of a town*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

<sup>3</sup> Former colonial diamond-mining villages, especially in South Africa, are currently being addressed as future industrial heritage sites that may promote both local population’s interests and economy. See M. Läufer & J. Mavunganidze. 2009. “Ruins of the past: industrial heritage in Johannesburg”. *Structural Studies, Repairs and Maintenance of Heritage Architecture XI*. WIT Press; Clinton Van der Merwe and Christian Rogerson. 2013. “Industrial

two of their said features — as sceneries of urban modernity and as sponsors of transnational networks — to draw a few considerations on the ever-evolving heritage discourse. The landscape built to support the operations of the former Diamond Company of Angola (*Diamang*), a mining enterprise that worked in the north-eastern border of Angola under the Portuguese colonial rule, will be used as an observatory to explore two questions: firstly, how is heritage being used as a communication tool at those sites, mainly to address post-colonial industrial communities who were often left with dashed “expectations of modernity” (Ferguson, 1999)? Secondly, can the transboundary nature of these places trigger and support new and more inclusive approaches to still-dominant Western and Eurocentric discourses and practices of heritage?

## LUNDA, ANGOLA: THE “NINTH COLONY” OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

*Diamang* was a colonial company based in the Lunda district, Angola, from 1917 till the 1980s. Under the Portuguese imperial project, the company was seen as a key actor on the occupation of that part of the country. However, it was clear since the inception of the enterprise that its location was a “pocket” of *utile Africa* at a crossroads of Lunda and Cokwe, Portuguese, Belgian, British and American. After the *Berlin Conference* (1884-85), the ancient Lunda kingdom<sup>4</sup> was being coveted by the Portuguese and the Belgian powers, both wanting to increase their “spheres of influence” in Africa. It was the *British Ultimatum* (1890) that “helped” the Portuguese requests: as compensation for the loss of the dreamt land corridor between Angola and Mozambique<sup>5</sup>, an extended diamond field — even if only to be

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heritage tourism at the “Big Hole”, Kimberley, South Africa”. *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*; Clinton Van der Merwe & Christian Rogerson. 2018. “The local development challenges of industrial heritage in the developing world: evidence from Cullinan, South Africa”. *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites*, (21)1.

<sup>4</sup> Lunda’s Empire was ruled by Mwant Yavu between 1050-1887 and had its centre in Katanga. The ancestral kingdom was invaded by the Cokwe in 1885. About both Lunda and Cokwe communities see Ana Paula Ribeiro Tavares. 2009. “História e Memória. Estudo sobre as sociedades Lunda e Cokwe de Angola”. PhD Thesis. FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

<sup>5</sup> This project, known as *Mapa Cor de Rosa* [Pink Map], even though highly considered amidst the

known a few years later — was attached to Angola and became one of the greatest funders of the Empire.

After the confirmation of the presence of mining fields, *Diamang* began to settle throughout Lunda<sup>6</sup>. Over thirty urban centres to house European employees and hundreds of villages that sheltered thousands of African workers and their families surrounded extensive extractive areas. In the middle of this landscape, a main urban centre stood out: Dundo, just a few kilometres from the border with the former Belgian Congo. It was founded in 1920 as the headquarters of *Diamang's* operations and during the following decades became a picture of what a company town should be and look like. The built environment was considered a reflection of the power of the company and was designed as another piece of the industrial machine. Ernesto de Vilhena, the chief administrator of *Diamang*, summed up this idea later on his written memories: Dundo was:

not a simple village or inhabited place of Angola, but in the administrative centre of a large industrial enterprise (...), a tower of command and vital centre of an organization in which 332 Europeans workers, accompanied by 417 women and children, and about 17000 native people were gathered and organized towards a well-defined purpose. (Vilhena, 1954).

The town should foster a modern industrial life in Africa that was a novelty for everyone<sup>7</sup>.

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Portuguese society, was just that: a map made over unknown territories. See Valentim Alexandre. 1979. *Origens do Colonialismo Português Moderno, 1822-1891*. Editora Sá da Costa.

<sup>6</sup> About the first decades of *Diamang's* activities, see Beatriz Serrazina. 2020. "Crossed cultures in Lunda, Angola: *Diamang's* urban project and its legacies". *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 31(2), 23-34; Ana Vaz Milheiro and Beatriz Serrazina. 2019. "Diamang's urban project — between the Peace of Versailles and the Colonial Act". Carlos Nunes Silva (org.), *Routledge Handbook of Urban Planning in Africa*. London/New York: Routledge.

<sup>7</sup> By the 1930s, the Portuguese industry was still underdeveloped and the population faced rural stagnation; in fact, the lack of Portuguese engineers to work at *Diamang* was seen as a consequence of this economic backwardness (Vilhena, 1954). Alongside, Africa was sold as a great destination for those who wanted to thrive in life. See Fernando Rosas. 1996. *O Estado Novo nos Anos Trinta (1928-1938). Elementos para o estudo da natureza economia e social do salazarismo*. Editorial Estampa; Cláudia Castelo. 2007. *Passagens para África: O Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (1920-1974)*. Edições Afrontamento.

The company was keen to rise as the “colossus” that would shape the Lunda district and thus become the so-called “ninth Portuguese colony” — a popular expression which reflected the power and autonomy of the mining enterprise. During *Diamang’s* long lifetime, Dundo was thus praised as a “model” town, with the best dwellings, the best roads and the most beautiful gardens. The company set up several urbanization teams responsible for designing, building and maintaining every house (that belong to the corporation and not its residents), streets, parks and each of the numerous social facilities. The inhabitants were pleased with a club (with a library and a cinema), sports fields, tennis courts, greenhouses, swimming pools, playgrounds, schools, hospitals and even a museum – that will be on focus further in this article. Around Dundo’s centre (where only European employees were allowed to live until the 1960s), several African villages were organized by a special board, named *Serviço de Apoio à Mão de Obra Indígena* [SPAMOI] [Support service to Native Labour]. All of these places were constantly supervised and residents were requested to keep their places as “beautiful and neat” as possible. Any needed modification had to be approved by the company’s directors and strong attention was paid to the aesthetics of all buildings — from the Representation house to the tiniest stable — to reinforce a sense of “belonging” and community.

After Angola’s independence, in 1975, Dundo soon became the capital of the Lunda-Norte district<sup>8</sup>. Even though *Diamang’s* activity ceased in 1988 (more than ten years after independence, one may note), *Endiama*, the National Diamond Company of Angola, had already undertaken the region’s mineral exploitation since 1981. Industrial processes, while introduced under colonialism, surpassed its very end and proved to be of great resilience. Overlapping processes point out more continuities than ruptures and, as a consequence, colonial legacies in Dundo remain very present and significant. The mining city did not become a simple scrap of the colonial past, but a space where contemporary struggles are played out by local communities, the state apparatus and private companies. Dundo is yet a synonym of

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<sup>8</sup> The former Lunda district was divided into Lunda-Norte (northern Lunda) and Lunda-Sul (southern Lunda) in 1978.

diamonds and mining companies persist as key players on the territory. The “state within a state” idea that was once used on *Diamang* remains accurate to describe the Lunda region since private corporations are still expected to provide welfare services to the local population. Mining villages are being built under the same urban rationales and spatial terms<sup>9</sup>. However, Dundo is not shining diamond: urban conditions are precarious, many buildings are in ruins and diamond’s economy does not benefit most of the town’s inhabitants. Even if mining companies were expected to have “structured urban life and enabled ordered modern livelihoods” (Rodrigues, 2017), both of these goals remain nowadays as unfulfilled “myths” (Ferguson, 1999). Social services are scarce, houses do not have electricity, running water or sewage and most streets are unpaved (Pearce, 2004). Today, Dundo’s plan still mirrors the work organisation deployed in Lunda. The town centre is occupied by the executive board of the private enterprises, many of them from abroad, while African workers, highly dependent on the mining industry, live on poorly houses built around the city. Notwithstanding these complex circumstances, Dundo has recently appeared as an important place to question the country’s future. The high number of new newspaper articles that address heritage issues in Lunda, some of which presented along this article, reveals how the subject has been on the order of the day.

## THE ROLE OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

In January of 2018, the National Culture Day of Angola had its main celebration in Dundo. The discourse made by the Culture Minister, Carolina Cerqueira, who headed the ceremony, touched on a few important ideas to be discussed. Cerqueira began by highlighting that much of the richness of the Lunda district was drawn from the “transboundary practises” of the several ethnical groups living there

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, Catoca’s mining company is building the *Sagrada Esperança* village, whose guidelines echo *Diamang*’s urban practices and uncover the persistence of similar spatial rationales to those used in Dundo: a civic centre to “boost socialization”, an ethnographic museum, a health centre that can be used by the local population, a greenbelt and housing with the same “global language”.

(mainly cokwe, lunda and baluba people). Further in her speech, Cerqueira took the opportunity to state two main viewpoints regarding the future of the country: “preserve and value Angola’s heritage” and promote “the symbioses between heritage, environment, education and tourism”<sup>10</sup>. The interplay between these topics — transnationality, heritage, future, value — is not a surprise: in the light of the recent role played by Angola near UNESCO<sup>11</sup> they figure as an accurate portrayal of a wider political agenda that is presently being drawn around heritage. The country seems to still be working on the creation of a “national identity”, a lengthy and rough process that is acknowledged as the main basis of many heritage procedures (Hall, 1999). In addition, industrial sites, like the one found in Lunda, are known to be often related to “dark times”, making the discussion around them even more challenging (Soyez, 2013). As stated on ICOMOS “Dublin Principles”, industrial heritage is “still an active process with a sense of historical continuity” that “touches the social as well as the physical and environmental aspects of development and should be acknowledged as such”<sup>12</sup>. To address such challenges, heritage thus seems to stand as an influential instrument that may target and gather different agents.

Under this scope, the renovation of Dundo’s Ethnographic Museum<sup>13</sup>, in 2012, uncovers two noteworthy questions. With one of the biggest

<sup>10</sup> “Lunda-Norte acolhe acto central do Dia da Cultura Nacional” (2018, January 6). *Jornal O País*.

<sup>11</sup> Angola has been drawing close bounds with UNESCO. After the nomination of Mbanza Congo as the country’s first heritage site in 2017 (see below), the President of Angola visited UNESCO headquarters for the first time in 2018. Cooperation plans have also been announced. See “Angola e Unesco traçam planos de cooperação” (2018, 18 May). *Agência Lusa*; “Angola e Unesco traçam planos de cooperação” (2018, 20 November). *Jornal de Angola*.

<sup>12</sup> “The Dublin Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes” were adopted by the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly in 2011. To face the lack of an Industrial Heritage Charter, ICOMOS (the International Committee on Monuments and Sites) joined with TICCIH (the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) to “developed principles of best-practice for the conservation of industrial heritage”. See *IHA! – Industrial Heritage Association of Ireland*.

<sup>13</sup> While it is beyond the concerns of this paper, when assessing the real heritage value of the museum, one should take into account the context of its organization: it was praised as “scientific colonialism” and associated with the idea of “knowing in order to colonise” (Porto, 2002). About the Museum see Nuno Porto. 2009. *Modos de objectificação da dominação colonial: o caso do Museu do Dundo, 1940-1970*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.



cultural collections in Angola, the Museum opened its doors once again, after being closed for several years. The Museum was organised by *Diamang* in 1936 and became one of the main “scientific” assets of the company. It was built to impress European visitors who came to Dundo, to legitimize the “civilizing process” with a seeming respect for native folklore and to please and seduce the local artisans who lived and worked in the Museum’s “native village”. By then, heritage was already considered a powerful device that could meet several purposes. Now the Museum was totally refurbished under the policies of revitalization and valorisation of Angola’s National Cultural Heritage. The works were funded by the National Diamond Company, *Endiama*, revelling continuous cooperation between the government and the mining sector. It is not surprising that the official discourse keeps the same tone: a newspaper article reported that the Museum was considered “a spring for the growth and diversification of the province’s economy, since it contributes to relaunch the local tourism sector and opens the way for the city of Dundo and other districts of Lunda-Norte to be visited by national and foreign citizens attracted by Lunda-tchokwe culture”. Furthermore, it was expected to “promote local handicraft creators, under the scope of cultural tourism”<sup>14</sup>.

During the Museum’s opening ceremony, Costa Muacahana, former provincial director for Culture, recognised that most of the local communities are not yet engaged around heritage. The need to discuss and upgrade the conservation methodologies applied in Lunda was then recalled. Muachana stated that “unfortunately, the *Obelisco* monument [also built by *Diamang* in the 1960s] and the [Dundo] museum are the only buildings that still receive visitors from the population [while] the other monuments and sites, for lack of interest and constant publicity, do not attract attention”<sup>15</sup>. Later on, however, this growing emphasis given to heritage appeared to encourage a few other requests. In 2014, for instance, the priest of the Mussuco’s chapel, one of the first to be built by Portuguese missionaries in the district, in 1918, asked for its classification as UNESCO’s Cultural Heritage. He deemed that such a classification would be “good for

<sup>14</sup> “Museu do Dundo reabre ao público” (2012, 23 August). *Jornal de Angola*.

<sup>15</sup> “Monumentos e sítios clamam por cuidados” (2012, Agosto 6). *Jornal de Angola*.

both the church and the nation”<sup>16</sup>, as it could act as a mobilizing event which would involve the local population, students and scholars, the local government and even the Ministry of Culture.

These occasions and ideas put forward how industrial heritage built in Lunda is emerging as a positive, yet instrumental asset. On the one hand, heritage is being played as a “touristic resource”, and therefore, a “natural way to diversify the country’s economy”<sup>17</sup>. On another hand, it is being deployed as a communication instrument to address both local communities and national agents. At a local level, populations reveal to be further aware of the strengths of heritage as an empowering discourse, as shown by the Mussuco’s episode. Official authorities play an important role in this situation. Cerqueira, during the mentioned ceremonies in Dundo, reassured that “Lunda has a rich heritage that must be advertised across the country”<sup>18</sup> and revealed the commitment to produce a survey to select local artistic creations that might “apply to become world heritage”<sup>19</sup>. Then, at a broader level, the valorisation of the Museum placed the institution as an important player on the international heritage agenda, especially regarding the on-going discussion about the return of artwork to African Museums<sup>20</sup>. The Lunda district and its local authorities, even

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<sup>16</sup> “Pároco defende reabilitação da Missão do Mussuco na Lunda Norte” (2014, 1 July). *ANGOP Agência Angola Press*.

<sup>17</sup> A few news covered this issue. For instance, see “Património cultural natural fonte de recurso de diversificação da economia” (2016, 6 July). *ANGOP Agência Angola Press*; “Cultura desempenha papel de coesão e integração” (2018, 8 January). *ANGOP Agência Angola Press*.

<sup>18</sup> “Ministra da Cultura reconhece património artístico na Lunda-Norte. 2018. *Jornal O País*.

<sup>19</sup> “O Pensador pode ter dimensão internacional”. 2018. *Jornal de Angola*.

<sup>20</sup> This is another important question that must be later explored and assessed on its own. Since 2015, the Sindika Dokolo’s Foundation has launched a project to recover pieces of African Art and the Dundo’s Museum figures as one of the major partners. Indeed, the Museum has already received several works deemed to be looted during the civil war of 1975 to 2002. See Sindika Dokolo. 2018. “Returning looted African art is as urgent as giving back works stolen by the Nazis”, *The Art Newspaper*; Julianna Belavilacqua. 2018. “Notes on the making of the Dundo Museum collection”, In *Art Africa Magazine*; “Returning African Heritage From Global Museums” (2018, 14 April), *Cultural Property News*. A proposal to return African heritage currently at Portuguese museums and archives was recently presented by Livre, one of the Portuguese political parties. See “Livre quer que património das ex-colónias em museus possa ser restituído” (2020, January 28). *Diário de Notícias*. Reinforcing this discussion, Aguinaldo Cristovão, Angola’s Secretary of State for Culture, announced that an inventory of is being made to understand how many objects should be returned.

though far away from the major decision-centres, namely the country's capital, Luanda, look to be taking advantage of heritage to further step up on a national-wide discourse.

To Sindika Dokolo, one of the biggest collectors of African art, who has taken part on these recent discussions on heritage, the arguments previously used to justify Lunda's aloofness about its material legacies — both warfare and the absence of infrastructures to cover safeguarding issues — do not stand anymore. From Dokolo's standpoint, heritage could and should be merged with "development" and regarded as a "triumph"<sup>21</sup>. As both a cause and a consequence of heritage practices, that underline the importance of culture, Dundo is nowadays considered to be a more thriving city. During the commemorations of the National Culture Day of Angola, Carolina Cerqueira reinforced this perspective by asserting that culture was "a way to promote employment and innovation (...) [and] an instrument to support peace"<sup>22</sup>.

### **QUESTIONING THE BOUNDS OF "SHARED HERITAGE"**

The choice of Dundo as the site for the national commemorations may also be questioned: why did the governmental authorities decide to go so far away, to such a "fringe" of the country? Surely that every year a different place is chosen around the country; but always following and unveiling a political and social agenda. Selecting Dundo in the current days may be considered a way to strengthen the already stated priority that is being given to boundary areas on Angola's heritage agenda<sup>23</sup>. These places have been gathering plenty of attention by the official authorities, namely because their local communities share ancient cultural roots with neighbouring countries. That is also the case of Mbanza Congo, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as first Angola's heritage site, in 2017. Both sites recall ancestral African kingdoms: while Mbanza Congo was the place

<sup>21</sup> "Retorno simbólico e triunfal do património angolano" (2016, 7 March). *Jornal de Angola*.

<sup>22</sup> "Cultura desempenha papel de coesão e integração" (2018, 8 January). *ANGOP Agência Angola Press*.

<sup>23</sup> "Património cultural natural fonte de recurso de diversificação da economia-Ministra da Cultura" (2016, 6 June), *ANGOP Agência Angola Press*.

of birth of the Kingdom of Congo<sup>24</sup>, Lunda's district was part of the already mentioned Lunda's Empire. When assessing this seemingly transnational heritage strategy, it might be important to also take into account what is Africa's bigger picture regarding UNESCO's List. The continent has the highest percentage of transboundary heritage sites<sup>25</sup>. Effortlessly this circumstance could be explained by the connection between transboundary and natural sites, as Africa also has the highest percentage of the latest, which stands around 40%. However, when questioning heritage discourses and practises like those being played in Angola, this bias towards transboundary heritage sites may give rise to a question: does it fight against — and tries to surpass — the artificial boundaries outlined by colonialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

The very recent operation targeting illegal diamond mining in Lunda-Norte, that forced thousands of Congolese refugees to move back to Congo and put that northern edge under fire<sup>26</sup>, reinforced the importance of these transboundary connections. In fact, the refugees' centre was one of the sites visited by Carolina Cerqueira and her team during the commemorations of the National Culture Day. While migratory issues are obviously another challenge, whose wider social-political issues do not fit in this article, they clearly illustrate how communities are still organised beyond borders. Some of the arguments deployed to support the presence of Congolese communities in Angola recalled the ties formed under the Kingdom of Lunda, as people still share ancestral languages and familiar bonds<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Regarding Mbanza Congo as a heritage site between the "ancestral" Congo and the colonial Portuguese rule see Bruno Máximo. 2016. "Um lugar entre dois mundos: paisagens de Mbanza Congo". Master thesis. São Paulo: University of São Paulo.

<sup>25</sup> There are 37 transboundary sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. These represent 6,3% of all heritage sites in Africa (6 out of 95), while in Europe and North America they represent 4,6% (24 out of 514), in Asia 2,2% (4 out of 181) and in Latin America 3,2% (3 out of 96). Data from UNESCO's World Heritage List Statistics [accessed online <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat>, 15th December 2018].

<sup>26</sup> About the recent Congolese migrations in the Kassai region, see "Angola: UNHCR starts relocating Congolese refugees from border sites". UNHCR (2018, August 15); "Congolese migrants flood home, Angola denies claims of brutal crackdown". Reuteurs (2018, October 14).

<sup>27</sup> "Governador de Kasai busca saída para refugiados na Lunda Norte" (2018, 3 March). *RFI Vozes do Mundo*. About Congolese refugees in Angola, see the news by the UN Refugee Agency. About the "cultural work", national identity and ethnical myths in Lunda, see Manuela Palmeirim. 1999. "Identidade e heróis civilizadores: 'l'Empire lunda' e os aruwund do Congo".

Endogenous cross-border dynamics fostered by local communities have always been significant to Dundo's everyday life (De Boeck, 2012). As revealed at the beginning of this article, Lunda has been observed as a melting pot where transnational flows of people, ideas and money powered the diamond exploitation<sup>28</sup>. *Diamang* promoted wide networks that went beyond national ties, placing the company's area as an "island disconnected from its closer archipelago"<sup>29</sup> but connected with everywhere else over borders. The built landscape stands as a "hard legacy"<sup>30</sup> of these encounters: in Dundo, second-floor row houses, known as "Construções J. Pimenta" and pursued by the Portuguese high society in the 1960s, would be exported directly from Lisbon's coastline; "balloon houses" from Dakar, which could also be found at Elizabethville (*Union Minière's* headquarters, nowadays Lubumbashi), were built and praised at *Diamang's* "model African neighbourhood"; the tea house from Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden, in South Africa, was the source of inspiration to design *Diamang's* Rest Home; and "The Best Village Contest", that each year would prize the most "civilized" African village, was drawn from the Belgian Congo's *stabilisation politique* and the Portuguese Estado Novo dictatorship's "Most Portuguese Village". This mixture was not somehow an exclusive feature, but rather in line with the transboundary nature of almost every industrial enterprise (Soyez, 2013). As a heterogeneous and international collection of urban "norms and forms", it created a unique landscape with multiple layers that not only highlight wide and novel rhizomes of knowledge circulation but also thicken the history of

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In 1ª Jornada de Antropologia "Modernidades, etnicidades, identidades", Universidade do Minho.

<sup>28</sup> Jorge Varanda's pioneering research traced a few of these networks. See Jorge Varanda. 2010. "Crossing Colonies and Empires: The Health Services of the Diamond Company of Angola". In Anne Digby, Waltraud Ernst & Projit B. Mukharji (eds.), *Crossing Colonial Historiographies: Histories of Colonial and Indigenous Medicines in Transnational Perspective*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

<sup>29</sup> Torre do Tombo National Archives [ANNT]. António Soares Carneiro. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002. cx.16, no1, doc.19. "Lunda". *Rumo ao Leste*, 1971.

<sup>30</sup> The idea of a "hard legacy" was proposed by Walter Rossa during his presentation "Heavy legacies: built heritage at the Portuguese speaking region" at the workshop *The legacies of empire: contexts, cases and dynamics*, organized by Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, José Pedro Monteiro and Hugo Dores at the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra [CES-UC]. 2018, 18 May.

urban and architectural production. Given this background, it seems fair to recall David Hall's well-known question: *whose heritage?* (Hall, 1999). In Dundo, as in many other industrial places in Africa, the built environment was not produced by the twosome colonizer-colonized, Portuguese and African, but also by Belgian, American, Dutch, among several others. This transnational agency, while adding another layer to the already challenging issues one should look for when dealing with (post-)colonial heritage, may act as a hint on how heritage could be addressed in Africa.

Chalcraft and Delanty argued that "a genuine process of transnationalising heritage and the recognition it gives to mixed-up and complicated pasts shows that a more equitable and less exclusionary relationship to the past is possible" (Chalcraft & Delanty, 2015): thinking over borders could thus represent a step forward in the discussion. Throughout Africa, boundaries — as limits designed by imperial powers — have already been questioned as *frontiers*, that is, "fluid margins" that "deconstruct and dissolve the clearcut center/periphery or the local/global binarism embodied in the traditional border fetishism of the nation-state ideology and its imperialist extension in the colony" (De Boeck, 2007). Right after Angola's independence, for instance, Lunda was praised as an "open door" that could be used to look after the desired "national identity" beyond colonial edges.<sup>31</sup> That northern boundary, shared with Congo, was understood as an "invention"<sup>32</sup>.

Nevertheless, even when accepting the crucial role of addressing "transcolonial" circuits, another issue is still to be faced: heritage practices are kept being drawn around national-bounded discourses. Under the prevailing "European heritage *regime*" (Willems, 2014),

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<sup>31</sup> "Eu talvez pudesse dizer que há só uma espécie de sinopse mental" (2012, November). In *Cultura, Jornal Angolano de Letras e Artes*. Interview made to Pepetela, one of the most important Angolan writers. In 1988, Pepetela wrote "Lueji – Nascimento de um império" [Lueji – the birth of an empire] aiming to explore Angola's ancestral roots, which are said to be based at Lunda.

<sup>32</sup> About the process of delimitation of the border between Angola and Belgian Congo see Jean-Luc Vellut. 2006. "Angola-Congo. L'invention de la frontière du Lunda (1889-1893)". In *Africana Studia*, 9. Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto; Alberto de Almeida Teixeira. 1948. *Lunda, sua organização e ocupação*. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias; Eduardo dos Santos. 1966. *A questão da Lunda*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.

reinforced by the World Heritage Convention, those nations not recognized as sovereign states cannot propose a site to figure in the World Heritage List. A few attempts have already been made to overcome this national closure: the concept of “shared built heritage” [SHB], sponsored by ICOMOS, is probably the most significant one. It should cover places with “evidence of successive occupations and layers (...) [where] people exchanged and ‘share’ their differing cultures, skills and experience to create a built expression that maybe become distinctive to a particular place”<sup>33</sup>. Burra mining site, built in Australia to support copper production in the 1840s, is presented as one of the most evident examples of SBH. Similar to Dundo’s landscape, Burra’s built environment is based on old company housing and encompasses remaining extractive structures<sup>34</sup>. Despite such efforts to acknowledge “shared” sites, the concept of SHB has always been under significant criticism<sup>35</sup>. On an inspiring article, Hein Vanhee, who works as *museum curator and historian at the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA Tervuren, Belgium) and participated in the recent renovation of the museum*, argued that the “only meaningful interpretation” of the concept of “shared heritage” is a “shared understanding” of the past, that reveals politics of representation, meaning, agency and lasting effects (Vanhee, 2016). On another hand, when addressing sites built under the colonial rule, SBH remains mainly tied to former colonizer-colonized relationships (Lagae, 2008) and does not allow room to a bigger and more complex picture like the one found in Dundo and many other industrial sites composed of more than just two layered cultures. In short, said dichotomy is still blocking non-Western actors from moving beyond the Eurocentric “authorized heritage discourse” (Smith, 2006) and actively discuss more appropriate tools to address

<sup>33</sup> ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage. See <http://sbh.icomos.org/>.

<sup>34</sup> Burra heritage area includes seventy places included on Australia National Heritage List in 2017. See Emma Waterton, Staiff, R., Bushell, R., & Burns, E. 2019. “Monster mines, dugouts, and abandoned villages: a composite narrative of Burra’s heritage”. In *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 14(2), 85-100.

<sup>35</sup> See the workshop “Shared Built Heritage reconsidered”. 2014. Michael Falser (org). Florence: ICOMOS, Heidelberg University and Institute of Art History, Max-Planck-Institute; Hein Vanhee. 2016. “On Shared Heritage and Its (False) Promises”. In *African Arts*, (49)3. MIT Press; Sarah van Beurden. 2018. “The pitfalls of shared heritage”.

their own particular legacies. In Lunda, heritage is not “shared” or thought as national.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Industrial sites in Africa, built around a modern ideal and drawn by transnational flows of agents, objects and ideas, might figure as helpful starting points to decolonize nation-tied viewpoints on heritage. If heritage is being used to forge new post-colonial identities, as shown by the discourses and practices took in Dundo, there is a chance that national boundaries do not serve this purpose. As scholars have increasingly pointed out, the current international discourse advocated by international organizations like UNESCO may not necessarily coincide with the long ancient bonds and legacies of regions like Africa or Asia (Smith, 2006; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Even the idea of “shared heritage” remains overly tied with the colonial past.

While *Diamang* sought to “imagine” a corporative community in Dundo, the Ministry of Culture of Angola seems to be now betting on the preservation of local native traditions as the basis of another process of “imagination”. Overlapping the previous one, this route is using heritage as a crucial vehicle to forge the identity of a modern Angola. However, in the aftermath of the colonial mining site, none of ancestral Lunda’s legacies is yet considered and the only officially classified heritage sites in Lunda are all an outcome of *Diamang*’s presence. The challenge thus remains on how to incorporate other views on heritage. That is why one may ask: what about transboundary ones?

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## Part Three

### Chapter 2

#### THE UNITED STATES, SUSTAINABILITY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE AT TIKAL, GUATEMALA (1971-2003)

Evan R. Ward

##### Abstract

In 1971, the Guatemalan government contracted with the United States Park Service to design a master plan for development of Tikal as a national park. The Master Plan, conceptualized by a team of U.S. and Guatemalan consultants, included an overall development strategy for transforming Tikal into a major tourist attraction, as well as an economic projection of its potential for stimulating Guatemala's economy.

This paper will critically examine the environmental, political, and cultural values of the Tikal Master Plan in light of its subsequent growth as a tourist site. It will ultimately explore the efforts made by Guatemalan's to cope with the precipitous increase in Tikal's exposure as a heritage site and what has been done to balance the needs of the park versus the leisure demands of tourists since its planning in 1971. The final section of the paper compares the objectives of the 1971 Master Plan with the state of the park as reflected by the 2003 Master Plan conducted by Guatemalan officials in cooperation with non-governmental organizations. The paper concludes that by and large the 1971 Master Plan preserved much of the integrity of the park and prepared the precinct for further development in the twenty-first century.

**Keywords:** *Tikal; Guatemala; Development; Conservation; Tourism Planning.*

The history of establishing cultural patrimony at Tikal, Guatemala, sits at the intersection of imperialism, economic development, and environmental degradation during the late twentieth century (Ward, 2021). In 1972, the Guatemalan government contracted with the

United States National Park Service to design a master plan for Tikal as a major tourist attraction. The document, officially entitled, *Master Plan for the Protection and Use of the Tikal National Park*, employed the terms “protection” and “use” in the early twentieth century sense used when the National Park Service itself was created in 1916 (United States National Park Service [USNPS] 1972). This model meant that to use a natural resource was to protect its integrity for the greatest number of stakeholders.

However, the Tikal Master Plan came of age in a period of shifting values. These new preservationist ideals, invoked by the likes of nineteenth-century natural enthusiasts, including John Ruskin and John Muir, and reanimated by advocacy groups including the Sierra Club, became widely held ideals associated with landscapes as non-renewable sources of natural and cultural patrimony throughout the world (Hays 1989, 22-24). As a result, the Tikal Master Plan attempted to satisfy both the original ethos of multiple use and the emerging ideals of sustainable preservation. This is reflected in the plan’s attention to many tourists’ desire to discover “untouched” jungle spaces along the walking paths near the ruins, as well as opportunities for birders and naturalists to enjoy the flora and fauna of Tikal’s setting.

Thus, the plan’s ambitious objective to accommodate both paradigms — *conservation* as multiple use *and preservation* was one of the first tourism planning reports to integrate the metaphysical into the potential benefits of mass tourism. Herein lay the central paradox of the plan and the focus of this paper: Could the master plan preserve multiple uses and preservation without compromising the other? Could it offer an enhanced experience in nature and exponential tourist growth while skirting the question of carrying capacity?

This paper argues that the master plan, which remained the guiding document for the park until a Guatemalan-led plan was created in 2003, effectively reconciled the multiple use and preservation-based objectives of the original master plan. This can be confirmed by comparing the original strategy to the strengths and weaknesses identified in the 2003 plan, created under the auspices of the Nature Conservancy and Guatemalan experts. A contributing factor to this success, however, was the uncertainty brought on by the Guatemalan Civil War, which likely delayed the onset of mass tourism to the site.

## GUATEMALA AND THE UNITED STATES

Since its independence, Guatemala's economic and political histories were intertwined with those of the United States. In the mid-nineteenth century, American entrepreneurs identified the rich soils in the sub-tropical lowlands as suitable territory for large-scale agricultural production. Minor Keith, vice-president of the United Fruit Company [UFCO], was one such free-spirited businessman. He proposed to link existing railroads to key agricultural regions in Guatemala to its ports, where tropical fruits could be shipped easily to the United States. In exchange, the Guatemalan government allotted wide swaths of land to Keith's new company (Langley, 2010: 123-124).

The influence of the UFCO grew during the ensuing decades. By the early 1900s, fruit production flowed northward from Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic and San Jose on the Pacific. To maximize profits, UFCO offered passage to and from the Caribbean and Central America to tourists, who found the balmy climates soothing to their minds and bodies.

Cultural revelations coincided with these commercial strategies. In the 1840s, John Lewis Stephens intrepidly explored the Mayan lowlands, returning with tales and images of worlds hitherto unimagined in the United States and Europe. His *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, illustrated by Frederick Catherwood, inspired the curious (and wealthy) to head south in search of pre-Columbian antiquities. Such was the enthusiasm of amateur archaeologists that by the turn of the twentieth century Latin American governments cast a wary eye on such schemes, which, as in the case of Hiram Bingham at Machu Picchu, stripped Latin American nations of much of their cultural patrimony (Heaney, 2010).

Thereafter, national governments made agreements with universities, primarily from the United States, to excavate the ruins of indigenous villages and cities, including Classic Mayan sites like Tikal. As a precursor to this more systematic approach to preservation, UFCO carried out smaller-scale excavations in Guatemala at places like Zacaleu (Boggs, 1946). In 1957, however, the Guatemalan government signed a long-term contract with the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), to excavate the structures at Tikal for the purposes of scientific research and tourism development.

The 1957 agreement set in motion the tourist transformation of the most extensive ruins of a Classic Mayan city (Republic of Guatemala, 1957). The Guatemalan government established an airstrip adjacent to the park. Authorization for a modest inn at the site quickly followed. Soon, Guatemala designated Tikal its first national park. In 1959, Aviateca, a subsidiary of Pan American Airlines, inaugurated regular air service to Tikal, using the original airstrip for daily service. Needless to say, tourist numbers quickly soared.

### THE UNITED STATES AND GUATEMALAN TOURISM

In the early 1960s, the United States, which had orchestrated a counter-revolutionary Cold War coup in Guatemala in 1954, launched an aid program known as the Alliance for Progress. Its primary goal was to counter the influence of the Cuban Revolution and the spread of Communism throughout the hemisphere. Its wide-ranging initiatives touched on areas as diverse as tourism development. Indeed, its first director, Teodoro Moscoso, had previously engineered Puerto Rico's emergence as a tourist destination (Ward, 2008).

In Central America, Alliance for Progress officials and regional governments identified projects that would stimulate tourism not solely in their home countries, but throughout the region. In Guatemala, they tapped Tikal as an attractive destination that could leverage broader economic development. In anticipation of receiving funding to for Tikal, the United States Agency for International Development joined collaborated with Guatemalan authorities and the United States National Park Service to create a master plan.

To be sure, there had been numerous efforts to capitalize on the tourist potential of Tikal, and the surrounding *Mayan World* or *Mundo Maya*. The United Nations Technical Assistance Mission, for instance, solicited support from the governments of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador in 1967 for a multi-national Mayan tourist development. The objective of the initiative ran something along the lines of the Alliance for Progress's Central American initiatives but focused exclusively on cultural patrimony as the central attraction. A year earlier, UNDP officials identified



tourism as a potential source of foreign exchange for developing nations. The study for the Mayan corridor indicated that while Mexico had generated over one billion dollars in tourist revenue in 1966, less than two percent could be attributed to “Mayan” sites. “The possibilities for the expansion of tourism for Mexico and the Central American region in general are considerable”, the study ran, “most especially if the geographic proximity for these lands with the United States is taken into account, a relationship which foresees a permanent increase in the movement of tourists on a grand scale”. Tikal offered the greatest promise for immediate tourism development (UNDP, 1967).

The UNDP program never materialized, however. The inability of the different nations to work together on a project that would cross national boundaries was likely the principal obstacle. This was one advantage of the Alliance for Progress approach, which identified projects in the individual Central American countries and then appropriated funds for each one separately.

In material terms, the National Park Service’s 1972 master plan proposed a series of infrastructure projects designed to enhance connectivity — a key liability in Guatemala’s sluggish push for economic development. Creating a network of national highways to facilitate access to the park in the short term was out of the question — a paved road from Guatemala City to Tikal had been completed only recently. Thus, the master plan privileged arrival by air at a new airport some forty miles away from Tikal in Flores as the centerpiece of the master plan. The master plan secondarily featured a paved road from the airport to Tikal. Finally, the master plan advocated hotel expansion and significant funding for patrimonial conservation.

## **THE TIKAL MASTER PLAN**

By 1972, Tikal had reached a turning point. Between 1959 and that year, tourist arrivals to the park more than doubled, from nearly five thousand to over eleven thousand visitors annually (USNPS, 1972: 130). Most arrived by air — on the dirt airstrip adjacent to the excavation site that had been prepared in 1951 for non-jet aircraft. Tourists normally

came for a day, though a small motel offered the option of a multi-day stay — tourists serenaded at night by the birds of the jungle. But the park was in dire need of improvements to both safeguard cultural patrimony and accommodate a sharp increase in expected tourists. To state it plainly, Tikal in 1970 was more of a working excavation site than a tourist attraction capable of receiving large numbers of tourists. So, what were the values that guided the U.S. National Park's proposed master plan for Tikal in 1972? Planners projected that exponential tourism growth over the following ten years would transform the region's economy. To that end, the plan focused on international tourists. Instead of investing money in upgraded roads to both the north and south, offering integration with existing road networks in Mexico and towards Guatemala City, for example, the project opted for an international airport — not one suitable for the same type of non-jet aircraft that had serviced Tikal for over a decade, but instead an airport capable of receiving jets from as far away as the United States, the primary origin of most of the expected visitors (USNPS, 1972: 32-33).

The Alliance for Progress was not unique in its efforts to attract mass tourism in developing nations through jet connectivity. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, the World Bank promoted tourism development throughout the world along the lines of a North-South economic model, which capitalized on existing and emerging air routes throughout the world. Although the World Bank projected that long distance travel (inter-continental tourism) would increase over the long term, they calculated that existing linkages between North America and the Caribbean, Western Europe and the Mediterranean/North Africa, and Japan and Southeast Asia, held the greatest promise for immediate economic gains from tourism development. Although the World Bank did not contribute to Tikal's development, Alliance for Progress funding, in addition to the master plan operated according to the same logic as the Bank promoted elsewhere, including in Bali, Indonesia; Antalya, Turkey; and Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1967).

A paved highway between the new international airport in Flores and Tikal served as a secondary aspect of the new master plan (USNPS, 34). The orientation of said highway construction further pointed to

a preference for exponential growth over a more incremental model. Instead of opting to build bridges across impassable rivers for seamless automobile access from Guatemala City, the Tikal Master Plan called for a relatively short paved road between the new international airport and Tikal itself. Little explanation is needed to elaborate on the connection between road construction and the onset of mass tourism. Roads figured prominently in similar tourism development projects throughout the hemisphere, not to mention the rest of the world.

While it would be easy to criticize the United States Park Service for imposing a potentially unsustainable tourism model on Tikal — one dependent upon international tourists and with secondary consideration for surrounding social, cultural, and environmental concerns —, the reality of tourism planning in the 1970s was not so simple. An old model of tourism as a wholly benign, renewable activity was being replaced by a more sustainable vision that recognized the cultural, social, and environmental impacts of masses of vacationers. This was most evident in the plan's assumptions about nature. From the origins of the conservation movement in the United States, beginning around 1910 with the inauguration of the National Park Service, promoting multiple uses of natural resources reigned as the preeminent paradigm for responsible management of nature (Hayes makes the distinction between conservation and preservation in his book, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*) (Hayes, 1999). This approach can be seen in the Master Plan's recognition of multiple stakeholders in and around Tikal. The assumption was that tourism development, logging, *chicle* extraction, and traditional agricultural practices (including slash and burn cultivation) could coexist without diminishing the future sustainability of the surrounding ecosystem (USNPS, 1972: 1).

On an even deeper theoretical level, planners assumed that multiple uses of nature could be separated, even segregated, into discrete activities that would not impinge on other uses of the park for economic purposes. Hence, there would be no conflict between an exponential increase in tourist arrivals, preserving Guatemala's cultural patrimony, and the resilience of Tikal's surrounding ecosystem. This was a fundamental flaw in tourism planning that would not be acknowledged throughout the industry until the late 1970s with the

publication of the joint World Bank-UNESCO study, *Tourism: Passport to Development?*, which distanced itself from such sanguine views of tourism's potential to alleviate poverty (de Kadt, ed. 1979).

Responsible views towards the environment also meant something different than they do today. Ecology was more a phenomenon to be observed (and, as we've noted above, separated from other activities) rather than a core consideration of how different aspects of the human and natural world interacted. This accounted not only at Tikal, but other projects, such as Cancun for purposely established "green areas" within and around the enclave or national park in question.

Here, then, lay the central disconnect between the ways in which human and natural settings interacted and the vulnerability of natural and cultural patrimony to mass tourism. If the different components of the regional economy and ecosystem could be separated, then exponential tourism growth posed no threat to Tikal as a national park, economic resource, or cultural symbol. At Tikal, special attention was paid to creating pathways through the park to "pristine" cross-sections of the surrounding flora (and fauna, when they could be sighted) (USNPS, 1972: 62-63). These considerations also accounted for two hundred-meter swaths of "greenways" on each side of the road leading from the turn off towards the park all the way to the entrance gates, in hopes of providing a more aesthetically pleasing experience for tourists arriving by car, bus, or recreational vehicle (USNPS, 1972: 35).

In other ways, the Master Plan was far-sighted enough that the environmental awareness of its creators integrated emerging aesthetic and educational features into its overall design for the park. The plan called for bringing tourists into the park at a location where the surrounding subtropical environment could be appreciated for its own sake, as well as identified as the natural context for the park and its incomparable heritage. This was a first step towards educating visitors to the organic setting for the former Mayan city-state. The pathways to be cut through the park (mentioned above) also acknowledged that there would be visitors among the thousands of guests, whose primary purpose for coming to Tikal was the wildlife of the region, including birds. There would also be those coming that simply hoped to escape the distractions of "civilization" for the clarity of mind offered by the

park (USNPS, 1972: 62-63).

Ultimately, the Master Plan was more than a guiding document for management of Tikal. It was also part justification for funding of the upgrades to the park, including the airport at Flores, the road between Flores and Tikal, and the enhancements to the park itself, including additional accommodations for guests and staff alike. Alliance for Progress authorities rejected the plan as grounds to proceed with the investment and charged Guatemalan authorities to conduct a more thoroughgoing evaluation of the park's potential. This was supplemented further by an Organization of American States study that evaluated the financial justification for state spending on tourism development.

But, as a template for envisioning Tikal's future as a mass tourism attraction, the Master Plan remained in force for approximately thirty years. The Master Plan's attention to the tourists' desire for pristine jungle spaces as part of the walking paths amongst the ruins, as well as recognition of the growing population of birders exhibited this transition. As the prologue noted, "The stunning combination of the formidable ruins of Tikal and the beauty of the primitive, tropical jungle assure that the Park will not suffer in comparison to any other national park in the world" (USNPS, 1972: 1). This was also one of the first reports to integrate the spiritual realm into the potential benefits of the development. To wit, the desire to retain the spectacular setting of the jungle for the tourist, within the primary zone of the Mayan ruins in Tikal should be balanced with the desire to provide the visitor the opportunity to understand the nature of the Mayan structures. But at the same time, one must consider the desire of many visitors to enjoy the contemplation of the ruins in the magnificent and overpowering solitude of the context of the jungle, a problem increasingly difficult with the increase in the number of visitors (USNPS, 1972: 62-63).

Herein lay the central paradox in the plan. Park planners detected conflict between the objectives of offering an enhanced experience in nature and entertaining an exponential increase in the number of visiting tourists.

The master plan incorporated key elements of Alliance for Progress funding for tourism development near Tikal, including a new airport at Flores. The master plan also included provisions for a paved, sixty-

seven-kilometer road between the new airport and the national park. The model included provisions for a 400-meter-wide “panoramic protection” comprised of natural flora arrayed along the highway. Nearer the site, planners envisioned a five-kilometer “protection zone” around the park would be a “barrier to prevent intrusion”, where chicly collection, wood harvesting and controlled hunting would still be permitted. However, the report said nothing about the reciprocal impacts of increased numbers of tourists on the site itself and beyond the zone of protection. The protection zone along the highway was to be designed “in the hopes that the drive through the pleasing aesthetic surroundings” would be pleasing. Protection of the roads and parks might also lengthen visitor stays at the park. “It is hoped that travel along landscapes relatively free of damage will occasion an enjoyable experience that will causes him or her to spend several days visiting Tikal, and thus, remain in the area for a greater period of time”, the report noted (USNPS, 1972: 35). Perhaps this would be true for the motorist, a declining breed of international tourist, but less so for those arriving by air, who could not adjust plans without incurring significant expenses. Similar problems occurred in Mexico as it planned for increased border tourism. In the jet age, tourists were much more likely to fly — to Cancun and Tikal, than drive to Juarez and Flores. There were also plans to route the main road to Uaxactun from Flores around the national park, rather than right through it to retain “an atmosphere of silence and rest, so important in the park, which could be lost unless such a road was constructed” (USNPS, 1972: 36). But this road was not highly prioritized and likely ignored because of concerns for cost. Hedging against the future, National Park consultants concluded, “Even though it is not considered necessary to construct this road during the first five years of the project, it will certainly be necessary to divert commercial traffic around the park when El Peten is developed to the north of Tikal in future years” (USNPS, 1972: 36).

Space for mobile accommodations would also expand significantly with facilities to host an influx of recreational vehicles. Hence,

the occasional visitor that travels in a Winnebago will be accommodated during the first few years of the development

plan in spaces situated to one side [of the parking lot] for this purpose. Nevertheless, electricity, water or sewage will not be provided. In accordance with how the development unfolds and demonstrates demand for such, the fields to accommodate Winnebagos will be directed towards the west of the diversion road towards Uaxactun." (USNPS, 1972: 36)

Of all their concerns, water scarcity vexed the consultants most keenly. This is not surprising inasmuch as El Peten sat on flat limestone bedrock and received limited rain throughout the year. This obstacle belied planners' belief that the potential growth of tourist visits was highly elastic. At the time the report was written, Tikal depended on a single storage drum that held 40,000 gallons of water. Planners projected that a container holding 500,000 gallons of water would be needed to sustain a yearly consumption of 20,000,000 gallons of water from the existing and two new sources of water, with a reserve of approximately 5,000,000 additional gallons available each year. "The efforts made during the study to find a site outside of the park with an adequate supply of water and other necessary public services in the hinterlands", planners lamented, "were unsuccessful (USNPS, 1972: 65)". Given these constraints, most tourists, except for birders interested in nocturnal viewings, would be encouraged to stay near the international airport in Flores, given "the abundant availability of water and the opportunities for recreation on Peten Itza Lake..." (USNPS, 1972: 66). Similarly, the proposed golf course and swimming pool would be re-sited near Flores instead of near the park. History, however, *did* matter in planning for Tikal's future:

These estimates [of water use] should be carefully verified by way of close monitoring of the level of water in the wells of Tikal, comparing them with the amount of rainwater and consumption. Only by gathering empirical information can the true nature of the recharging of the wells be determined. Special attention to leakages, such as that achieved by the Maya, should be used to obtain the most efficient flow models. (USNPS, 1972: 98)

Ultimately, however, the 1972 master plan suggested that mass tourism was a benign activity, which could be promoted to the hilt. Neil Newton, and Infrastructure Analyst from the Secretariat of National Economic Planning in Guatemala, Pedro Obando, modeled three projections of visitor arrivals to Tikal and tourism-related income attributable to the government's degree of implementation of the plan. Not surprisingly, the three models — like most tourism projections of the age — suggested few external costs in relation to increased numbers of tourists (USNPS, 1972: 117-125).

The first model projected visitor numbers based on current trends without additional investment at Tikal. Limited seat capacity on non-jet aircraft, as well as a ferry bottleneck at Rio Dulce (on the road between Guatemala City and Tikal), constrained large numbers of tourists to the popular site without significant investments and improvements. Newton and Obano estimated that if the status quo persisted, the length of visits would remain approximately a day long over the next ten years, with little increase in tourist expenditures at the site (then thirty U.S. dollars per day). By 1982, they estimated, the number of visitors would surpass 26,000 and total expenditures by visitors would, in 1970 currency, total \$789,000 (USNPS, 1972: 126-127).

The second alternative, modeled on government-funded improvements in the park (excluding the airport, new road, and additional accommodations), projected that tourists would spend more time at Tikal (an average of two days) and more money per day (\$35.00) in light of such upgrades. With these internal improvements, the economists calculated, the number of tourists visiting the national park would ascend to 641,100 visitors by 1982, and the visitors would spend twice as many days as the first model, infusing \$44,877,000 into the local economy (USNPS, 1972: 128-129).

Finally, the third model projected tourist visits and expenditures based on internal improvements, road expansion, new hotels, and construction of an international airport near Flores. With expanded infrastructure inside and outside of the park, the economists suggested as many as 954,600 visitors would visit Tikal by 1982, spending an average of three days there, as well as approximately \$128,000,000 during their trip (this averaged out \$45.00 per day, per visitor) (USNPS, 1972: 132-135).



In the end, the Guatemalan government adopted the 1972 Master Plan, as well as accepted \$2.5 million of Alliance for Progress funding. Five hundred thousand dollars were designated for two years of archeological restoration. Another five hundred thousand dollars would be used for “asphalt paving of a [landing] strip 1100 meters long by 30 meters wide, a parking area in front of an enlarged terminal building, drainage improvements, fencing, hangers and navigation aids” at the new airport near Flores. Finally, the new asphalt road (treated with a double bituminous treatment) would “convey tourists from the airport to Tikal as well as provide a smooth, dust free surface for all travelers” (USAID, 1973: 70-71).

Road building and airport construction near the Lago de Petén stimulated growth by the early 1980s. The new airport opened in 1982 with a civilian terminal and facilities for military aircraft. Progress remained slow, however. Commuter planes continued to carry small numbers of tourists to Flores, but now with greater frequency. Approximately fifteen thousand tourists arrived at the national park in 1981, a number that increased steadily to over sixty thousand by the late 1980s. According to the Guatemalan National Tourism Institute’s internal history, it would not be until 1988 that the first Boeing 727 landed at the terminal.

### **A SECOND MASTER PLAN, 2003**

At the time the Guatemalan Ministry of Culture and Sports collaborated with the Nature Conservancy to draft a new master plan for Tikal, very little had changed in terms of infrastructure and staffing following the improvements outlined in the 1972 plan. The park included four housing structures for workers, a solitary water well, a restaurant, four cafeterias, three hotels, and parking lots where the former airstrip once sat. To staff the not insubstantial undertaking, the park employed one hundred and twenty-nine blue and white-collar workers.

Much had changed, however, in terms of Tikal’s significance to the region and nation. In 1992, due largely in part to a surge of tourists in El Peten, tourism topped Guatemala’s sources of foreign reserves. What stood out most prominently, however, was the cultural importance of

the park to the country. “[Tikal is] a fundamental part of [Guatemala’s] identity and national pride for its meaning and condition as a sacred space and as a foundation for regional and national development”, the new plan announced at its outset (Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes [MCD], 2003, i). Further on, the document was more explicit. The park, it stated, “constitutes a fundamental element of Guatemala’s national identity” (MDC, 2003: iv).

The new plan credited the 1972 plan with improving the park, even if not in the most systematic way possible. However, after thirty years it was time, they believed, for a new strategy for protecting the cultural and natural patrimony encompassed by the park. In 1989 the Guatemalan government had created a series of protected areas in the country and a year later a Mayan Biosphere, within which the national park had been included. By the turn of the twenty-first century, more than 200,000 tourists visited the park annually. Specific objectives for the new plan, which would have a five-year window of duration included protection of cultural objects, conservation of biological diversity, development of educational programs, and integration of surrounding communities into the conservation mission envisioned by planners (MDC, 2003: 5-6).

The key difference from the original master plan was to consider the national park as part of the surrounding biosphere instead of the biosphere simply as an extension of the park itself. Instead of simply looking at ways to maximize the potential of tourism development there with some attention to aesthetic and lifestyle considerations, planners began with the objective of identifying threats and pressures to the natural and cultural patrimony within the biosphere. The focus lay, then, on evaluating strategies to reduce threats and identifying indicators to measure progress. Thus, planners focused on outcomes that favored biodiversity with cultural patrimony included as part of that overall mission. While the original master plan involved a number of engineers and economists, the new plan called upon the services of architects, restorers, archaeologists, planners, and lawyers, with a belief that their improved plan could be applied to comparable spaces around the region.

In spite of the inversion of natural and cultural priorities, planners acknowledged the archaeological and cultural importance of the

space. The three thousand known buildings that comprised Tikal set the stage for “one of the most beautiful scenes admired throughout the world”, the plan noted, “transforming itself since the early twentieth century, through the uses of scientific interests, and later as one of the primary tourist destinations of Guatemala.” (MDC, 2003: 10). In an age of identity politics, underscored by the plight of Guatemala’s indigenous communities, particularly in light of their hardships during the country’s near interminable civil war, the park also served as

[A] ceremonial center, where [natives] turn at special seasons for the celebration of important dates in the sacred calendar or special historical events. . . . It is important to emphasize the marked increase of its ceremonial use since 1988, with the reestablishment of civil authority in Guatemala, especially the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, when a massive pilgrimage of Quqchi Maya originating principally in the southern region of Peten and from Alta Verapaz, as well as Maya-Mopan, residents from the municipality of San Luis, Peten. (MDC, 2003: 11)

Not to be lost among these anthropogenic concerns was the paramount need to protect the vulnerable biosphere. The park sat amidst a tri-national sub-tropical ecosystem, whose encounters with economic development and civilization influenced the overall wellness of the whole. Three hundred and fifty-two types of birds, five hundred and thirty-five species of butterflies, and a growing number of microbiota called the Biosphere home.

Socioeconomic concerns constituted one of the principal threats to the park and biosphere. In 2002, planners observed, national and foreign visitors totaled 223,000 persons. This economic engine provided “banking, transportation, lodging and dining facilities in the central region around Flores, San Benito y Santa Elena, and El Remate, whose hotel zones are where the majority of tourists spend their nights” (MCD, 2003: 15). Tourism, which had once been seasonal in its early stages, had evolved into a year-round enterprise. North Americans and Europeans generally visiting in the summer months and domestic tourists and indigenous patrons arriving during Holy Week, October (for native ceremonies), and between November and January. In sum, like

Macchu Picchu in Peru and Cancun in Mexico, Tikal had transformed the Peten region into a peripheral nexus with transportation, business, and social connections to other sites in Guatemala, including Yaxha, Uaxactun, Ceibal or the Lake of Petexbatun (MDC, 2003: 15).

Residents of many communities in the park's immediate surroundings also depended on the park for their livelihoods. While none of these villages had existed when the park was established in the 1950s, some, including El Remate, now boasted motels that accommodated visitors. Increased immigration during the 1970s and 1980s attracted many westernized natives (ladinos) to the region, who raised corn, beans, and cattle for their own subsistence. These developments posed a potential threat to the integrity of the biosphere with their attendant fires and logging activities. Paradoxically, the isolation enforced by the civil war had ended, opening up new developmental threats to the region (MDC, 2003: 19).

In spite of these dangers, the planning team deemed the status of the archaeological ensemble to be "good". In contrast, planners judged the biosphere to be of "regular" quality, indicating the need for measurable improvement. Surrounding forests remained in "very good" condition, but susceptible nonetheless to accidental and intentional fires. The dwindling pine forests, however, posed the greatest threat to a compromised ecosystem. Their removal threatened to isolate the park from the surrounding biosphere. Fire, development, and frequent hurricanes could easily wipe out the remaining stands of pines (MDC, 2003: 29).

In contrast to the "good" verdict passed on the archaeological patrimony, planners judged the ecological sphere to be of "regular" quality, indicating the need for improvement, but not at the state of irreversible damage. Surrounding forests remained in very good condition but remained susceptible to accidental and intentional fires. The pine forests, however, posed<sup>1</sup> the greatest threat to a compromised ecosystem. Their harvesting and removal (for agricultural and husbandry purposes) threatened to isolate the park from the surrounding biosphere. Not only fire and development, but hurricanes could easily wipe out the remaining stands of pines.

The new master plan identified eleven key threats to cultural patrimony: namely looting, inadequate tourism management, and

improper preservation of artifacts. More often than not, thieves of cultural patrimony either had previous experience working at the site or labored in the less-lucrative *chicle* extraction sector. With reference to tourism management, the report cited institutional negligence in managing the exponential increase in tourists since the 1990s and cited the “erosion of monuments and pathways, the appearance of modern graffiti on many of the Mayan buildings, [and] the [poor] management of solid wastes” as proof of such carelessness (MDC, 2003: 40).

Finally, in the overall scheme of the biosphere and park, highway building loomed as the greatest peril to the region’s overall integrity. Remarkably, one concern that had alarmed planners in 1972 had never materialized, and, indeed, remained the chief concern of planners three decades on: the possibility of building a road through the park. At the regional level, this might have been done to facilitate more direct travel to Uaxactun. More far-flung plans, including construction of roads to the Mexican border to ease travel between Mayan heritage sites, posed the greatest hazard to the region, and in the minds of planners, must be avoided at all costs.

Looting of archeological objects posed the greatest threat to conservation of the park’s cultural patrimony. Absconding with historical artifacts not only carried with an object’s removal, but also its particular cultural and scientific context, whose integrity would be compromised by its theft (MDC, 2003: 51). Planners called for heightened vigilance on the part of guard patrols, novel educational programs to warn of the potentially irretrievable losses, as well as new economic opportunities for individuals living in surrounding communities (MDC, 2003: 51). Similarly, the master plan called for governmental authorities to launch a shaming campaign to stigmatize consumers of illicit parrots, felines, or large game species (MDC, 2003: 67).

Planners cited highway construction as the principal cause of concern for preserving the natural patrimony — the Mayan Biosphere itself, of which the National Park was only one component. The potential danger of new roads to adjacent landscapes had been at the forefront of planners’ minds in 1972, but in the intervening years significant emigration into the region brought with it the trappings of civilization. Expanded agriculture and cattle ranching compromised lush corridors

that linked the park to forest reserves far beyond the park. Continued encroachment, as had already happened with the thinning of pine tree stands — could instigate the “island effect”, wherein the connective flora between the park and the biosphere would threaten the park’s sustainability. In order to reduce the impact of a human presence (tourists and residents alike), planners condemned any plans to develop access roads between the park and surrounding communities, namely Uaxactun. Likewise, authorities suggested, the park should not become one stop on an international highway — which had long been envisioned as a way to link tourist destinations throughout what had been touted for nearly half a century as the *Mundo Maya*. Speed controls and prohibition of roads wider than two lanes were also recommended (MDC, 2003: 60-61).

Tourism posed a greater threat to preservation of both the cultural and the natural patrimony than it had in 1972. As of 2003, visits to the park were on the climb — including, as noted earlier, the visit of over 200,000 national and foreign tourists in the year 2000. Several factors contributed to this. Improved infrastructure provided by the Alliance for Progress loans raised the carrying capacity of the park itself, as well as provided means for an international airport. The end of the decade’s long civil war cannot be underestimated as another reason for the upturn in tourist gate receipts following the 1988 ceasefire.

Ultimately, in the minds of planners, threats were threats — be they human or otherwise. Similar efforts to those proposed for preventing construction of additional highways or reducing looting were suggested for dealing with hordes of tourists. Namely, park authorities should instigate more vigilant security patrols to deter vandalism in the form of graffiti, and to ensure the integrity of walkways and buildings from excessive deterioration. In a reversal of what the 1972 plan called for, these planners suggested that certain “routes, ways, or unofficial breaches” be closed to reduce the threat of damage to archaeological zones. While this contradicted, the priority given to tourists to appreciate pristine nature, it valued the integrity of the cultural and natural patrimony above anthropomorphic concerns. Boldly, the planners recommended a reservation system to control tourists, particularly during the busiest months in the summer, during Holy Week, times of indigenous sacred ceremonies, and New Year’s Eve (MDC, 2003: 83).

## CONCLUSION

The 1972 Master Plan designed by the United States National Park Service created an adequate strategy for Tikal's park management during the course of the next three decades. That conclusion can be reached by comparing it with the status of the cultural and natural patrimony assigned by the 2003 master plan. Not surprisingly, the 2003 plan was elaborated using different values and methodologies from its predecessor. These values inverted the importance of the cultural and natural patrimony, but like the 1972 plan, recognized that both played an important role in the overall health and development of the region. One factor, however, should be taken into account before lauding the far-reaching success of the 1972 plan. The Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996), perhaps more than any visionary forecast by Park Service planners, probably did most to hold the onset of mass tourism at bay until the twenty-first century. Had it not persisted for decades, it is likely that the park would have been in need of a new master plan much sooner based in large measure by the inordinately rosy predictions of Neil Newton and Pablo Obando in their modeling of an upgraded park complete with its new international hotel, roads, and accommodations.

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## Part Three

### Chapter 3

#### COLONIAL CONTACT AND THE DECLINE OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN POSTCOLONIAL SOCIETIES: QUESTIONING THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE

Obafemi A. P. Olukoya

##### Abstract

Over the last recent decades in Nigeria, vernacular architecture has risen to prominence and it has been ubiquitously cited as didactic models for sustainable architecture. However, in spite of the rising awareness, vernacular architecture in Nigeria continues to be destroyed and replaced with contemporary alternatives. This paradox has generated diverse argumentations and encouraged a plethora of researches from historians, geographers and academic heritage scholars who have frequently cited the impacts of colonial contact on the imagery of vernacular architecture in postcolonial societies as causative factor. As such, the writings on colonization and precolonial indigenous epistemologies have arbitrarily agreed on colonial contact as the causative factor implicitly responsible for the neglect, abandonment and destruction of vernacular architecture in Nigeria. However, this present paper argues that this commonplace assumption is overly simplistic and embedded with a restrictive understanding of complexities of indigenous epistemologies prior to colonial contact. Thus, this paper illustrates that while colonialism and indigenous epistemologies may represent two distinct ways of explaining what constitutes the developed and the primitive, both share two characterizations. First, both assume the existence of the developed and the primitive polarity and both participate in the construction of the polarity. Second, both adhere to the distinction between the urban or avant-garde and the rural or indigenous. To this end, this paper suggests that these shared qualities prevent any significant determinism of colonization as the sole factor responsible for the change in the way the people view their vernacular heritage in postcolonial Nigeria. Therefore, by drawing on theory of ecological anthropology, specifically Julian Steward's explanation in "Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution" this study posits that the change in perception

towards rural vernacular architecture is a function of evolutionary cultural processes with multiplicity of factors at play beyond the simple colonial determinism as commonly suggested.

**Keywords:** *Vernacular Architecture; Pre-colonial Nigeria; Colonial Contact; Indigenous Epistemology; Culture Change; Theory of Ecological Anthropology; Julian Steward.*

## INTRODUCTION

Globally, in recent years, there has been a renewed scientific interest in vernacular architecture<sup>1</sup> and as such, a growing number of publications have specifically positioned it as a typology of cultural heritage imbued with sustainability lessons for the contemporary architectural surrogate (e.g. Olukoya, 2016). Although the specific interests of different researchers in vernacular architecture has varied in thematic scope and methodology, one common recommendation unites all positions and this is the devotion to the idea that those involved in the contemporary development of sustainable architectural practice should learn from the study of vernacular architecture (Foruzanmehr & Vellinga, 2011). Thus, by extension, given the intractable challenge of housing the growing population of Nigeria, the global awareness has encouraged researchers in country to consider diverse housing alternatives. Given the global academic awareness in the sustainable lessons and character of vernacular architecture and its traditions, significant attention has been drawn to vernacular architecture in urban area and suburbs as a contributory solution to the growing housing challenge in Nigeria. In this vein, in the last decade or so, a growing body of researches

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, I used the term vernacular architecture and built vernacular heritage interchangeably to indicate the typology of cultural heritage on which this paper focuses. However for the purpose of clarity, “vernacular architecture” is the worldview appellation for contextual heritage of a people by a people and for a people. While “built vernacular heritage” refers to the authorized and institutional (usually motivated by some form of legislation or written charter) appellation used to describe vernacular architecture within the heritage institution and discipline. Thus, it is the “operational” term for vernacular architecture as a synonym for objects, buildings and landscapes are set apart from the “everyday” and conserved for their aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or recreational values.

has positioned the Nigerian vernacular architecture and its embodied vernacular ethics as a sustainable alternative to contemporary architecture which is associated with a catalogue of environment depleting characteristics. However, despite the rising awareness and the robustness of scientific research which buttresses the sustainable character of vernacular architecture globally and in Nigeria, this typology of cultural heritage continues to be neglected, destroyed and replaced with contemporary alternatives. This surprising paradoxical situation continues to linger all around the world where vernacular architecture and its construction traditions continue to be in a state of decline and are frequently looked down upon, abandoned, neglected or actively demolished in spite of being repeatedly cited in the academic literature as exemplary models of environmental practice.

This lingering paradox has encouraged a number of researchers to examine factors responsible for the consistent destruction and replacement of vernacular heritage despite the rising awareness of its sustainability lessons. Thus, many researches have been conducted which are motivated by one research question: why are vernacular architectures that are repeatedly claimed to be appropriate and sustainable replaced by ones that, from an environmental perspective, are not? (Foruzanmehr & Vellinga, 2011). Interestingly, this question about the rationale behind the decline of so many vernacular traditions has so far received reactions which can be considered to be under two distinct societies namely; the colonized, now postcolonial developing countries and the uncolonized developed Western societies. In the developed Western societies, while the different literatures have been driven on perspectives which may ignore critical variables or factors that others emphasize, one universal assumption drives all approaches: the powerful, if not inevitable, influence of modernity is responsible for the discussed decline in vernacular architecture (Heyman, 1994). It is suggested in multiple literatures that as a vestige of modernist thought process, built vernacular heritage has been considered to be retrograde, anachronistic, outdated past and antithetical with contemporary progress (Krier, 1998).

On the other hand, in developing postcolonial societies, the mode of explaining the factors responsible for this declining vernacular architecture and disappearing vernacular traditions are somewhat

different to the Western societies' position. Colonial contact has been frequently cited as the causative factor in post-colonial societies. It has been frequently noted that African cultural values suffered and continue to suffer as a result of colonial contact (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999). In this regard, volumes have been written by historians and political scientists on the negative effects of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere (e.g. Rodney, 1972). In the same vein, in the postcolonial Nigeria, which is the case study of this paper, critical review of the accounts of contemporary historians, folklorist, geographers, and academic heritage scholars demonstrated that the impact of colonial contact on the imagery of the Nigerian vernacular architecture and associative tradition is commonly cited in the body of literature. The body of studies has consensually posited a single path to explaining the decline of vernacular architecture and has authoritatively constructed an academic dichotomy between colonial modernity<sup>2</sup> and indigenous epistemology<sup>3</sup>. However, until now, only a few scholars have challenged this rather orthodoxy colonial determinism and the artificial dichotomy which is created between colonial modernity and indigenous epistemologies.

As a point of departure therefore, this paper draws on the stated colonial determinism to argue that the monolithic universalism is overly simplistic and embedded with superficial assumption about indigenous epistemology and also the theoretical dimension of vernacular architecture creation. From this position, this paper advances its argument by suggesting that both colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology shares certain characterization in its affinity for cultural imperialism and this prevents any significant determinism of

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<sup>2</sup> Colonial modernity in this case refers to a process of modernism which was initiated by colonial encounter on colonized societies. Generally, it is described in comparison to indigenous epistemology and colonial "way of doing" was considered modern in this case. This form of modernism however, is different from the philosophical movement which later emerged after colonization itself. (Adeyemi, 2008; Agboola & Zango, 2014; Fatiregun, 1999; Pwiti, & Ndoro, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> It is prudent, at this juncture, to point out that the terms epistemology and epistemologies are used interchangeably to indicate a category that is fundamentally at odds with colonial modernity. The plural usage indicates an awareness of the plurality of indigenous epistemologies, and the singular usage is intended to convey the idea that these epistemologies are unified in their appeal to pre-colonial "ways of doing", and indigenous "ways of knowing" that encompass spiritual, economic, environmental and social dimensions (Alfaisal, 2011: 24-5).

colonialism as a causative factor for the decline in vernacular tradition. In this regard, in order truly to understand the changes in attitude towards vernacular culture and tradition, it is therefore important to consider an approach which explains how culture is the agent for the dialogue between human and the environment. Such thorough examination of cultural and environmental variables and the way in which both dialectically interrelate in a particular local context is considered to have the potential to reveal the motivations behind the choices people make in relation to the continuation or abandonment of specific traditions. Among others, theory of ecological anthropology suggests ways in which this nature of research goal can be pursued. Against this background, this study is by necessity theoretical but not exhaustive in its approach. Until now, studies with theoretical means of explanation remains less advanced than those that simply succumb to the authorized colonial determinism<sup>4</sup> as the adopted approach for determining and appropriating the changes in attitude of the people to vernacular architecture and its tradition. Thus, this paper draws on Julian Steward's explanation in "Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution" to explore the potential reasons for the change in perception towards rural vernacular architecture. Erudite theoreticians might note the omission of a number of theories from the discussion, the possible omissions owes its reasons to the imperative necessity for focusing the aim the paper which is to demonstrate that there are a multiplicity of factors at play beyond the simple colonial determinism as commonly suggested. Rather than rehearsing the well-debated theoretical discourse on colonialism, this paper aims to demonstrate the similarities it shares with precolonial way of doing in the Nigeria context. Likewise, this paper does not engage in an extensive review of colonialism or indigenous epistemologies, it only draws on literature which have explored or commented on the similarities between indigenous epistemologies and colonialism (Alfaisal, 2011).

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<sup>4</sup> By authorized colonial determinism, this paper refers to the broad consensus in literature concerning colonial contact as a sole factor responsible for the abandonment of vernacular architecture in Nigeria as a typical postcolonial society. It is authorized in the sense that most these literature are authored by prominent researchers with enormous control over opinions in the field of architecture in Nigeria.

In this regard, this paper is organized as follows. Section two is a rapid review of the existing discourse of Nigerian vernacular architecture and colonial contact. Section three discusses the similarities between colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology in the context of their construction of development and their synonymous affinity for subjectification and objectification. The subsequent section four explains the ecological anthropology dimension for explaining change in culture which is responsible for vernacular architecture creation. The last section is the conclusion aspect which draws on the specific arguments generated to summarize the paper.

### COLONIAL MODERNITY AND THE NIGERIAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: THE STATE OF THE ART



Figure 1: Map of Africa and Nigeria (Copyright © 2016 billbaroni.com).

The Federal republic of Nigeria is located in West Africa and lies between latitudes 4° and 14°N, and longitudes 2° and 15°E. Currently, the country has a population of 182 million people and is forecasted to surge to 201 million people by the year 2021<sup>5</sup>. The British colonial rule started in Nigeria in the year 1861 and the colonial process ended in 1960 when the country was declared independent (Osasona, 2007, p. 3; Agboola & Zango, 2014). Colonization process in Nigeria is argued to have brought about the advent of modernity in Nigeria (Agboola & Zango, 2014; Fatiregun, 1999; Osasona, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> According to the Nigerian population statistics available at <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nigeria-population/> (accessed 03 January, 2019).



In its socio-cultural structure and religious inclinations, Nigeria is far from monolithic. Culturally, there are roughly 400 ethnic groupings, with well over 300 local dialects and consequently with a vastly varied socio-cultural practices and concepts (Osasona, 2007: 3). However, three ethnic groups remains dominant, these are the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. Also, along these religious lines, the nation state is structured into a predominantly Muslim north and a predominantly Christian south; and in some cases, traditional religions are practiced side by side. Given the vastness of its ethnicity, Nigeria also parades numerous traditional building design concepts in the different climatic regions, socio-economic and cultural distinctions. As such, the traditional designs of the vernacular architecture reflect the environmental constraints and opportunities and the contextual socio-cultural lifestyle of the people and represent their common heritage (Olotuah, 2001). It is consider prudent at this point to reiterate that the holistic description of the vernacular built form in Nigeria is not the focus of this paper.

Having given the historical background, the vernacular architecture of Nigeria can be considered under two main categories namely; the pre-colonial vernacular architecture and the vernacular architecture of the colonial period as demonstrated in the contrast illustrated in Figure 2a.



Figure 2a: Typical precolonial vernacular architecture.



Figure 2b: Typical colonial vernacular architecture (copyrights: a. Ishanlosen Odiaua. b. Cordelia Osasona).

However, notwithstanding the classification according to historical periods, one central idea drives the creation of the Nigerian vernacular architecture and this remains that the domestic built forms in both periods are implicitly determined by contextual environmental constraints and opportunity cum socio-cultural factors and influences (Fatiregun, 1999; Agboola & Zango, 2014). Nonetheless, inspired by the opportunities and prevailing constraints of historical period and also the palpable tension between the forces of globalization and the recognition of regionalist identities and particularisms, the colonial vernacular architecture often employ more modern building materials such as hollow-sandcrete blocks, decorative element, concrete structural assemblage, corrugated iron roof and in many cases, sandcrete wall finishing. On the other hand, the pre-colonial vernacular is more brutalist in its material finishing since it is usually constructed without wall finishes as demonstrated in Figure 2b. Among others, these constitute the material differences between the colonial and

the precolonial vernacular built form. While the precolonial vernacular architecture drew its inspiration on the abundance of its culture, environmental constraint and opportunities, colonial vernacular architecture drew considerably on the globally prevailing art of building which became institutional and was learnt in schools. Thus, trained builders began to find inspiration in the duality of pedagogical training of building and the need to create an organic relationship to the land based on the local climate, materials, and contextual cultures. This was done to such an extent that buildings in this period managed to have its own identity which is today referred to as the “colonial vernacular architecture”.

Thus, according to Osasona (2007) and Fatiregun (1999), during the colonial period, the Nigerian traditional building practices was influenced by British colonial architectural inputs and colonially-aided Latin American/Sierra Leonean archi-cultural transplants. Osasona & Ewemade argued that:

as a result of the cultural diffusion which occurred with British colonization, architectural pluralism – hitherto unknown and among other transplanted phenomena – came on the scene, featuring hospitals, schools, factories, warehouses, offices, churches and Western-style residences. Colonial architecture in Nigeria was characterized by the use of steep, hipped shingle roofs and lofty (sometimes profiled) ceiling heights, columned and massive masonry structuring and extensive verandas. (Osasona & Ewemade, 2009: 60).

Nevertheless today, both the precolonial and the colonial vernacular architecture and its attendant tradition building culture are abandoned, looked down upon and getting destroyed at a distressing rate. In spite of being repeatedly cited as didactic solution to the housing problems in Nigeria, the vernacular architecture continues to decay, destroyed and replaced with contemporary alternatives. In this vein, researchers considering the factors responsible for vernacular architecture decline have arbitrarily cultivated same colonization which had its own architectural identity as the causative factor and authoritatively legitimized it. For example, the erudite Africa first professor of

Architecture — Adeyemi suggested in one of writings that “ [...] cultural decadence may have had its root in the colonization process, in the inculcation in the African mind through decades of tutelage that the African, as well as his heritage, comes last in the global scheme of things” (Adeyemi, 2008: 17-18). Furthermore, a publication in *Journal of African Society Cultures and Traditions* explained that “The result of colonial masters brought about an impact on modernization. The impermanent nature of traditional buildings meant that there could be a quick adjustment in the family compound to change circumstances” (Agboola & Zango, 2014: 67) Also, Fatiregun, (1999) maintained that colonization led to:

abandonment of old traditional settlement and villages for new state settlements and towns, disruption and fragmentation of long standing extended family bonds coupled with increased personal freedom and decreased family sizes, disappearance of large family compounds and introduction of new smaller nuclear family units [...] the change in the physical appearance of settlements the form of different structures, the rejection of traditionally molded decorations on clay walls for modern paints and the rejection of thatch roof for corrugated iron sheets which resulted to curve-linear forms instead of rectilinear (*apud* Agboola & Zango, 2014: 67).

Equally significant is the position of Osasona & Ewemade who argued that “[...] as a result of the cultural diffusion which occurred with British colonization, architectural pluralism — hitherto unknown and among other transplanted phenomena — came on the scene [...]” (2009: 60). Furthermore, Osasona adumbrated that “apart from intangibles, impossible to measure (such as an attitude some refer to as “colonial mentality”), there are quantifiable and visible legacies dotting the nation’s landscape” (2007: 5). Although all these explanations would seem to be true in many cases, it does not represent the whole truth and it needs to be treated with caution, owing to the fact these positions are often based on complimentary researches from a community of researchers who are familiar with each other’s work. Also, given the fact that these explanations are often superficial historicist interpretations

and that have no theoretical underpinnings. Quite often as well, as noted by Foruzanmehr & Vellinga, “it usually an etic perspective that does not necessarily represent the point of view of the bearers of the traditions” (2011: 275). Thus, this paper argues that colonial modernity and indigenous epistemologies shares a number of characterizations that prevents are significant determinism of colonization as a “sole” factor for the decline in vernacular tradition. The following section provides the perceived shared similarities.

### **SHARED CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY AND COLONIAL MODERNITY**

In Nigeria, studies on colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology have considered both to be fundamentally at odd with each other especially in the construction of what constitutes the developed and the undeveloped/primitive (e.g. Adeyemi, 2008; Agboola & Zango, 2014; Fatiregun, 1999). Indigenous epistemology literature criticizes the colonial modernity as egocentric and hegemonic (Pfeifer, 1996; Alfaisal, 2011). Also, scholars with devotion to this persuasion argue that colonial modernity ignores the precolonial means of knowing and doing thereby valorizing the colonial modern means as the avant-garde and the requisite for contemporary progress. Pfeifer suggests that “these scholars contend that the approaches informed by modernization deny the utility of rural peoples’ knowledge for facilitating improvement in their lives” (1996: 44).

Scholars such as Pfeifer have challenged this artificially created dichotomy by arguing that while both may have different means of characterizing the developed and the primitive, both assume the existence of the polarity and possesses the affinity for cultural imperialism with the purpose of domination and subordination. These shared characteristics are therefore reviewed and discusses here under two headings namely: 1) Characterizing development and underdevelopment; 2) Subjectification and objectification characteristics of both.

### **1) Characterizing the developed and the primitive**

Both indigenous epistemology and colonial modernity assumed the existence of the primitive and the develop polarity and both operationalize this polarity (Pfeifer, 1996). Although, the way both are constructed might be different, there remains a devotion to operationalizing both. For example, having distinguished between primitive and developed, indigenous epistemologies focus on the cultural values and practices of the poor and primitive rather than applying the colonial Western experience to the “local” to suggest how they should order their development (*Ibid.*). Equally, the appraisal of the Nigerian experience demonstrates that in the precolonial period, there was equally an innate conquest ethics even before colonialism started in Nigeria. There were several villages that were subjects of bigger kingdoms or caliphates — as the case maybe — who considered themselves as the developed and the others as primitive. The conquered villages were equally subjected to cultural domination and their built environment including vernacular tradition were subjected to the clandestine or sometimes, outright control of how the develop process should be ordered.

While colonial modernity adopted the dual tools: science and technology as the necessary tools to ensure development and deny the incidence or existence of some sort of advancement and technology in the undeveloped’s identity, indigenous epistemology on the other hand focuses on the cultural values and does not ignore the achievements of undeveloped peoples’ knowledge (Pfeifer, 1996). This acknowledgement of the presence of cultural advancements by precolonial “power that be” gave rise to cross cultural similarities in the built environment of the subjugated and that of the subjugator sometimes in Nigeria. The pre-colonial indigenous knowledge strategies focus on local cultural contexts to understand how their embedded knowledge and practices can improve living standards of the subjugated that are considered to be primitive (*Ibid.*).

### **2) Subjectification and Objectifications in Colonial Modernity and Indigenous Epistemology**

This section discusses the similarities between colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology in relation to how both participate in

“subjectifying” and “objectifying” those perceived as undeveloped/primitive. Implicit in this shared characterization is the assumption of the position of the “developed” as the subject, the giver and creator of development while the position of the “undeveloped” on the hand is seen as the object. Foucault (1980) invigorated this explanation by suggesting that both indigenous epistemologies and colonial modernity conjecture the developed-undeveloped schema which functions as a mechanism for the processes of subjectification and objectification. Subjectification in this case refers to a “process of classification in which a people, now constituted as subjects, receive a social identity as victims.” (Escobar, 1984: 86-7). “Objectification is a process of exposing differences between subjects by constructing them to create one subject as an object” (Pfeifer, 1996: 52).

Both indigenous epistemology and colonial modernity continue to control undeveloped regions by establishing institution such as traditional ruling systems (kingship and queenships) by the former and professional institution by the latter. This can be apprehended through an examination of the way in which both institutions deploy means to generate and distribute norms as an objective truth to be digested by the subjugated. Pfeifer suggested that:

Institutionalization is the process of articulating and inscribing discourses and strategies within a society. The regulation of populations creates techniques of power [...] Institutionalization and professionalization thus provide the processes for the formalized production of knowledge that help define what constitutes the undeveloped in an “objective” fashion. (Pfeifer, 1996: 47)

Therefore, these similarities locate the points of philosophical convergence of the different epistemologies that would disallow a significant determinism of colonial modernity as a sole factor for changes in which vernacular built form is viewed in postcolonial Nigeria. Before colonial contact, there has been abandonment of certain building typologies which were handed over by previous generations. Subsequent generation with better technological advancement and know-how often construct their own built forms out of the

abundance of lesson learnt from the errors of the previous generation. In this respect, there are historical records of rural migrations which left certain rural landscapes abandoned, prior to colonial contact. Based on the explained shared characterization, it can be argued that colonial contact cannot be constructed a solitary factor responsible for the changes in the way the people view vernacular architecture and thus the reason for its neglect, abandonment and destruction. In this regard, the way that scholars project colonial modernity as a sole factor responsible for the decline in vernacular architecture needs reconsideration. Thus, the fundamental question remains; aside the colonial determinism, what other factors can be responsible for changes in the traditional building culture of the people and the way they engage with their environment? Among others, theory of ecological anthropology provides a materialist perspective to this lingering question and its premises enable ways in which this nature of questioning can be pursued. Against this background, the following section discusses the theory of ecological anthropology with a focus on the theory developed by Julian Steward.

### **THEORY OF CULTURE CHANGE: ECOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVE**

For the purpose of providing a basic background, ecological anthropology is a theoretical perspective which provides a materialist explanation for human society and culture as products of adaptation to given environmental conditions (Seymour, 1986). Ecological anthropology owes its narrative to a couple of reactionary stages through classical to contemporary research. The term “stage” in this context means group of works which shares theoretical perspective, mode of explanation and research questions. Ecological anthropology primarily entails the discussion of the reciprocal relations that exists between people, their culture and the environment. It includes an approach which states that human behavior is a function of their environment. It explains that human populations constantly have an exchange and subsequently, an impact upon the land, climate, plant, and animal species within their proximities. Consequently, these elements of their environment have reciprocal impacts on humans and



their culture. Therefore, ecological anthropology addresses the ways that a population shapes its environment and how these manners of relation form the population's social, cultural, economic behavior. Suffice it to reiterate that this paper is driven on the assumption that vernacular architecture is a holistic entity forged in between tangible and intangible cultural values. Thus, it is a physical structure built in the presence of intangible values, in this case, cultural activities or practices and cultural expressions/ representations within the environment (Karakul, 2007: 151). Thus, this theory is considered relevant for the discourse of changes in the social attitude of the people to their built vernacular heritage in Nigeria. For more precise explanation of the relevance of this theory, among others, Julian Steward's mode of explanation and choice of research question is considered appropriate in this case.

### **THE JULIAN STEWARD'S THEORY OF CULTURE CHANGE**

Generally, Julian Steward advocates multilinear evolution. He asserts that the concept of adaptation follows a regular sequence of change under similar environmental conditions, even while in different geographical locations. He developed the concept of "cultural core" which he defines as certain elements of culture which influences the environment, while other elements of culture are subject to autonomous process of culture change. In his book *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*, he describes multilinear evolution as "an assumption that certain basic types of culture may develop in similar ways under similar conditions but that few concrete aspects of culture will appear among all groups of mankind in a regular sequence" (Steward, 1955: 4). Steward sought the causes of cultural changes and attempted to devise a method for recognizing the ways in which culture change is induced by adaptation to the environment (*Ibid.*). He termed this adaptation "cultural ecology". Steward argued that the cross-cultural regularities which arise from similar adaptive processes in similar environments are synchronic in nature (*Ibid.*). The main aim of cultural ecology is to identify whether the adjustments of human societies to their environments require particular modes of

behavior or whether they permit latitude for a certain range of possible behaviors and this concept was later developed as “possibilism” in contemporary research (Steward, 1955: 36).

Steward specified three steps in the investigation of the cultural ecology of a society: (1) describing the natural resources and the technology used to extract and process them; (2) outlining the social organization of work for these subsistence and economic activities; (3) tracing the influence of these two phenomena on each other and aspects of culture (Barfield, 1997: 448). Important in the sequence identified by Barfield (1997) is the process of subsistence itself. That is, the man to nature association in the process of providing shelter using the sociocultural capital in the presence of environmental opportunities and constraints. As such, the following Figure 3 attempts to capture the four aspects.

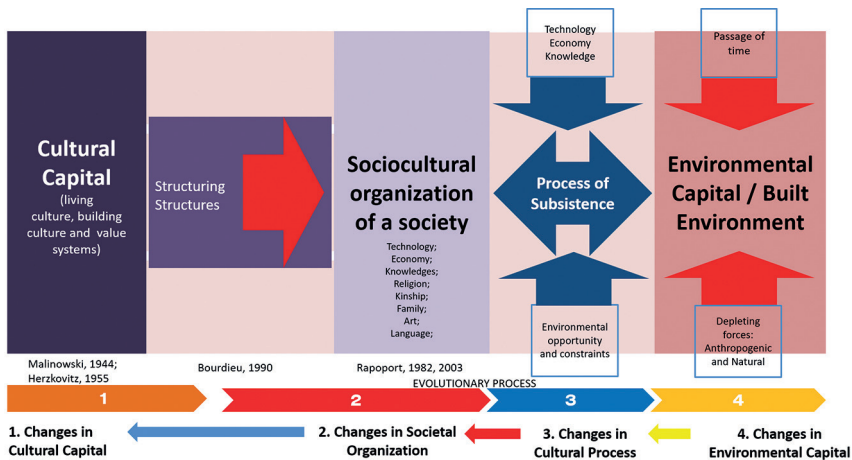


Figure 3: The reciprocal relationship between cultural capital and environmental capital (Author's, based on Steward, 1955; Bourdieu, 1990; adapted from Karakul, 2007).

As illustrated in Figure 3, the cultural capital is the fundamental aspect of the sociocultural organization of a society. This cultural capital becomes the societal cultural expression through an interphase Peirre Bourdieu (1990) termed the structuring structures. This cultural expression becomes the mediator of the dialogue between the society and nature in the process of subsistence (based on Karakul, 2007).

The dialogue between man and nature generate the historic built environment among which vernacular architecture is a constituent. As such, based on Steward's explanation as illustrated in Figure 3, changes in environmental conditions (4) will have effects on the cultural process of subsistence (3), the societal organization (2) and fundamentally, the cultural capital (1) and this process will repeat itself in reversal overtime. Steward explained this process as cultural change which is induced by human adaptation to the environment (Steward, 1955: 4). In essence, changes in the subsistence process for example, will inevitably induce changes in the technology, knowledge of farming, approach to the construction of vernacular steads and storages, just a literary example. This subsequently changes the way the built environment is constructed and can also possibly be linked to rural migration and abandonment.

Relating Julian Steward's explanation to the case at hand, a catalogue of environment related conditions which can initiate change in culture has ensured in Nigeria overtime. Such environment changing conditions includes climate change, change in Land Use Act, increase population which has significantly increased pressure on environmental resources. As such, the questions regarding the reasons for the decline of vernacular traditions can be considered to have been caused by a culture change which is caused by a catalogue of both environmental factors, political and socio-economic conditions among others. Also, equally important in Julian Steward's explanation is that there is regular sequence of change under similar environmental conditions. Relating this explanation to the universality of vernacular architecture decline globally, one can highlight the impact of climate change on even Western un-colonized societies and the manner in which this could potentially change the way the people engage with the environment and construct buildings.

## **CONCLUSION**

By drawing on theory of ecological anthropology, this paper suggests that there a need to reconsider the way postcolonial societies explains the decline in built vernacular heritage and its associative construction

traditions. The conclusion from the theoretical insight suggests that while there are evidences of changes in vernacular tradition which has led to the abandonment of vernacular landscapes, the implicit causative factors are complex but it can also be explained through the lens ecological anthropological theoretical perspective. The insights from the literature review of the Nigeria case demonstrated that colonial modernity caused a variety of undeniable changes in the construction processes and it institutionalized the art of building to such an extent that it managed to create its own "colonial vernacular" architectural identity. Also, in certain cases, the landscapes developments were "controlled" institutionally by stringent colonial laws against the wish of the local populace. Nonetheless, constructing a single path to explaining the decline in vernacular architecture through a colonialism lens alone needs reconsideration. Such determinism has brought about scientific consensus at the risks of trivializing the potentials of diverse possibilities.

In this regard, this paper examined both colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology and on the premises of the literature reviewed, this paper suggested that both colonial modernity and indigenous epistemology shares important characterization in the way they both subjectify their objects; a characterization which has been long positioned to be a characteristics of colonial modernity alone and alien to pre-colonial approach to doing. Also, this paper demonstrated that both colonial modernity and indigenous knowledge share affinity for cultural imperialism and subjugation; another characterization which has been positioned in research to be a characterization of colonial modernity only. Thus, by drawing on a theoretical approach which provides a material explanation for change in culture, this paper contribute to the ongoing discussion on the question of factors responsible for the consistent decline in vernacular architecture and why the people sustain the consistent preference for contemporary alternatives. Important in the theoretical explanation of culture change is that there is regular sequence of change as adaptation to similar environmental conditions. One can highlight the impact of climate change, growing population, and change in land use on environmental capital globally. According to Steward's explanation, this could have impacts that can potentially change the way the people view, engage

with the environment and determine what construction types will prevail. Lastly, it is important to mention that this paper does not attempt to position this theoretical explanation as the only possible path to explaining the case at hand, the paper only aim to contribute to the ongoing discussion from an academic theoretical perspective. For the furtherance of research in this direction in the future, it is important to also consider the political and economic dimension which could also potentially have caused the change in attitude of the people in postcolonial societies.

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## Part Three

### Chapter 4

#### THE MANYIKENI AND CHIBUENE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, MOZAMBIQUE: PROSPECTS FOR THEIR CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT

Solange L. Macamo, Anneli Ekblom, Paul J.J. Sinclair & Leonardo Adamowicz

##### Abstract

The paper outlines the history of research and heritage management of Manyikeni (a Zimbabwe tradition site dated 1200-1700 AD) and the trading station of Chibuene (dated from 400-present). Both sites are located in the District of Vilankulos, in Inhambane Province of Southern Mozambique. Archaeological work has been conducted at both sites since the 1970s with significant participation of local residents and researchers from Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo and external researchers. The paper discusses heritage measures for these two sites including also a newly reported stone enclosure (Zimbabwe) of Ngomene, in Vilankulos, c.56.7km south of Chibuene. We also discuss the heritage and cultural tourism potential of the area in terms of proximity to the marine national park of Bazaruto, for a sustainable heritage conservation program in the wider processes of socio-economic development. We use the Urban Historic Landscape, or HUL approach associated with the notion of the living heritage to meet community needs. This is reinforced by the recently adopted marine cultural heritage approach of the Rising from the Depths Network in Eastern Africa, aiming to benefit communities, living specifically on the coast.

The paper argues for an integrated biocultural heritage approach for sustainable conservation through the establishment of "Archaeological Parks" and exemplifies efforts towards these goals on the sites and the possibilities for such an endeavor in the current national cultural and natural legislation.

**Keywords:** *Conservation; Cultural and Natural Heritage Legislation; Bio-cultural Heritage; Archaeological Parks; Local Communities; Heritage Management.*

## INTRODUCTION

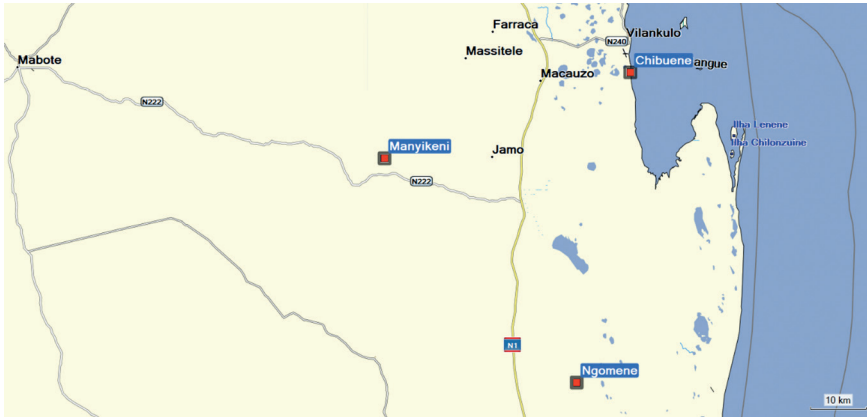


Figure 1: Main sites and areas mentioned in the text.

Vilankulos region Inhambane province, southern Mozambique is in many ways a cultural and tourism hotspot with the long beaches and proximity to the Bazaruto Marine Park (first established as a national park in 1971 and renewed in 2001). However, the region is also known for the rich heritage. This paper discusses the past experience and future prospects for heritage conservation and management in the Vilankulos region. We will discuss heritage management of the Manyikeni and Chibuene sites. An Interpretative Centre was established at the Manyikeni stone enclosure in 1979 (Figure 1). The Centre, situated 57.6 km from the Vilankulo Bay, was the first museum of this kind in the independent Mozambique, building on community involvement. The experience gained from Manyikeni led on to further expansion of cultural heritage management work. By 2000, the conservation efforts also included Chibuene, a first and second millennium AD trading site, located on the coast 5 km south of Vilankulos. As a result of the dissemination work, the two sites are now well known to the public in Mozambique and abroad (see below), but as discussed here can be better marketed and displayed also to a broader audience. Managing these sites has not been without challenges. The Interpretive Centre of Manyikeni has been reconstructed three times after war

damage, hurricane effects and bush fires. Diminishing water resources have been a severe challenge for Manyikeni. Another problem is the severe poverty of local communities. In such a situation it may be difficult to receive support from local community in cultural heritage management but in fact the opposite has been the case. A distinguishing trait of archaeology and cultural heritage management and archaeology is the collaboration with local communities (Jopela & Fredriksen, 2015; Macamo & Adamowicz, 2017; Macamo & Ekblom, 2018), in contrast to some other African countries where there has been less collaboration (Ndoro, 2001; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2005). However, formalisation of the necessary legal protection of sites may also cause new local conflicts as will be discussed here.

Although we have made good progress in terms of heritage management, efforts have been continuously hindered by the lack of resources. External funding can provide temporary resources, but structural long-term support is direly needed. We will argue that there is a need for the combination of the legal instruments existing in the country that combine both cultural and natural heritage laws (Macamo, 2018; Ekblom *et al.*, 2019). The combination of the two can open more conservation possibilities for integral resource utilization and we here review possibilities in the existing legislation in Mozambique. Proposing an integrated management programme for the Vilankulos region we suggest aims and goals and appropriate legislation that combine a number of sites including also Ngomene, an additional Zimbabwe type stone enclosure that has recently been located at Machaniça locality c. 56.7 km south of Chibuene into archaeological parks. We also discuss the inclusion of Bazaruto Islands which currently are protected as a marine National Park but those also have important heritage sites.

## **NEW TRENDS IN CONSERVATION PRINCIPLES**

Both cultural heritage management and projects for dissemination of knowledge had to be built on the terms of existing traditions and practices of disseminating historical knowledge. Heritage provides a platform for developing and testing new approaches that demonstrate the relevance of heritage for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2018).

The knowledge of past resource use, management of landscapes and living cultural practices may hold important clues for a sustainable future (Ekblom *et al.*, 2019). The principles for conservation must include aesthetical, scientific and social values including its surroundings (i.e. the cultural landscape) (West & Ndlovu, 2010). Education is seen as a key aspect to cultural heritage management and should be seen as an integrated part as a means to stimulate the sharing of knowledge on the past (Stephens *et al.*, 2009: 2). Cultural heritage also opens up new ways of caring for both cultural and natural heritage, promoting a responsibility and respect for other values and knowledge. Though dissemination of knowledge and co-production of knowledge is not explicitly written into the statutes for cultural heritage management in Mozambique, collaboration with local communities is an integral part also of cultural heritage in Mozambique. The term conservation was only clearly defined in the 2010 Monument Policy (Table 1) but with no guidelines on how cultural heritage should be managed, or how to combine tangible and intangible heritage. Similarly, although the 1988 legislation included the category “natural elements with cultural values” (Table 1) the mechanisms for combining the cultural and natural values are still lacking (Macamo 2018, 142). However, for conservation principles to be sustainable they need to consider both cultural and natural heritage (West and Ndlovu 2010). We are inspired here by the Urban Historic Landscape [HUL] approach, as defined by UNESCO, in 2011 (Oers, 2013; Rossa, 2015: 494-96). This concept operates in a wider conservation context, including social and cultural practices and the intangible aspects of heritage, its social and cultural practices (Oers, 2013; Rossa 2015: 494-96); see also Rising from the Depths network<sup>1</sup>). The widespread notion in cultural heritage management that any archaeological site must be protected without use is an antiqued one as has been discussed and problematized extensively (see review in Meskell & Brumann, 2016). In the African context both cultural heritage management and conservation has affected land use rights of communities negatively and resulted in displacement. This we see as highly problematic as communities, especially in rural areas, are already very vulnerable. For

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<sup>1</sup> <https://risingfromthedepths.com/aim-of-the-network/>

Law/policy	Regulates	Applies to	Application
<b>Cultural Heritage</b>			
Cultural Heritage Law (Lei nr. 10/88, de 22 de Dezembro que determina a protecção legal dos bens materiais e imateriais do património cultural Moçambicano. Boletim da República nr. 50 (I Série). Maputo)	Legal protection of the material and immaterial Mozambican Cultural Heritage.	Cultural properties in the State possession, State institutions or private individuals, without going against their ownership rights.	The sites of Manyikeni, Chibucene and Ngomene are public properties
The Regulation for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Decreto nr. 27/94, de 20 de Julho que aprova o Regulamento de Protecção do Património Arqueológico e a composição do Conselho Nacional do Património Cultural. Boletim da República nr. 29 (I Série). Maputo)	Defines the concepts related to archaeological heritage.	Procedures for permits to conduct archaeological field work in the country	This Regulation helps to protect the sites of Manyikeni, Chibucene and Ngomene against destruction
Museum Policy (Decreto nr. 27/94, de 20 de Julho que aprova o Regulamento de Protecção do Património Arqueológico e a composição do Conselho Nacional do Património Cultural. Boletim da República nr. 29 (I Série). Maputo)	Preservation and valuation of the movable cultural property, using museums as a tool for social inclusion.	All museums, according to the museum concept defined by ICOM (International Council for Museums) and adopted by Mozambique.	Interpretive Centers, including those in Manyikeni and Chibucene are guided under this Policy
Monument Policy (Resolução n.º 12/2010, de 2 de Junho, que aprova a Política de Monumentos. Boletim da República n.º 22 (I Série). Maputo)	Preservation and valuation of the immovable cultural properties, in order to ensure public revenue. It comprises monuments, ensembles and sites, according to local, national and universal values that these properties carry.	Interventions in monuments, including maintenance, preservation, conservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction.	Through this policy, Manyikeni, Chibucene and Ngomene sites are valued for education and cultural tourism.
Regulation for the Management of Immovable Cultural Properties (Decreto nr. 55/2016, de 28 de Novembro que aprova o Regulamento sobre a Gestão de Bens Culturais Imóveis, Boletim da República n.º 142 (I). Maputo)	establishes the management structure for immovable cultural heritage	Articulated systems for public, private and community heritage management. Management Commissions of sites	Management Commission inspired experience in Manyikeni and Chibucene sites.
<b>Natural Heritage</b>			
Land Law (Lei n.º 19/1997, de 1 de Outubro, Lei de Terras. Boletim da República n.º 40, I Série. Maputo)	Protected Natural Zones as public property, for conservation or preservation of certain species of animals or vegetation, of the biodiversity, historic monuments, and natural landscapes	conservation or preservation of certain species of animals or vegetation, of the biodiversity, historic monuments, and natural landscapes	the participation of local communities, in accordance with a specific legislation
Law for the Conservation of the Biodiversity (Lei n.º 5/2017, de 11 de Maio, Lei da Conservação da Biodiversidade. Boletim da República n.º 73, I Série. Maputo).	Chapter 3 classifies the Protected Zones	Two main categories: Total Conservation Areas and Conservation Areas for Sustainable Use. Total Conservation Areas (Art. 14) are divided into: 1) Integral Natural Reserve; 2) National Park; 3) Cultural and Natural Monument.	Of interest for this discussion is the category 3) Cultural and Natural Monument.
<b>UNESCO conventions</b>			
UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)	that was adopted by Mozambique in 1982 and domesticated into the main national cultural heritage (Lei nr. 10/88, de 22 de Dezembro).	ensures the identification, protection, conservation, and presentation of cultural and natural heritage for future generations.	The sites of Manyikeni, Chibucene and Ngomene can be declared World Heritage sites under this Convention.
UNESCO Conventions for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005).	The two Conventions were adopted by Mozambique in 2006 and they are essential tools for inventorying this living heritage and regulating its use	Fills a gap in the legal systems of international cultural heritage protection to safeguard intangible heritage	Also safeguards practices and beliefs in relation to the monuments

Table 1: National policies for cultural and natural heritage and relevant UNESCO conventions.

instance, in the case of the Bazaruro National Park, complaints have been raised from conservationists that local communities have been economically displaced due to restricted access (AFC, 2002). This issue deserves careful discussion and will be brought up here further when considering the cultural and natural legislation for sites in Vilankulos region.

## **A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONSERVATION PRACTICE AT MANYIKENI AND CHIBUENE**

### **Description of the sites**

The Manyikeni and Chibuene archaeological sites are both located in the Inhambane Province in southern part of Mozambique. The sites of Manyikeni and Chibuene linked the Indian Ocean trade with the African interior and emerging centers as Great Zimbabwe (Sinclair, 1987).

Manyikeni (22°11'204" S, 34°50'796" E) is situated 56 km west of Vilankulo and dates from 1.200-1.700 AD. It comprises an elliptical stonewall, about 50 m long and 65 m across, that is still standing in many parts (Morais & Sinclair, 1980; Macamo, 2006; Figure 2).



Figure 2: Manyikeni, entrance to elliptical stonewall.



Figure 3: Chibuene and view of central part of the shell midden that is currently being eroded, 2015.

The residential area consists of *dhaka* houses of earthen structures some remains of which can still be seen. They were located inside the stonewall, where the elite lived and outside for the commoners.

Chibuene (22° 02" 00'S, 35° 19" 30'E) has been focus for excavations in the 1980s and 1990s. The site is dated from 700-1700 AD and was the entry point of traded glass beads and is related to state formation in the first millennium interior (Sinclair, 1987; Sinclair *et al.*, 2012). The site is marked by a 3m high shell midden (Figure 3). The central part of the areas also is marked by the many baobab trees that are otherwise exceedingly rare in this region and that are currently threatened. Unique for Chibuene is the living tradition of artisanry fisheries, currently under threat due to fishing regulations and decline of fish due to illicit industrial fishing (Ekblom, 2012).

The Ngomene site<sup>2</sup> (22o32.609'S, 35o 13.191'E) is similar to Manyikeni and located 30 km from the Indian Ocean (Figure 4). The name Ngomene derives from chitswa, one of the local languages spoken in southern Mozambique, meaning masonry house or stonework. No systematic investigation has been undertaken to the site yet, but some surveys have been carried out by Adamowicz, Duarte, Macamo and Sinclair.

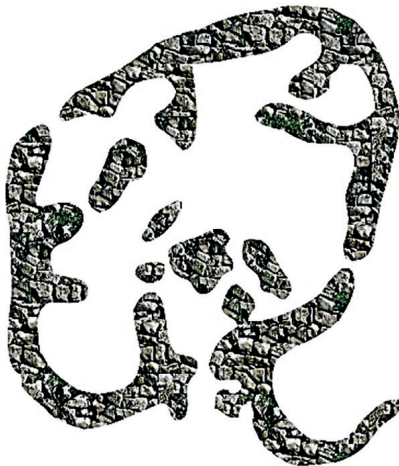
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<sup>2</sup> Reported also as Nhanimela.



Figure 4: Part of the best preserved stonewall in Ngomene.

### The conservation practice



Monumento Arqueológico Protegido  
pela Lei 10/88 de 22 de Dezembro

**BEM VINDO**  

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**WELCOME**  
AO MONUMENTO ARQUEOLÓGICO DE  
TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENT OF  
**MANYIKENI**  
TRATE-O COM RESPEITO  
TREAT IT WITH RESPECT

Figure 5: Manyikeni. Information for tourist produced by the Ministry of Culture and located in front of the archeological site.



Manyikeni was gazetted as a Monument and Historic relic already in 1959, and again in 1960 but with no measures for conservation. Systematic excavations with a support by the British Institute in Eastern Africa and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation [SAREC] were initiated in the 1970s. In 1977, the project was extended to the area outside the enclosure (Figure 5) and more than 400 residents collaborated in the project and participated in the work (Sinclair, 1987). The Interpretive Centre was built in 1979, designed as open-air museum and intended to disseminate the results of the investigation. The center was constructed under wartime conditions as Mozambique was plunged into a 16 year long destabilizing war (1977-1992). Despite these challenging conditions, during the field campaign residents participated in lectures and discussions on Mozambican history with researchers from the University and in the afternoon, they assisted in archaeological excavations. The development of public archaeology in Manyikeni had enabled an active involvement of residents in the museum educational activities (Sinclair, 1987: 99). As a result, the close interaction between archaeologists and the local communities have continued until now. The museum building in Manyikeni burnt down due to a bushfire and was only reconstructed several years later (see below). Immediately after the war there was little possibility to build infrastructure to receive visitors or to use the centre for local purposes. However, Manyikeni was also recognized by the Ministry of Culture as a monument in 1990, and a decision was taken to include the site into the UNESCO Tentative List, through it has still not been declared a National Cultural Heritage.

Between 1999 and 2004 a dissemination Programme sponsored by SAREC was developed in Manyikeni and Chibuene. Based on the experience at Manyikeni, Chibuene was also investigated in collaboration with local communities since the 1980s (Figure 7). Manyikeni and Chibuene were both places that was known and referred in local tradition, for making ceremonies. Thus, archaeologist followed local traditions of making ceremonies before archaeological work, a procedure that also gave a good starting point for communication with residents (Macamo & Adamowicz, 2017; Macamo & Ekblom, 2018). Chibuene has remained under protection from the local community, but without a formalized management. The aim of the dissemination

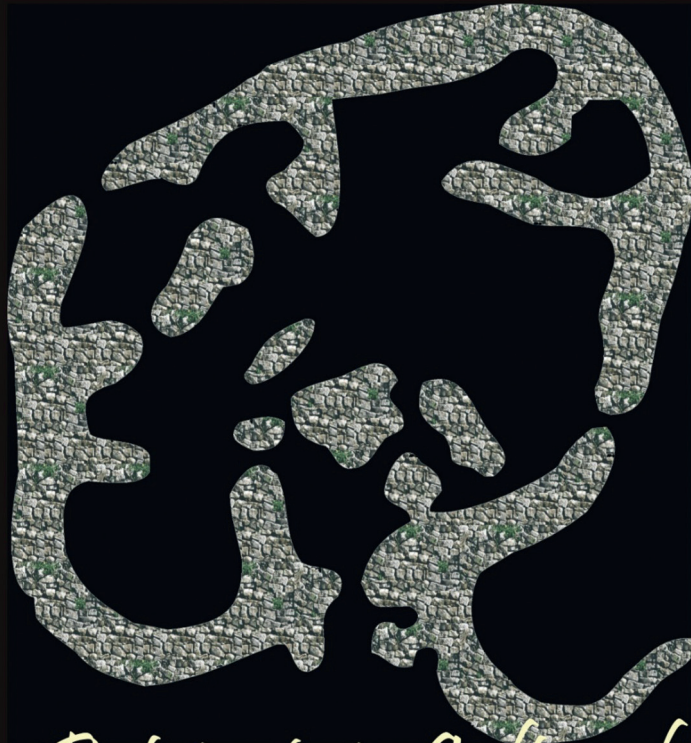
programme was therefore to ensure the recycling of knowledge gained in the original programme back to the community and to ensure formal protection of the site and to popularize archaeology in mass media, brochures and posters (Figures 5, 6 and 7).



Figure 6: Chibuene. Information for tourist produced by the Ministry of Culture and located in front of the archeological site.

As part of the efforts, a protected zone was defined in Chibuene (made possible through the 1994 legislation; Table 1) necessitated by considerable infrastructural development, such as hotels and private housing. However, the formal protection also resulted in complications as parts of the area were claimed by a local resident as customary land. The conflict is still not resolved despite attempts to negotiate the situation, showing the difficulty of balancing customary rights with necessary legal protection, thus, there is a need to negotiate with local community here, in order to find the best solution and to continue to allow resource use and access. To facilitate this, formal community-based management commissions have been established. Additional external support was given in 2007, by the Observatory of Culture in Africa in cooperation with Claus's Prince Foundation to support

Museu Arqueológico de Manyikeni, Província de Inhambane  
Manyikeni Archaeological Sites Museum, Inhambane Province



Património Cultural  
*Zimbabwe de*  
**MANYIKENI**

Ministério da Cultura \* Direcção Nacional do Património Cultural

Text: *Solange Lucas Macena* Editor gráfico: *Leonardo Akemann*; 2013, 2nd Edition

Figure 7: Production of booklets and posters will significantly increase awareness at local and national level of their past and heritage.

museum infrastructure work both in Manyikeni and Chibuene. Apart from external funding, financial long-term investments and formal structural support have been lacking. However, the work of the local commissions has been reinforced recently, with the support of the Provincial Government of Inhambane and Vilankulos District, including two guards allocated for both sites that are also responsible for guiding visitors into the sites. The unveiling of the Interpretive Center in Chibuene was also made possible.

The experience of Manyikeni and Chibuene sites has shaped the management system for the whole country's cultural heritage. With a long history of collaboration with local communities a challenge remains to ensure local participation also in interpretation and representation of heritage places (see discussion in Lane, 2011). Here we suggest that bio-cultural heritage (see review of the concept in Ekblom *et al.*, 2019) offers such a bridge in unifying different perspectives of landscape care and sustainability goals. The concept draws on local knowledge, land-use practices, and heritage values to define sustainability and resilience from the perspective of local residents. As will be discussed below current national legislation actually opens up for such an integrated bio-cultural heritage management.

### **Combining cultural and natural legislation**

In Mozambique there are presently two major ministries dealing with cultural and natural heritage: The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ministry of Land and Environment. The two ministries have defined specific legislation that is currently implemented separately for cultural and natural heritage (Table 1). The cultural law protects the sites of Manyikeni, Chibuene and Ngomene as public properties and archeological heritage law against destruction. Meanwhile the museum and monument policies guide the interpretative centers and education and cultural tourism. The experience in Manyikeni and Chibuene sites resulted in creation of a management Commission. The cultural and natural heritage laws are still implemented separately, though they address bio cultural heritage (Table 1). The Land Law defines the Protected Natural Zone as the "conservation or preservation of certain species of animals or vegetation, of the biodiversity, historic monuments, and natural landscapes [...] with the participation of

local communities, in accordance with a specific legislation" (*ibid.*). The cultural legislation also defines protected zones, as exemplified by the Regulation for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Art. 21). The law on conservation of the biodiversity also entails the category of "Cultural and Natural Monument" (Art. 14). It also provides the definition of the "National Park" useful here, as it aims to protect, conserve and manage the flora and fauna, as well as places, landscapes or geological formations with particular cultural and scientific value (Art. 16). This definition can be also adopted for the Archaeological Park that we are proposing here for the management of the archaeological sites, through the use of this Law. The Cultural Heritage Law also mention natural elements such as geological formations, conservation areas, including parks and reserves (Art. 3), but it does not define Archaeological Parks.

In addition, the 1972 UNESCO World's Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by Mozambique in 1982 and incorporated into the main national cultural heritage law. The UNESCO Conventions for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) fills a gap in the legal system of international cultural heritage protection to safeguarding intangible heritage, which is important also for areas with living heritage where ceremonies are carried out as it safeguards continued access to sites also when under strong protection.

### **Discussion: the need for an archaeological park**

Heritage conservation needs to consider the overall legislation existing in the country. This does not, however, signify the fusion of the laws or either mixing institutions. But they can work more closely to complement each other, finding solutions for both cultural and natural heritage. For instance, most archaeological sites, such as Manyikeni and Chibuene are located in the countryside and surrounded by a unique natural environment (both terrestrial and marine ecosystems). Here the conservation activity should include the archaeological man-made heritage, combining cultural and natural heritage legislation. Road signage and the plaques displayed inside the sites at Manyikeni and Chibuene have helped to protect the sites, using the Cultural Heritage Law. This is particularly important for Chibuene with infrastructural

development of tourism and private housing, and where there is not always knowledge or respect for heritage protection. The core of the site at Chibuene which is protected, now also constitute a sanctuary for the coastal shrub and the unique baobab trees as discussed above. However, the formal protection of the site has also excluded individuals with customary rights to the land and this must be resolved.

Natural heritage legislation can also be used to enforce protection of cultural heritage. In addition, collaboration with the local community in heritage protection could also be conducive to document and revive the heritage of artisanry fisheries, and also allowing continued resource use.

<b>Archaeological &amp; Architectural criteria.</b>	<b>Manyikeni and Ngomene stone enclosures are architectural examples of unique dry-stone masonry building techniques; the sites are representatives of early state formation and reflect early class differentiation in Mozambique. Though Chibuene has no standing architecture, its spatial layout is important to preserve for posterity as a representation of the southernmost Swahili influence zone</b>
<b>Geographical criteria.</b>	<b>Manyikeni and Ngomene together with Chibuene is representative of trade and contacts between the Indian Ocean and the interior. They should therefore be understood as unified in one cultural landscape (perhaps also including Bazaruto islands).</b>
<b>Environmental criteria.</b>	<b>The sites exemplify long term use of resources and contain information important for natural conservation. Manyikeni landscape has unique vegetation patterns shaped by humans over centuries. The protected site at Chibuene constitute (a now rare) example of coastal shrub and ancient Baobab trees. The local vegetation for food and medicine adds intangible values into archaeological heritage.</b>
<b>Socio Cultural criteria.</b>	<b>The sites are valued by the local communities for ceremonies in respect to their ancestors. Strong heritage and knowledge on artisanry fisheries, could be extended also to the Bazaruto archipelago</b>

Table 2: Criteria for simultaneous listing.

With existing legislative framework, we propose for the three sites of Manyikeni, Chibuene and Ngomene to be declared simultaneously as a National Cultural Heritage, and as archaeological parks under several criteria as listed in Table 2. Potentially the sites surrounding landscape can also be declared as World Heritage sites together. As already discussed before, the Manyikeni site itself has already been listed in the UNESCO Tentative List. Already there has been an unfortunate lack of collaboration here as Bazaruto has also been in the process of evaluation to become a World Heritage Site, but without considering the archaeological remains that can be found also on this island (Sinclair 1987), and that are also linked to the sites discussed here. Listing the archaeological sites together with Bazaruto Islands, could be a possibility that would open for a better integration of local livelihoods (Table 2). The use of the sites together with Bazaruto Islands constitute a key- response to the recent adopted research network of the RFtD to benefit also coastal communities through the development of cultural tourism (see discussion below).

The first step however is to establish both Manyikeni and Chibuene as archaeological parks, e.g. as open-air museum combining both archeology and ecology, based on the archaeological and natural heritage (Lucas 2015: 30-32). Positive experience of such projects from elsewhere in the world has shown that they also improve social inclusion amongst the community, with income as an added benefit (Ferreira, Froner & Souza, 2015: 31). The concept of Archaeological Park includes also local cultural manifestations and the environment where the communities live, and this museum concept is the most inclusive (*Ibid.*). Archaeological Parks in Manyikeni and Chibuene can be established within the Law for the Conservation of the Biodiversity, as said before (see also Adamowicz, 1997). Display exhibitions, using interpretive centers and didactic plaques complete the whole activities of the Archaeological Park (Christopher *et al.*, 2009) as already established in Manyikeni.

The outcomes deriving from the creation of the Archaeological Parks in Manyikeni and Chibuene are several (Macamo, 2006; Table 3). Establishing an archaeological park, with a cultural center, means that people become aware of the importance of their heritage and it can also be used for disseminating knowledge on both heritage and

National heritage	Increased awareness at local and national level of their past and heritage.	As discussed above both Manyikeni and Chibuene are already prominent national sites
District tourism	Cultural heritage tourism can add attraction to Vilankulos area	Tourists will be happy to combine beach vacations and nature tourism with visits to archaeological sites.
Scientific interests	All sites discussed here are of high relevance for research both archaeologically and ecologically	Research should be expanded and inclusive, inviting local residents in the process of interpretation and dissemination
Living heritage	Stimulate local practices of custodianship, stimulate documentation of artisanry (and other) practices	Facilitate archaeological parks as local cultural centers
Bio-cultural heritage	Documentation of local plant use and ecology/local variants of crops, etc.	Combine ecological and heritage education in cultural centers

Table 3: Benefits from the creation of Archaeological Parks.

ecology, but also to document and reinvigorate artisanry and other practices. Traditional plants and knowledge around them can also be part of documentation and ecotourism (Ombe, 2013). Visitors to the site originating from many parts of the country and abroad bring their own experience and new ideas that are shared mutually. In addition, cultural industries, in particular for souvenirs, can derive from sustainably collected terrestrial and marine resources and from artisanry work.

The understanding of changes in resource use and livelihood is key for a sound conservation management of both cultural and natural heritage. The environmental studies carried out in Manyikeni and Chibuene help to understand landscape history. Livelihood studies have also resulted in a better understanding of resident's dependency on opportunities for external incomes (Berger, 2004). The Manyikeni area is drought stricken and cultivation is poor, meanwhile wildlife is



scarce, and people are mostly dependent on labor migration as there are no possibilities for salaried labor in the area today. In Chibuene, the marine resources of which people have been very dependent over time have dwindled, leading to high poverty also here (Ekblom, 2012). The proximity to Bazaruto Island has here also exacerbated the problem as fishing in the bay is now highly regulated (AFC, 2002). A whole heritage of artisanry fisheries is therefore now under threat.

Tourism in this context is seen as a possibility for creating new livelihoods. Though tourism itself is not without problems. For instance, complaints have been raised from conservationists that the tourism on the island is not well adapted to the sensitive environment of Bazaruto archipelago and also for excluding local communities (AFC, 2002), and similar processes can be observed also elsewhere in southern Africa. Therefore, any such endeavors need to be well thought out. However, the combination of unique natural heritage and cultural heritage in the Vilankulos region is promising and cultural heritage tourism could certainly be expanded. There also needs to be awareness that the combination of cultural heritage tourism and economic gain may be difficult to achieve even in the best of circumstances (Hampton, 2005; Silberman, 2007) and any such projects must build on inclusive and participatory practices from the local community (Lane, 2011). There are inherent problems with the "commodification of culture" that one needs to be aware of and cautious against but, as discussed earlier, cultural heritage can also facilitate the re-invention of history and the opening up of new stories and approaches to the past.

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite that Manyikení was revealed long ago, in the colonial time, the absence of a heritage management system in the country was a serious barrier towards its effective conservation. The discovery of the coastal site of Chibuene immediately after independence, gave rise to the first consistent archaeological conservation work in Mozambique. Archaeological excavations and cultural heritage management have been carried out in close collaboration with the local community. However, the lack of trained staff attached to the sites and the scant

economic resources to deal with daily conservation activities which have also hindered long term heritage management programs. Local custodianship has remained a strong source of protection of these sites, and the sites are important for local traditional practices. The long collaboration between local community and archaeologist and cultural heritage managers create good conditions for an even stronger participation of local community in planning, interpreting and displaying the sites. This funding situation is also hopefully changing now, with the leadership coming from the local Government initiatives and private sector support, in Vilankulos District. This will hopefully ensure more stable and long-term funding.

In this paper we have argued that an efficient implementation of the existing cultural and natural heritage legislation can be a way to expand cultural heritage management. We have also as a first step advocated the establishment of Archaeological Parks. The creation of such Archaeological Parks is an urgent task, so that heritage both cultural and natural can benefit directly local communities. The experience from Manyikeni and Chibuene are an important guide here. We have here laid out a framework for establishing them as archaeological parks and also discussed the possibility of combining them to accurately display the important geographical linkages and exchanges in the past and present.

We have also discussed and problematized cultural heritage tourism and its potentials and risks in the area. We have also warned that any such endeavors need to be well thought out and formulated in close collaboration with the community members. The combination of unique natural heritage and cultural heritage in the Vilankulos region is certainly at the moment underutilized and we hope that future endeavors will also come to improve the livelihoods and security of local residents for the benefit also of their living heritage and related practices.

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## Part Three

### Chapter 5

#### CULTURAL HERITAGE(S) AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY. A VIEW FROM LISBON AND LUANDA

Sílvia Leiria Viegas

##### Abstract

The article focuses on the normative narratives that sustain the contemporary western world's common perception of cultural heritage(s), all the while sustaining the forging of an ideal(ised) urban society and space. These narratives tend to support dominating strategies, politics and dynamics whilst neglecting or deliberately concealing ordinary practices. Presently, in a dominant neoliberal context, these official messages tend to instigate new forms of old market-driven mobilities, resulting in severe exclusionary processes. Nonetheless, they also provide the conditions for "rebellion", the counter-mobilisation of local resistances that, by themselves, and/or reinforced by transnational networks, fight against hegemonic interventions and their fierce consequences. Therefore, they may also contribute to build ground-breaking grass-roots narrative(s) perceived as supporters-constructors of new "cultural heritage(s)" in a much larger scale.

The purpose of this paper is, on the one hand, to highlight the production of political spaces boosting strategic-oriented new legacies and, on the other hand, to clarify how the broad acceptance of these socio-spatial inheritances justify and/or corroborate the shaping of global urbanities. In addition, the article aims to acknowledge the production of social spaces based on everyday life practices, providing a deeper understanding of the organisation of certain societies based on their needs, actions, and urban realities. Moreover, this reflection intends to explore permeabilities between these two models of production — political and social — as this knowledge supports the building of cooperative reformist spaces. For this matter, I will revisit Lisbon and Luanda's socio-spatial late-colonial and/or contemporary urban and suburban contexts. I will elaborate on the concept of *the right to the city* in these capital cities, following Lefebvre's thoughts, as

well. This theoretical-methodological approach invigorates the critical discussion around “cultural heritage(s)”.

**Keywords:** *Inheritances; Narratives; Counter-Mobilisations; Production of Space; Right to the City; Lisbon; Luanda.*

## INTRODUCTION

This paper cross-checks the information gathered when developing my doctoral research about Luanda, Angola (Viegas, 2015), as it reverts to the (co-)building of the “state of the art” of the collective project named: *Africa Habitat – From the sustainability of habitat to the quality of inhabit in the urban margins of Luanda and Maputo (2018/2022)*<sup>1</sup>. Also, this material and its analysis sustain my dialogue within the scholar community called *Heritages of Portuguese Influence*<sup>2</sup>, promoter of the International Conference: *Worlds of Cultural Heritage(s) – History and Politics*, for which this text was firstly written<sup>3</sup>. In any case, the article adopts a renewed perspective, pointing to my post-doctoral investigation *INSEhRE 21. Socio-spatial and housing inclusion of refugees in contemporary Europe: Lessons from the African diaspora in Portugal (2017/2022)*<sup>4</sup>, with the production of housing spaces for the vulnerable immigrants coming from Portuguese-speaking African

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<sup>1</sup> The project *Africa Habitat – From the sustainability of habitat to the quality of inhabit in the urban margins of Luanda and Maputo* (FCT-AKDN/333121392/2018) was developed by the Group of SocioTerritorial, Urban and Local Action Studies of the Research Centre in Architecture, Urbanism and Design of the Lisbon School of Architecture – Lisbon University (Gestual/CIAUD/FA-UL), under the coordination of Isabel Raposo, and was financed by the ‘Knowledge for Development Initiative’ Programme of the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN).

<sup>2</sup> The scholar community *Heritages of Portuguese Influence* and its PhD programme are part of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research and the Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra [III/CES-UC].

<sup>3</sup> The event took place in February 7-8th, 2019, in Coimbra, Portugal. More information available at <http://www.patrimonios.pt/registration-wch/>

<sup>4</sup> The post-doctoral research *INSEhRE 21* was developed in the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra and was financed by the FCT, through the scholarship with the reference *SRFH/BPD/118022/2016 – FSE/POCH*.



countries<sup>5</sup> for nearly 40 years, being an important reference for a larger perception of the existent Portuguese post-colonial and post-imperialist urban realities, keeping in mind the specificities of the different historical and geographical contexts of these former African colonies.

My article focuses on the building of common official narratives around the topic of “cultural heritage(s)” — these legacies consisting of physical (landscapes, buildings, artefacts), intangible (traditions, knowledge), and/or natural (biodiversity) inheritances from the past generations —, supporting hegemonic strategies, politics and dynamics resulting in fierce urban processes, with the exponential increase in touristification and gentrification. These are consequent to new forms of old market-driven mobilities boosted by the (re)investment of private capital in a globalised and neo-liberal world. Having as two case studies Lisbon and Luanda, together illustrating post-imperialist and post-colonial contexts, I will also focus on the dominant perceptions of the urban and suburban society and space, and the rational ideals attached to these conceptualisations, as they tend to neglect or conceal everyday life practices, particularly those maintained by the most deprived communities. However, the recognition of these actions and their materialities(-to-be) are at the centre of numerous (counter-)mobilisations fighting against controlling dynamics and their segregating socio-spatial effects. These movements have the potential to stimulate ground-breaking local and/or transnational counter-narrative(s), stressing new grass-roots-based perceptions for (the co-building of) contrasting “cultural heritage(s)”.

My purpose here is twofold: (a) to stress out the production of political spaces and the shaping of normative urbanities as a path for the building (and the general acceptance) of strategic-oriented new legacies and “cultural heritage(s)”, and *vice-versa*; and (b) to recognise everyday practices supported by local needs and actions at the origin of certain urban realities, also expressing particular forms of organisation of the society; so as to decode the discursive and practical meaning of “cultural heritage(s)”. I also intend to explore permeabilities between these two very different models of production of space, political and

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<sup>5</sup> Namely from Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola.

social. Methodologically, I will adopt the thoughts of Lefebvre ([1974] 2000) concerning the “production of space”, specifically referring to its “exchange value”, i.e. the quantified worth of a commodity, this indicator being associated to political spaces, *and its* “use value”, i.e. the usefulness of the materiality, this dimension being associated to social spaces; and the key-notion of the “right to the city” (Lefebvre [1968] 2009)”, pointing out an auspicious horizon.

In the process of deconstructing the different modes of production associated to the production of space, Lefebvre ([1974] 2000) distinguishes the above mentioned “exchange value” from the “use value”: the first idea refers to the vast domination of economics, market and goods, trade and profit; the second one concerns encounters unrelated to this “exchange value”, and the party<sup>6</sup> which consumes unproductively, but with pleasure. As for the right to the city, Lefebvre ([1968] 2009: 133) also advocates “the right to urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of moments and places”<sup>7</sup>. In this context, the author makes a connection between “exchange value” and product, namely housing, infrastructures and urban benefits — health care, education, jobs, leisure, etc. —, and between “use value” and “work” (of art)<sup>8</sup>, i.e. a space being modelled and appropriated according to people’s everyday lives, and their demands, ethics, aesthetics, ideologies, etc. The urban and its endless possibilities hold the promise of the liberation of everyday life currently controlled by hegemonic capitalist logics.

For achieving these goals, after providing a brief empirical and theoretical framework concerning urban society and space in these geographies, I will structure my article in two different, though complementary, sections, the first one concerning the main narratives supporting global neo-liberal forces and tendencies, including its general imbalances and inner contradictions, and the second section referring to the arising practices and their (potential) permeabilities.

<sup>6</sup> *Fête*, in the french (original) version.

<sup>7</sup> From the original: “[le droit] à la vie urbaine, à la centralité rénovée, aux lieux de rencontres et d’échanges, aux rythmes de vie et emplois du temps permettant l’usage plein et entier de ces moments et lieux, etc.”.

<sup>8</sup> *Oeuvre (d’art)*, in the french (original) version.

Each section contains six paragraphs: the first ones concerning present-day Lisbon and Luanda<sup>9</sup>, respectively; the third referring to alternatives in both contexts; the fourth paragraph presenting some late colonial experiences in Luanda; and the fifth and sixth paragraphs mentioning the local aspects of the production of space and the right to the city, whilst cross-checking these two topics with the meaning of “cultural heritage(s)”. My conclusions are supported by the previous reflections and include relevant aspects such as the potential of the rebel(lious) movements emerging within and against the neo-liberal system so as to overcome its extraordinary unbalances and, what is more, the consolidation of “reformist spaces” by the system as a course to self-stabilise and/or reinvent its logics, all these dynamics configuring different types of instrumental and/or physical “cultural heritage(s)”.

## URBAN SOCIETY AND SPACE

Roughly 45 years have passed since the liberations of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa<sup>10</sup>, impelling Lisbon to make a strategic inflexion towards the co-building of a common European framework and philosophy<sup>11</sup>. Nowadays, this capital’s urban logics are inscribed in international mercantilist dynamics of touristification and gentrification, creating a myriad of restraints and unbalances to its socio-spatial urbanised fabrics. On the one hand, market-driven processes truly escalated in the recent years, especially in the historical<sup>12</sup> centre, leading average urban and housing prices to its peak<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, a big majority of deprived families resides in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, while the governmental structures

<sup>9</sup> This present refers to the initial period of the above mentioned project *Africa Habitat*, that is, 2018/2019.

<sup>10</sup> The proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau occurred in 1973. The other former African colonies, *i.e.* Mozambique, Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola, were consecutively liberated in 1975.

<sup>11</sup> Portugal joined the European Union in 1986, at the time known as the European Economic Community [EEC].

<sup>12</sup> The parishes of Santo António and Misericórdia are among the most expensive.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding real estate market, social media reported prices around 10,000€/Sqm (Negócios, 2018) in these areas, close to values of other capitals with strong economies, such as Paris.

recently identified 13.828 situations that need rehousing (IHRU, 2018), out of 2,821 million citizens (AML, 2019). In this context, central realities *versus* peripheral suburban neighbourhoods polarised, as the shaping of the housing space stood on the spotlight of alleged inclusive governmental narratives and practices. This topic will be further developed in the following subsections. Yet, considering the capital's current global trend and status, both the political leaders and its ideal(ised) middle-class urban society tend to respond positively to the same capitalist arena that paves the path for its fabrication and reproduction. Accordingly, the construction of Lisbon's (re)new(ed) "cultural heritage(s)" is commonly sensed as being in tune with this neo-liberal strategy, also disregarding everyday life-based solutions and its (re)interpretations.

Luanda's recent urban transformations<sup>14</sup> also respond to the ample impulse of the reproduction of capital, though in a much more vivid way. The urban and socio-spatial consequences of this strong neo-liberal force are fierce, as the hegemonic paradigms point out to an extraordinary spatial fragmentation and to social exclusion. In this African capital, 80 *per cent* of its 6.9 million urban population lives in (co- or) self-produced peripheral suburban neighbourhoods (Governo de Angola, 2011; INE, 2016: 15), generally in very poor living and/or survival conditions, all the while being left out of the historical (meaning colonial) centre and its completely unaffordable prices for the most deprived segments of the society. In this context, the messages of the Angolan state point out to a vast renovation of the (sub)urban spaces and society, an autocratic perspective that aims to normalise, regulate and replicate the "international form" of the city for an ideal(ised) imported type of *bourgeoisie*. Thence, in Luanda, "cultural heritage(s)" tend to be sensed as assets contributing to this global strategy, regardless of real local inheritances. This political (re)orientation approximates Angola of the western countries and their neo-liberal logics, whilst imprinting regional appropriations and forms of reproduction. Also with the strong influence and/or participation

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<sup>14</sup> As regards for Luanda, my time frame concerns 2002-2017, referring to the end of the Civil War, the National Reconstruction and the national elections when João Lourenço substituted José Eduardo dos Santos, the President of Angola from 1979 until 2017, both representing the MPLA party.

of powerful countries following strong capitalist dynamics, namely China<sup>15</sup>.

The production of space in these cities is not neutral. Both the Portuguese and the Angolan governments, and their associates of the private sector, tend to produce spaces that are abstract and eminently political, adopting Lefebvre's ([1970] 2003; [1974] 2000) terminology, *i.e.* spaces conceived according to the dominant logics of representation. Here, institutional bureaucratic urbanism is used as a mask and a tool of power. This condition is not new as past realities, particularly during the 1960s, point out to correspondent dynamics in the *Metropole* and the "Portuguese colonial Empire" in Africa, as underlined in the two following subsections. Nonetheless, as the neo-liberal world developed at full steam, the production of political spaces enhanced largely because of the accumulation and the over-accumulation of the properties' "exchange value", so have the numerous dangers of the spatialisation of unrestrained capitalism (Lefebvre [1974] 2000). Given this, free-market intermeshed visions of the cities' "cultural heritage(s)" have been sharply promoted, as social spaces responding to the specific logics, needs and/or desires of a large part of the society have been strategically denied. Even if these living spaces genuinely represent everyday life-based urban experiences, with "use value" (*ibid.*) and, therefore, may support the construction of unique local "cultural heritage(s)", along with the dissemination of grass-roots radical-rebellious counter-narratives and/or practices pursuing their defence.

The conceptual framework of the right to the city, as advocated by Lefebvre ([1968] 2009), constitutes far more than a checklist of categories concerning some rights in the(se) two cities. However crucial they may be, the right to housing and to the infrastructures, *e.g.* water and electricity, and the right to the urban benefits, such as health, education, job and leisure, *i.e.* the "product" (*produit*), using the author's own words, is far from being complete without the full accomplishment of the right to the "work" (*oeuvre*), *i.e.* the appropriation of power and/or space, and the participation of

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<sup>15</sup> China has been a privileged economic partner of the Angolan government since the signing of the Public-Private Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2004.

all citizens, acting in the permanent process of constructing and transforming the(ir) city. Thus, the right to the city is both the guiding idea and the process(es) of trying to reach it. Bearing in mind these very complex dynamics, cross-checking with the “perceived space” of “cultural heritage(s)”, i.e. the space of political purposes, public opinion, spectacle and myth, etc. one identifies its disconnections. Accordingly, the construction of a broader and ground-breaking significance of “cultural heritage(s)” must be situated, so as to contribute to the co-building of the right to the city.

## **NARRATIVES AND COUNTER-NARRATIVES**

Official socio-spatial narratives of Lisbon in recent years<sup>16</sup> tend to follow the dominant tendencies of the contemporary Western world concerning the (political) production of political spaces and the common perceptions of “cultural heritage(s)”. The hegemony of the neo-liberal system has amply spread and the transformation of this capital city follows its track while reproducing its logics. Accordingly, messages concerning urban renewal, particularly of the historical centre, are connected to the construction of an international real-estate network and the boost of new high-income mobilities, all this linked to the circulation and over-accumulation of capital. At the national level, foreign investments have been very encouraged, e.g. through the uncontrolled promotion of Golden Visas<sup>17</sup>, and tourism deeply increased, e.g. due to the spreading of low-cost airlines and the arising of the housing market for sale or rent (viz. Air BNB). At the local scale, the municipality’s drive for globalisation contributes to the renewal or upgrading of many public and private buildings, profoundly transforming the urban landscape, and also of paradigmatic public spaces, e.g. the square of Martim Moniz and the viewpoint of Adamastor, in this last case defending the building of new physical boundaries — fences and gates —, so as to promote

<sup>16</sup> Namely from 2015 onwards, since the elections of the current left-wing parliamentary coalition supporting the socialist government in functions.

<sup>17</sup> A residence permit for investors from non-member of European Union countries that requires a business or real estate investment of 500,000 € in Portugal.

social control. Regarding inner official counter-narratives, the City Hall's department of social affairs has been playing an important role on inclusive processes taking into account real lives, necessities and/or aspirations. At the same time, important parliamentary players<sup>18</sup> play all their cards on the struggle against the capitalist excluding dynamics (not capitalism itself!), particularly those concerns access to housing. From 2002 onwards, Luanda became an experimental stage for official narratives aiming national rebuilding after the end of a very prolonged civil war<sup>19</sup>. The Angolan government, with a myriad of private players, disseminated the urge for total socio-spatial renewal as peripheral suburban neighbourhoods did not fit in their globalised imported vision of the city and of the society-to-be, and colonial urban legacies, particularly those resulting from Luanda's official expansion in the 1960s, were located in the potentially highly profitable urban centre. Thence, narratives were (re)built around the topic of "cultural heritage(s)" with anti-colonial nationalist voices advocating full autonomy regarding either its destruction or modification, according to the country's market logics and dynamics, as occurred with the building of the Kinaxixe<sup>20</sup>. In this context, the voracity of Luanda's capitalist impulse, based on oil production and export, also coincided with the discourse on the need to remodel the public space, associated with an international type of urbanism and urbanity — Manhattan and/or Dubai-style —, especially in areas near the bay. In addition, the defence of the so-called "new centralities" has been crucial for Angola's strategic and political developmental discourse and, therefore, for the building of new socio-spatial inheritances as opposed to those existing in self-produced neighbourhoods.

In both cities, Lisbon and Luanda, urban counter-narratives emerged and consolidated amongst those who have been historically marginalised. With different contexts and shapes, deprived communities consolidated spaces of resistance against their structural dominations,

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<sup>18</sup> For example, following and/or in response to Helena Roseta's challenging view, a new housing law was approved (Law 83/2019).

<sup>19</sup> In Angola, the civil war started in 1975, and had three periods: 1975-1991, 1992-1994 and 1998-2002.

<sup>20</sup> The Kinaxixe market was projected by Vasco Vieira da Costa in the early fifties and became an iconic building of the colonial Luanda. Its destruction occurred in 2008.

as they were empowered by the narration of personal and common stories, despite the state's narratives about their experiences, as they spread from a position of great power. As such, alternative voices from those inhabiting peripheral suburban neighbourhoods — choosing their own words, presenting their points of view —, contributed to create more complex narratives than those of official standards, also providing agency to the deprived communities involved. The sharing of these field perspectives contributed to a wider comprehension of these socio-spatial realities and to situate their importance, both locally and internationally, as these oral and material testimonies are themselves true “cultural heritage(s)”. Nevertheless, in a neo-liberal world, recognising their existence does not mean promoting their acceptance, as they constitute great opposition to the capitalist logic and related uneven geographies, even if, paradoxically, they represent the excluded part of a socio-spatial equation that works together as a whole, not by its parts.

During the Portuguese late colonial period (1961-1974), as the Metropole was still ruled by Salazar's dictatorial regime and following peer, Luanda was a privileged stage for spreading opposing messages led by those ideologically working against fascism or merely looking out for much broader room of manoeuvre in the various spheres of everyday lives. Regarding the construction of what has been recently called by modern architecture in Portuguese Africa, the urban plans elaborated for the city's expansion by Simões de Carvalho, in the early 1960s, followed paradoxical narratives, namely those of a “soft colonisation”, all the while sending messages of questionable integration for those joining an “appropriate” way of living. Even if following Le Corbusier's urban principals, recovered from the Chart of Athens from 1933, this choice being an important shift from the “soft Portuguese style” advocated in Lisbon, these innovative narratives also supported imperialist strategies, politics and dynamics — grounding the reproduction of a Portuguese modernist architecture in the tropics (Milheiro, 2012) — whilst neglecting and/or deliberately concealing ordinary practices and routines of deprived inhabitants living in peripheral suburban neighbourhoods. Few, but very crucial, were local counter-voices registering these realities, such as Luanda. *Estudo de Geografia Urbana* (Amaral, 1968). Nonetheless, despite the official



recognition of the author's work, in Portugal and Angola, in the past as in the present, its object of study was never generally understood and/or accepted as a "cultural heritage". In its turn, colonial urban and architectural inheritances from the 1960s are, by many scholars, enthusiastically celebrated as "good practices".

It is not with great amazement that I find Amaral's (2005) argument concerning "[...] the capture of Luanda by the phenomenon of globalization [...]"<sup>21</sup>, in the 1960s and the 1970s, a strong seed in tune with today's neo-liberal logics, dynamics and practices. With little expression in those days comparing to the current powerful production of political spaces, economic forces in Luanda also mastered urban and architectural conceptions favourable to ethnocentric logics of representation, following Lefebvre's ([1974] 2000) thoughts. A similar process occurred recently in Lisbon, as the city's "exchange value" immensely increased, despite "use value" having partial recognition, again using the authors' dimensions (*ibid.*). Portugal's policy regarding private property gives business entrepreneurs plenty room of manoeuvre, within the existent instrumental (programmatic, legal, etc.) arena. But, in Angola, where land is for the most part State's property, the government assumes all these roles — owner, investor and administrator —, a promiscuous position that enlarged capitalism and its socio-spatial risks. As such, in both contexts, Lisbon and Luanda, a political perception of "cultural heritage(s)" is being built, reinforced and strongly disseminated, reproducing visions of these cities engaged with the world free-market, this positioning being both neo-liberal and neo-colonial (in the case of Luanda).

As initially identified, the scale of Lisbon is much less expressive than that of Luanda, so is the size of its peripheral suburban neighborhoods. Nevertheless, these (co-or) self-produced socio-spatial realities share many building pathologies and the lacking of housing infrastructures as well. Moreover, several inhabitants are deprived of urban benefits. Given this, the impoverishment of communities regarding what Lefebvre ([1968] 2009) would designate as the "product" have triggered counter-mobilisations lending counter-voices to the joint cause of the right to the place, the right to adequate housing and

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<sup>21</sup> From the original: "a captura de Luanda pelo fenómeno da globalização".

living conditions, in strong neo-liberal (and neo-colonial, in the case of Luanda) contexts. These rebellions stand for Lefebvre's "work" (*Ibid.*), because class conflicts between low and medium and/or high-income citizens represent the struggles for the appropriation of space and the participation of all in the strategic, political and practical sphere regarding urban and housing matters. Furthermore, together they reinforce transnational networks of ground-breaking counter-narratives fighting against the hegemonic activity and its violent effects, also providing epistemological clues based on local solutions and actions. Therefore, these local messages contain the seed for a broader perception of "cultural heritage(s)". When becoming systematic, as the neo-liberal world did, these inheritances may be globally understood as important supporters-constructors of Lefebvre's idea of *right to the city* (*Ibid.*). So may the socio-spatial movements associated to the local fights and its ample dissemination.

## PRACTICES AND COUNTER-PRACTICES

Following the official narratives, Lisbon's main socio-spatial practices are of a political nature. The conception of economic-political abstract spaces encourages the building of capitalist strategic-oriented new legacies, e.g. through major urban renewals or upgrading interventions, particularly in the city centre, rehousing practices, in peripheral suburban neighbourhoods, and forced evictions, in houses built on lands belonging to others (private and from the state). Once generally accepted, as they usually are, these forged "inheritances" tend to become models for the shaping and reproduction of identical, sometimes stronger, market-driven dynamics and urbanities. Hence, "cultural heritage(s)", such as those resulting from political actions, are linked to (1) the incapacity of most low and medium income families to keep up with high market values, for acquisition or rental, (2) housing precariousness, and also (3) peripherisation and socio-spatial exclusion. In its turn, the weak State budget for the implementation of the New Generation of Housing Policies (Secretaria de Estado da Habitação, 2017), among other paradoxes concerning social class distinction and opposing ideological forces (Viegas, 2019a), degenerated in a great

difficulty to respond to the socio-spatial mobilisations demanding for the right to the place and appropriate housing. However, this political conjuncture gave rise to extraordinary so-called pro-inclusion regimes, e.g.: (a) the temporary supply of electricity for precarious housing of impoverished communities living in other people's land on the outskirts of Lisbon<sup>22</sup>; and (b) the temporary suspension of evictions of elderly or disabled residing in a rented house for more than 15 years<sup>23</sup>.



Figure 6: Mercantilist urban expansion in Kilamba, Luanda — authors' photo, 2012.

In Luanda, political actions are more evident than those occurring in Lisbon, since recent urban and housing paradigms are in line with an effervescent, though unstable, oil-based economy<sup>24</sup>. Leading representatives are urban renewal operations, both in the historical (meaning colonial) centre and in pericentral suburban neighbourhoods, mercantilist urban expansions, rehousing projects, resettlements (i.e. permission to use the land without housing allocation) and coercive

<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, this measure was not implemented.

<sup>23</sup> Recently, this measure became permanent.

<sup>24</sup> Once again, my time frame concerns 2002-2017.

evictions. These officially encouraged and/or promoted practices are immense, and tend to rapidly reshape the skyline of Luanda whilst replacing the former urban fabric, all the while providing new infrastructural networks. In this ever-changing environment, the forging of new “cultural heritage(s)-to-be” are linked to the incapacity of the majority of the population to access housing in the colonial centre, especially near the waterfront. At the same time, the “new centralities” are as much accessible as they are peripheral. Furthermore, rehousing projects are located on the outskirts of the city, far away from most job opportunities, and present numerous building and infrastructural deficiencies. One house, sometimes, accommodates several families. Finally, resettlements are precarious and do not safeguard permanent access to land, therefore do not prevent future evictions without compensations, as they many times occur when financial interests emerge. These last paradigms raise the biggest opposition among counter-political urban detractors and whistle-blowers.



Figure 2: Everyday life practices and resistances near the rehousing project of Zango, Luanda — authors' photo, 2012.

Bottom-up social mobilisations and resistances are common in both cities and share common worries and indignations. Despite the scale of the neo-liberal urban question being far more pronounced in Luanda, possibly even due to that matter, Lisbon's latest counter-actions reverberated on the governmental structures penetrating the narratives, policies and legal instruments of the State, with consequences yet to be seen. In its turn, until the latest national elections (2017), in Luanda, counter-mobilisations used to be blocked and their claims were disregarded and potentially diminished. As regards the actual strategic conjuncture, it is also premature to draw conclusions about the upcoming urban strategy. In both situations, counter-practices are at the origin of the same anti-narratives that support them. These are based on everyday social practices and on self-production of social space(s) resisting and persisting in peripheral suburban neighbourhoods, since these spatialisations mirror local systems built by its inhabitants whilst solving the socio-spatial problems associated to neo-liberal governmental practices or even resulting from its lack of intervention. As occurs with the alternative voices, these counter-practices are both the living and the resistance action. As such, they are themselves material and/or routine-based "cultural heritage(s)".

In Luanda, as the anti-colonial war unfolded (1961-1974), urban and housing plans and interventions taking into account local practices and experiences were also few and limited. As an exception we find that, in 1973, Troufa Real coordinated the technical activities for the Master Plan of the Region of Luanda, paving the path for the inventory and reorganisation of its suburban neighbourhoods, and the building of the Plan of the Golf targeting low-income populations. This partial plan considered allocation of plots, assisted self-construction, urban infrastructures and social facilities for this segment of the society, and it was inspired by Castro Rodrigues' rehousing plan for Alto do Liro, a paradigmatic project built in Lobito between 1970 and 1973, through the co-production of the local government with deprived communities. A related and paradigmatic process took place in Portugal, including its capital, Lisbon, in the late 1970s, as the revolution of April 25<sup>th</sup> (that gave birth to the current democracy) opened the doors for the most important bottom-up-based urban and housing experiment and



Figure 3: “The neighbourhood goes down but we stand on our feet”, a street message in Torre neighbourhood, Lisbon — authors’ photo, 2017.

dynamics in Portugal, the SAAL<sup>25</sup>. Yet, despite the public recognition, particularly in Portugal, these experiments were quickly overtook by the power of their political structures and instrumentalisation. Similar systemic appropriations occur these days in both cities, Lisbon and Luanda, as the neo-liberal world accelerated with its many unbalances and challenges. Political spaces are generally conceived by politicians, urbanists and architects without considering everyday-lives of the common people, this being a dominant pattern central to the evolution and reproduction of the capitalist mode of production, as declared by Lefebvre ([1974] 2000). Even so, in Lisbon, “reformist spaces” are presently being advocated, while some permeabilities between the production of political and social spaces are being explored. Regarding the fiercest neo-liberal urban paradigm, i.e. forced

<sup>25</sup> *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*. For accessing the detailed research about the process see the work of Bandeirinha (2007).

evictions, occupation of private properties constitutes the major factor of insecurity, all the while representing an important conflict between “exchange value” and “use value” (*Ibid.*).

In its turn, in Luanda, land tenure insecurity is constant, particularly for the deprived communities inhabiting self-produced suburban neighbourhoods in land(s) of the State pre-reserved for the building of the “new centralities”. Consequently, in both contexts, property matters reinforce the (de)construction of “cultural heritage(s)”, since they support the use of the land according to dominant interests and powers. In its turn, the right to the place is an important aspect of this polarised urban equation since it may safeguard existent inheritances. Rebel perspectives fighting large scale policies and normalisation, gentrification and social polarisation in these cities are both a path for grasping the idea of the right to the city and the (re)building of a (re)new(ed) conception of “cultural heritage(s)”. In Lisbon, for instance, the association Habita and the platform Stop Despejos are at the forefront of the fights against forced evictions. Other urban players with a material action have enrolled in the work of promoting adequate housing and a more complete access to urban infrastructures



Figure 4: Marquês de Abrantes Palace in Marvila street, Lisbon. Source: Ateliernob / Francisco Nogueira, 2017.

and benefits, following Lefebvre's ([1968] 2009) right to the "product". A fine example is the architectural Cooperative Working with the 99% that, amongst many other things, has been working on a collaborative process with the inhabitants of the Marvila street, aiming the building of an art-based inclusive shelter for refugees, economic migrants and low-income residents in a municipal under-used heritage facility, the Marquês de Abrantes Palace. As for Luanda, the association SOS Habitat – Acção Solidária<sup>26</sup> used to be a very active player fighting against excluding urban and housing paradigms. In the city centre, the voice of the association Kalu spoken against the destruction of a cultural space, the Elinga theatre, was also loudly heard. Furthermore, renowned Angolan scholars have denounced and criticised the occupation of former public spaces for the building of more high-rise apartments, with little success. Despite their restrict material achievements, these mobilisations trigger and/or consolidate very important emancipatory dynamics, in line with Lefebvre's "work" (Ibid.), as they are inspired and jointly contribute for grasping another mode of spatial production apart from the capitalist and neo-liberal world. As stressed by Viegas (2019b), several in-between spaces are being "co-induced" within the permeabilities of the global dominant structure with the strong influence of revolutionary local groups.

## CONCLUSIONS

Linking the subject of "cultural heritage(s)" to Lefebvre's ([1968] 2009) theoretical-methodological notion of the right to the city, whilst analysing two cities connected by an imperialist and colonialist past — Lisbon and Luanda —, through the instructive lens of the production of space, stimulates a reinterpretation of its significances taking into account the dimensions of "exchange value" and "use value". These readings help us to comprehend the intentions behind the messages of "cultural heritage(s)" and their implications according to the actors involved and the opposing, sometimes conflicting, forces in charge. On the one hand, the political spaces forged in order to stimulate

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<sup>26</sup> Then led by its founder, the activist Luiz Araújo.



the production and reproduction of capital are connected to the production of uneven geographies as their existence is an intrinsic part of unrestrained neo-liberalism. On the other hand, these uneven geographies, here called peripheral suburban neighbourhoods, contain the manageable seed for emancipatory and revolutionary processes. These socio-spatial realities are both the weakened part and the potentially powerful ones, thence constitute real "cultural heritage(s)" based on everyday-live practices, with "use value", and promises of new realities-to-be. They also represent capitalist dynamics around the questioning of neo-liberalism and the abstract space of domination, with violent practices and contradictions.

Combined grassroots-government "reformist spaces" tend to emerge and consolidate nowadays, somewhere in-between substantially different radical movements leading to another mode of production, and capitalism itself. Even though these dynamics and/or actions are much more reality-based than those resulting from official processes, they also tend to reproduce the excluding system that supports them, all the while being co-opted. Given this, in Lisbon and Luanda, when present, co-production of political and social spaces is degenerating into renewed forms of socio-spatial control and normalisation, as the materiality of the counter-narratives is substantially powerless when pictured without a certain level of appropriation of space and/or power and participation. As such, it is very ambitious to frame the "true" meaning of "cultural heritage(s)" within a reality that is per se paradoxical, since being contradictory is an intrinsic condition of neo-liberalism, even if advocating the image of an ideal(ised) and consistent middle-class urban society and space-to-be. Yet, is it crucial to decipher the actual message behind the strategic narratives and counter-narratives at the origin of practices and counter-practices. And, after, to choose our side of the barricade since, like the production of space, no research is neutral or apolitical. This provocation is, naturally, a teaser to animate the critical debate around the broad perception of "cultural heritage(s)", since this discussion may also contribute to grasp the right to the city.

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