

Harnessing the hidden potential of cities

REPORT FROM THE OSLO WORKSHOP 11–12 APRIL 2012

Can Cultural Heritage Investments Support Inclusive Urban Development?

INGE LINDBLOM AND CARSTEN PALUDAN-MÜLLER (EDS.)



ABSTRACT

This report presents both the written contributions to and discussions from the Oslo Workshop on «Harnessing the Hidden Potential of Cities», held on 11-12 April 2012. This event came about thanks to the Norwegian government's participation in The Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development (MDTF) managed by the World Bank.

The aim of this report is to share some of the knowledge and insights that emerged from the workshop with a wider audience. The papers published in the report could prove useful as a reference for future projects to harness cultural heritage for the benefit of the urban poor.

The workshop was organized as a plenary session with keynote speeches, followed by four parallel work sessions, and a final plenary session including panel discussions. The Oslo Workshop focused on cultural heritage in urban planning for development

and sustainable growth and how best to work on upgrading slums in historic city centres. An important related topic was «how to work with cultural heritage in places where history is likely to be part of the theme of conflict».

This report introduces a set of success indicators for development efforts working towards slum upgrading, poverty reduction and cultural heritage management in city development projects in general.

Some general recommendations are given: we must undertake more projects in the real world and then bring learning from them back to the network which the workshop has generated. New projects have to work within measurable economic and social parameters, parameters defined and recognised by those living in the social worlds and places where the development programmes take place. We must make people our focus, and help them take possession of their heritage as an asset for a better future.



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Foreword

The world is urbanizing rapidly and rural to urban transformation will continue to be one of the defining phenomena of our century. This transformation can be an opportunity for job creation and poverty reduction, and can be managed in a way that mitigates negative impacts on the environment and heritage, both of which are deeply linked to the social and cultural identity of local communities.

To encourage debate and facilitate knowledge sharing, the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, and the World Bank organized a workshop in Oslo (Norway) on April 11-12, 2012, with the financial support of the Norwegian Government. The workshop was part of the Urbanization Knowledge Platform, a World Bank global initiative aimed at putting the world's best knowledge, innovation, and data in the hands of policymakers and practitioners to harness urbanization for better development outcomes. A vibrant mix of scholars, practitioners, and stakeholders from developing and developed countries had the opportunity to share insights and learning from academic and practical experience, with the purpose of understanding how to achieve a sustainable balance between urbanization and heritage conservation. Participants also discussed the main

messages of the World Bank's inclusive green growth agenda. Thematically, the workshop was related to the recent publication by the World Bank, *The Economics of Uniqueness* (2012), a collection of papers authored by leading scholars and practitioners in heritage economics, which was supported by the Norwegian Government.

At the core of the entire workshop was the focus on people. Heritage was a related topic, not because it is considered less important, but because its significance emanates from the role and meaning it can have in people's lives by improving their dignity. Dignity is about having a platform on which people can build their own life and the future of their children, while having opportunities for growth and development. Dignity is also about a sense of identity and connectedness to the place where people live. When done with people and for people, urban development can benefit both people and heritage, transforming neglected areas and slums into thriving neighbourhoods with housing, small businesses, and job opportunities built on local knowledge, harnessing the potential of local resources in a sustainable manner.

With these proceedings, we hope to share the outcomes of the Oslo workshop with a wider audience and encourage similar efforts worldwide.



Carsten Paludan-Müller

General Director

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Cultural Heritage Research,
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Zoubida Allaoua

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Finance, Economics, and
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The World Bank



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Agenda and background for the workshop

HEGE LARSEN AND CARSTEN PALUDAN-MÜLLER

Cultural heritage is often an under-deployed asset in cities of the developing world. Many of the inner cities with high cultural heritage value are also the ones with poor infrastructure and a high proportion of low-income residents. But there is no good reason why it should remain so, and there should be no antagonism between cultural heritage and development – between caring for the past and caring for the present and future. But this will only be true if the focus is on empowering people to assume responsibilities for both, then the past can become an asset for building a better future. As Sheela Patel writes in this report: «Culture is not just old buildings, it is how individuals, neighbourhoods and cities create rituals and practices to transact their lives, produce processes and systems which enable them to cohabit. Each generation has to assess these practices and choose what works for their time, and what is intergenerational and critical for future generations to retain».

The workshop in Oslo offered a unique forum for discussion and dialogue between global experts from the traditionally separate development policy areas of cultural heritage, slum upgrading and efforts to reduce urban poverty. The workshop joined together essential learning from cultural heritage development programmes and slum upgrading programmes, and explored the question of how cultural heritage investment may support inclusive urban development for the benefit of the least privileged residents.

The workshop came about thanks to the Norwegian government's participation in: the Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development (MDTF) managed by the World Bank. With the MDTF's activity the World Bank has set up an «Urban Knowledge Platform», where one of the activities is to create a network of meeting places around the world to create shared spaces for learning and to establish new partnerships. NIKU as a research institute and independent consultant working for the protection and development of cultural heritage in landscape and urban planning – as well as in the areas of conservation, archaeology and preservation of historic buildings – was asked to host the «Northern European Urban Knowledge Platform workshop» in Oslo.



Abha Joshi-Ghani (World Bank, Washington DC) gives information and present latest news about the "Urbanization Knowledge Platform" ©



The workshop had four elements:

- ◆ A plenary session with keynote speeches to establish a common frame of reference for the workshop
- ◆ Four parallel work sessions, where specific cases were presented for discussion.
- ◆ A plenary session where each of the parallel sessions presented its results.
- ◆ Panel plenary discussions that took up some of the main questions including those emanating from the parallel sessions.

Each of the four parallel work sessions addressed a different question pertaining to the overarching theme:

Session 1. Cultural heritage in urban planning for development: How do we balance interests?

Session 2. Getting into business: How do we generate and consolidate employment from urban rehabilitation in historic city centres?

Session 3. Slum upgrading in historic city centres: How do we secure a social inclusiveness that also encompasses the low and no income groups?

Session 4. Working in post conflict countries. How do we work with cultural heritage in places where history is likely to be part of the conflict theme?

What comes after Oslo? What should we do now? Those were the key questions for the participants of the conference.

The answers can be summarised as follows: We must do more projects in the real world and then bring learning from them back to the network, that the workshop has generated. New projects have to work with measurable economic and social parameters, parameters defined and recognised by those living in the social worlds and places where the development programmes take place.

We must make people our focus, and help them take possession of their heritage as an asset for a better future.



ERIK BERG, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, NORWAY

It is a great honour for me to welcome you all to Oslo and the workshop «Harnessing the Hidden Potential of Cities – Can cultural heritage investments support inclusive urban development?». I can only apologise for the inability of the Minister for International Development to address you this morning. This is, indirectly at least, due to a protracted cabinet reshuffle that will find its solution in a couple of days.

As the person responsible for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' multilateral urban development efforts I was asked in an early planning meeting for this workshop: «What would be the contribution of your Ministry?». My response was somewhat blunt and direct: «We are footing the bill». For once that is a pleasure also as this is the first partnership activity under the World Bank's new Multi-Donor Trust Fund that Norway started supporting in late 2010.



Erik Berg (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway) ©

In line with the goals of the Trust Fund, we see this workshop within the wider processes of promoting knowledge partnerships on urban challenges – between state institutions, development organisations, universities, centres of research and learning, non-governmental organisations, private think tanks etc. We have noted with satisfaction that the World Bank through this Fund is moving from being just a lending bank to becoming a knowledge bank.

In this context I would like to welcome and thank World Bank colleagues, in particular Abha Joshi-Ghani, Head of the Global Urban Development Practice and also Head of the Global Urbanisation Knowledge Platform, for her very active engagement. Without your efforts, Abha, this workshop would not have become a reality.

I would also like to extend a vote of thanks to the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, its energetic General Director Carsten Paludan Muller and his staff, for having planned and prepared this workshop in an excellent manner. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs side we see this workshop not only as an event but as part of a broader and long term collaborative process between NIKU and the World Bank.

I am happy to inform you that in a situation where development agencies all over the world are having problems in recognising the challenges of poverty's urbanisation, Norway has over the recent years been able to increase its urban, multilateral development assistance. Former minister Erik Solheim last month signed a new biannual agreement with UN-Habitat, amounting to almost 25 million US dollars for a broad, holistic urban development programme. I am pleased to welcome my colleagues from UN-Habitat, Nairobi, Mr Krishnan and Mr Solberg, to this workshop. Likewise, last year we entered into a new and increased engagement with Slum Dwellers International in developing its capacity to organise and mobilise poor urban people all over the world. It is a great pleasure to see you here, Sheela Patel, representing SDI. New partnerships have also evolved recently with the Huairou Commission on gender and disaster management and with the United Cities and Local Government on building urban planning capacities. Cities Alliance, based in the World Bank, is after more

than 10 years still a major, urban development partner with Norway.

In Norwegian development assistance we have over the years tried to promote a more cognitive cultural concept implying the importance of the set of ideas, values and norms that a group of people have in common – taken over from previous generations and attempted to be transferred to the next ones. This concept of culture crosses all sectors of society implying the values and ideas of people when it comes to economy, politics, religion and art. Culture in this respect is an aspect inherent in all activities of society. As a development partner we feel that culture and cultural heritage need to be taken into account in the planning and implementation of all development activities. Development implies change – it implies change in the relationship between those who have and those who don't have. How to integrate cultural heritage – tangible or intangible – in development planning is

thus an important challenge for this workshop and the work that will follow subsequently.

People all over the world are today mobilising and organising themselves in order to fight for their rights on the basis of cultural heritage. As development partners we need to support this struggle by moving from the practice of preserving, protecting and even punishing to the practice of producing, profiting and progressing.

Moving to the city reflects an objective desire to have a better life. Cities represent hope. The search for prosperity is one of the main reasons why cities exist. They are the places where humanity realises needs, ideas, ambitions and aspirations. Cultural heritage in this respect is an important tool. In this workshop we look forward to benefitting from all the participants' experience, knowledge and ideas on how cultural heritage can make a difference to the lives of the poor and the downtrodden.



Harnessing Hidden Potential and Overcoming Conflict in Impoverished Historic Cities

CARSTEN PALUDAN-MÜLLER

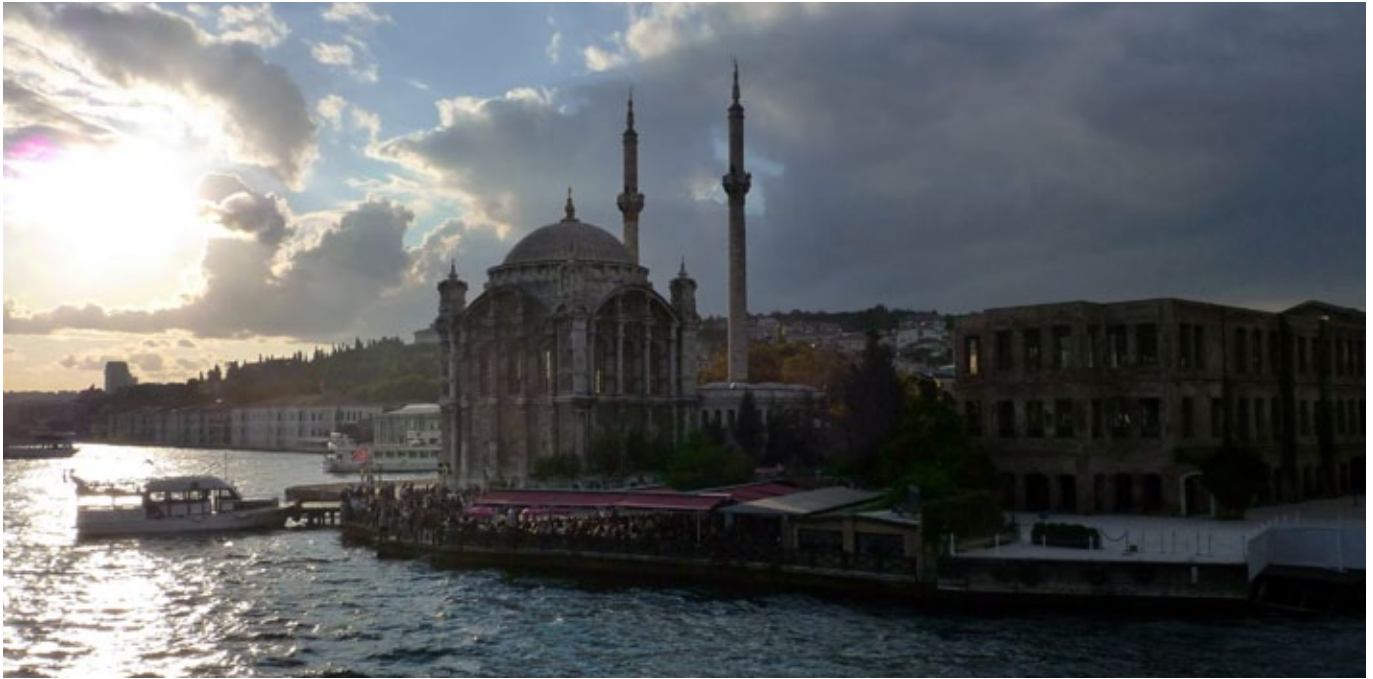
Presentation 1

Abstract

Today's history is happening in the cities. This is where most of the global population lives. This is where people come to look for a future. Urban communities are both resilient and vulnerable. Resilient, because they have been there for a long time, sometimes destroyed by nature or by man, but more often than not rebuilt after a shorter or longer time. Vulnerable, because of their sometimes dramatic size and continued growth, which requires ever more resources from still further afield to feed them. The poorest urban communities and inhabitants are of course the most vulnerable. So how can we help them generate value socially and economically to bolster their resilience in the future? We have to be aware of the fact that cities are by nature filled with conflicts, old as well as new ones. These are conflicts of interests, goals and identities. When we restore old buildings, we also restore memories, sometimes memories of bitter conflicts, humiliations and victimhood. If we do this inadvertently we may be in for some unpleasant surprises and learn how frozen conflicts can suddenly be brought back to life.



Ani at the Araxes River on the border between Armenia and Turkey was for centuries a powerful, rich and busy commercial and cultural hub on the routes between the Orient and the Occident. It contains a rich heritage of Armenian architecture, with important Turcoman, Persian and Georgian contributions. With the change of intercontinental trade routes Ani lost its importance and became abandoned ©



The city is where history is happening

The city is where history is happening. Since the origin of urban life cities have been centres of political power, and of innovation. Cities have also been centres of manufacture and trade. For those same reasons cities have accumulated wealth and attracted people who came for want of better possibilities than those they had where they came from.

Therefore cities have always been melting pots where merchants, migrants, refugees, conquerors, artists and preachers from different places have met. Much of urban history is a history of growth. Demographically it has been a growth that has relied heavily on immigration, with cities attracting people from rural communities or from less thriving urban communities.

Today this is what drives most of the dramatic urban growth in developing countries. The same growth pattern used to be a feature found in European and North American cities. During the sixteenth century London's population grew dramatically, but had it not been for the constant flow of immigrants, the city would have declined due to the fact that living conditions for the majority of the population were so miserable that the number of deaths exceeded the number of births in the native population. Thus London grew from the flow of people who,

in spite of this, came to the city hoping for a new and better life (P. CLARK and P. SLACK, *English Towns in Transition 1500–1700*, Oxford University Press, London, 1976, p. 78). Later, with industrialisation many European and North American cities experienced even more extreme rates of immigration-driven population growth. Masses of people moved due to the double impact of declining conditions in rural areas and the demand for industrial labour. With the growth came also social hardship and tensions that could spill over into unrest, violent confrontations and even political upheavals along different lines of segmentation.

The point is that the patterns of urban growth with concomitant problems that we see in today's developing countries should not surprise us – they are recognisable from the Western past. We just need to think of Charles Dickens' depictions of mid-nineteenth-century London.

In essence fast growing cities show a concentration of both the greatest potentials and the worst problems of our world economically, socially, environmentally and politically.

The potentials are what attract people to migrate to the city, and also part of what drives the building up of tensions that sometimes explode into open conflict that in various ways may spin out of control. We have seen this

with the «Arab Spring» and with other recent examples from the UK and France.

Also there are urban communities that have become entangled in long lasting conflicts, such as Mogadishu, Gaza and Ciudad Juarez. In such cases health, social, ethnic, political and criminal problems may combine in ways that can bar the population from any belief in a better future.

Urban communities are both vulnerable and resilient

Thus urban communities are both vulnerable and resilient. History has seen many examples of urban decay or even collapse due to a variety of reasons, such as natural disaster (Pompeii), ecological break down (Pre-Columbian Maya cities probably succumbed to a combination of problems with ecological break down at the core), armed conflict or conquest (Cartago, Mogadishu, Panam-Nagar) or change in international relations, economics and trade routes (Venice, Ani, Detroit).

But the overall picture is that cities are resilient. Even cities that have been exposed to some of the above mentioned impacts have been able to revitalise. Rome came back as a world city after the long decline following the collapse of the Western Roman empire. Constantinople persisted for 1500 years as the capital of two successive empires (the Byzantine and the Ottoman) and is today Europe's biggest and fastest growing metropolis (surpassing, Moscow, London and Paris). Beijing and Shanghai are long lived economic and political centres of power and so are Mexico City (the ancient Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán) and Cairo, in spite of all of their present problems.

An important property of growing urban communities is that they attract people who want to develop a better platform for their lives. These are the people who for the large part move into the slums of the growing cities, just as we saw in the early industrial towns of the Western world. The slum is the place to start as a newcomer to urban life. It is not a good place to live, but it is affordable.

Slums thus contain a great deal of human capital in the form of industriousness and creativity constantly looking out for new opportunities. But with the lack of such opportunities social problems may build up and tensions

along with them as we have seen in the so called Arab Spring, which was ignited by the desperate protest of a young Tunisian street seller against lack of opportunities exacerbated by abusive authorities.

Social hardship and ensuing tensions may also nourish conflicts between ethnic or religious groups, as we see in Nigeria, where economic and social hardship translates into competition and violent confrontations between Christian and Muslim communities of the same cities. Thus the inhabitants may become trapped not only by poverty but also by violent conflict.

Many cities in the developing world have gone through a process where the historic centre has been abandoned by higher income groups. They have moved out into new suburban residential areas with modern infrastructure and less environmental degradation. The new residential areas may even be sealed off as gated communities to protect the privileged residents from exposure to the criminality and unrest that comes with marked social inequality. Mexico City today has the highest rate of such gated communities. Poor residents have remained in the centre, and more have moved in so that the historic centre has gradually been transformed into a slum with overcrowding in deteriorating houses. Examples can be found, among many other places, in Cairo and Dhaka.

Taking back the city and its history

However the very same historic houses and districts that have become part of a complex of problems centred on poverty and absence of possibilities for the inhabitants to build a better future can become part of the solution. For a variety of economic reasons, historic houses compared with new ones represent a sound potential for revitalising the degraded urban community.

Traditional houses tend to rely on local building materials and thus consume far less costly imports.

- ♦ They tend to be optimised for low energy regulation of temperatures, whether cooling or heating.
- ♦ They typically require a higher input of labour and traditional craftsmanship than constructions with standardised, prefabricated materials.



Old Dhaka, the historic centre of the Bangladeshi capital, is a good illustration of an impoverished city centre. Here we see the slum as a busy and industrious place with a lot of hardship and a lot of potential for development through its human and cultural capital. The many historic houses are an important part of that potential ©

- ◆ From a local community perspective, investment in maintaining and upgrading even a deteriorated old house will in most cases compare well with investing in a new construction with prefabricated materials.

Thus upgrading and taking care of the old structures in historic city centres creates local employment, favours the use of lower cost local resources, and reduces the need to invest scarce capital to import expertise, building materials, technology and energy.

Besides these primary economic benefits, a rehabilitated and revitalised historic city centre also presents the local community with the ability to develop tourism. This would be a tourism that does not have to rely merely on the attraction of the historic environment, but would be enhanced by the vitality ensuing from a burgeoning milieu of traditional craftsmanship occupied with the

ongoing cycles of maintenance and development of the historic urban fabric.

Social and cultural benefits are also likely to be derived that will bolster and interact with the economic effects. Those benefits will be related to the rise in self-esteem coming from the empowerment of a population that can assume responsibility for its city and take pride in its historic and cultural qualities.

There are however two issues that must be addressed in the process of rehabilitating historic city centres:

- ◆ Social sustainability
- ◆ Mitigation of frozen conflicts

Social sustainability

With the attractiveness of a rehabilitated historic city centre comes also a potential for attracting both tourists and new residents with high purchasing power. Both are essential to the revitalisation of the local economy, but only within certain limits.

The original historic city centre before its descent into slum and degradation would be likely to have had a socially mixed population with both rich and poor. Especially the medinas of North Africa and the Middle East were historically characterised by a low degree of social segregation of residential areas. This social diversity was lost with the exodus of the higher income groups to suburbia.

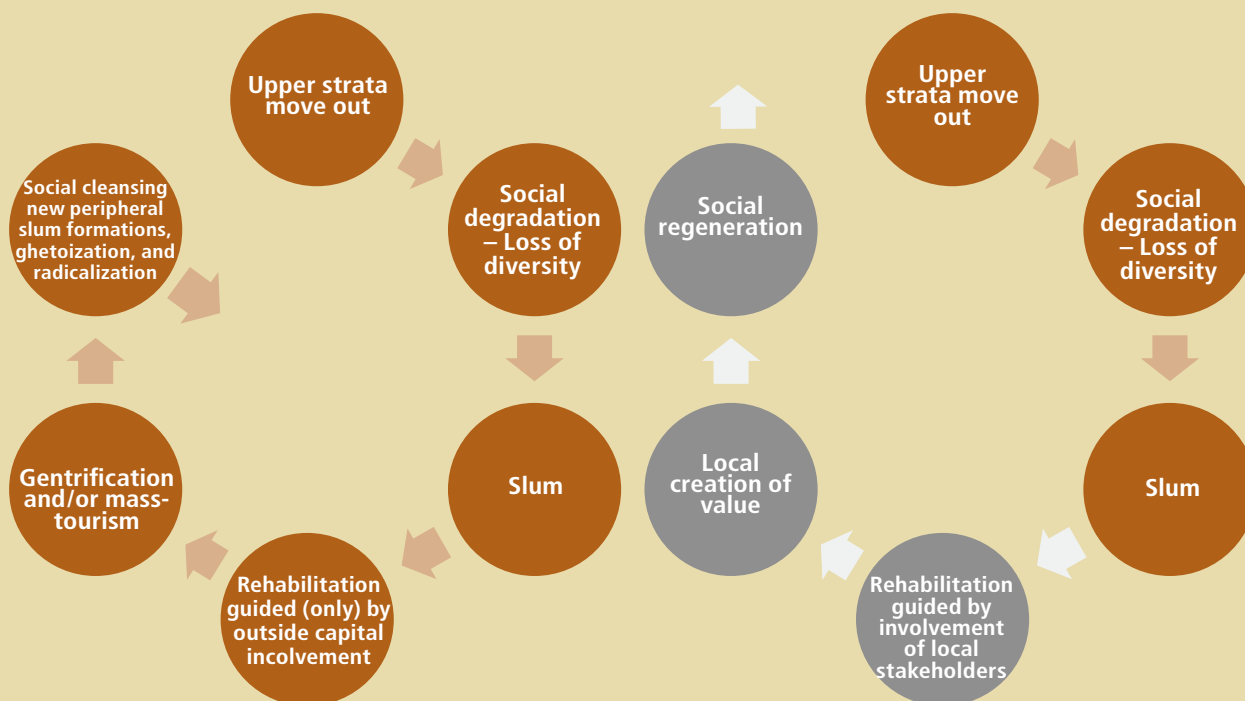
When the attractiveness of the historic city centre is rediscovered and rehabilitation takes place, a new form of social uniformity may ensue – the uniformity produced by gentrification and/or by capital intensive mass-tourism. There are many examples of rehabilitation of historic urban districts that have led to gentrification. Much of central Paris may serve as a case in point, just like New York's Manhattan and Istanbul's Tophane district. In these historic city centres lower income groups

have been or are being driven out by increasing property prices that make housing prohibitively expensive for people with an ordinary or low income.

Where mass tourism develops a similar impact is seen. Property prices go up and the rent can only be paid by hotels, bars, restaurants and shops feeding on tourists or by the extremely rich. This is what we have seen in Venice as the most extreme example, and what is developing in parts of central Prague.

In sum there are plenty of examples of urban districts where rehabilitation has led to gentrification and mass tourism, sometimes in combination, and the eviction of lower and medium income groups.

The challenge therefore is to develop a scheme for rehabilitation of a historic city centre that makes the place attractive for people with money to spend, without losing the existing less privileged inhabitants. Rather these should benefit from the increased economic activity following from a balanced level of tourism and a housing scheme that includes all social groups. However it may be necessary for part of the present population to be resettled, since overcrowding is part of the slum problem.



The vicious and the virtuous circle of urban rehabilitation

In accordance with the above we can define how things in principle can go bad and how they can go well in a rehabilitation project affecting a deteriorated historic city centre.

It is essential to keep the focus on the involvement not only of the authorities (national and local) but also of members of the local community and on their needs and interests. This is in order, together with them, to define how their own resources can become involved and further developed in a scheme that aims at providing better housing and a better social and economic situation. It is likely that outside investment will have to be part of the solution, but then it should be in a way that allows a substantial amount of the revenue from the outside investment to be reinvested in jobs and local generation of value.

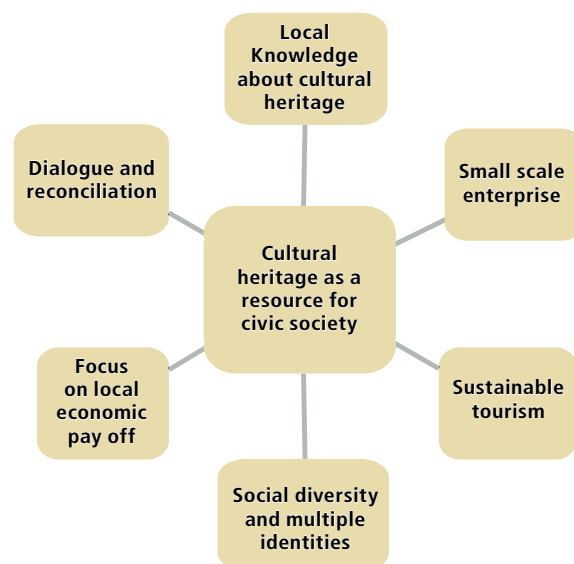
There are examples where rehabilitation of historic city centres has contributed to the successful development of the local community, for instance, Fez in Morocco, and many more projects are in the pipeline.

The other model, where social cleansing is unleashed by gentrification and mass tourism may lead to severe problems not only for the evicted population but also for the wider community. Increased levels of conflict, criminality and various forms of radicalisation may develop. New ghettos and slums may spill over and these issues interact with the overall situation on a regional, national or even international scale.

Mitigation of frozen conflicts

With the rehabilitation of historic city centres follows a renewed focus on what the past was like and questions about which parts of the past should be emphasised and which not. These are questions that may relate to conflicts of the past that may still be very strong in the memory of the present population and cast shadows over the cohabitation of different ethnic or religious groups within the same urban community.

In the Balkans and the Caucasus we have seen within the last couple of decades how such frozen conflicts can tear a civil society apart and submerge it into horrors that



Cultural heritage as a resource for civic society

we would have preferred to think of as belonging only to an unfortunate past. This is why any project that undertakes the rehabilitation of historic assets must also work with the meaning and significance of those assets to different parts of the local population.

Conclusion

Cultural heritage is a powerful medium for the development of a better urban life. It has an important direct and indirect economic potential. But it is also important for its intangible values that have to do with the narratives and memories that people attach to it. These intangible values embedded in the urban fabric can work for or they can work against a better future. It all depends on how we work together, and how we learn from the answers we may find in past experience to questions such as:

- ◆ How can cultural heritage be an asset in urban development?
- ◆ How can we develop business models for using cultural heritage to reduce urban poverty?
- ◆ How can we work with cultural heritage in historic city centres and ensure social inclusiveness?
- ◆ When working in post conflict communities, how do we cope with the traumas of the past?

The Unfolding Global Conservation Crisis

ANTHONY MAX TUNG

Presentation 2

Abstract

In the course of the twentieth century about 50 per cent of the beautiful historic fabric that existed in cities in the year 1900 was erased from the face of the Earth. Though some of this loss was due to warfare, the preponderance was due to a lack of binding statutory protection of historic material during a period of unprecedented urban modernisation. Rapid growth of the metropolis was propelled by an unprecedented surge in global urban population, from 220 million to 3000 million people. As a result, a model of the global urban environment today shows that the historic core now constitutes, on average, about 7.35 per cent of the contemporary conglomeration, with half of its significant historic buildings already destroyed. Meanwhile, on average, 96 per cent of the fabric of the modern metropolis has been constructed in the past 100 years. We are building with unparalleled speed, and we are often building very poorly. Studies by the United Nations indicate that half of these new constructions have initially been raised as shanty towns by the 1.5 billion urban inhabitants who frequently live without proper sanitation and are commonly



Islamic center, Cairo ©

excluded from the social contract. As we look forward to our interdependent global future, many urban societies do not have either sufficiently stringent laws or the economic means to underwrite heritage protection. Shall we save people or the remarkable historic structures of their forbears? Meanwhile, in both developed and less developed societies, a common dilemma has arisen as the financial benefits of tourism have become a universal factor for supporting urban economic vitality. In many handsome historic centres, preservation and tourism are followed by gentrification, loss of residential services, and loss of social diversity. Can we reverse this trend? Can culturally rich old cities be sustainable environments for people of all economic means? Will the human-made beauty of the Earth be justly saved?



Introduction

My presentation is comprised of three parts:

- ◆ First: I will give a snapshot account of a «Culture of Destruction» that has erased massive amounts of the accrued historic beauty of cities across our planet.
- ◆ Second: I will show the statistical result of this damage in a graphic «Global Developmental Model».
- ◆ Third: I will explore how issues of urban sustainability may be inextricably tied to questions of urban justice and the preservation of communal cultural identity.

In March 1995 I set out on a journey to study how architectural preservation worked and failed in some of the most artistically and historically significant places in the world: in Athens, Bath, Beijing, Berlin, Cairo, Charleston, Edinburgh, Hong Kong, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Kyoto, London, Mexico City, Moscow, Paris, Prague, Rome, Singapore, Tokyo, Venice, Vienna, and Warsaw.

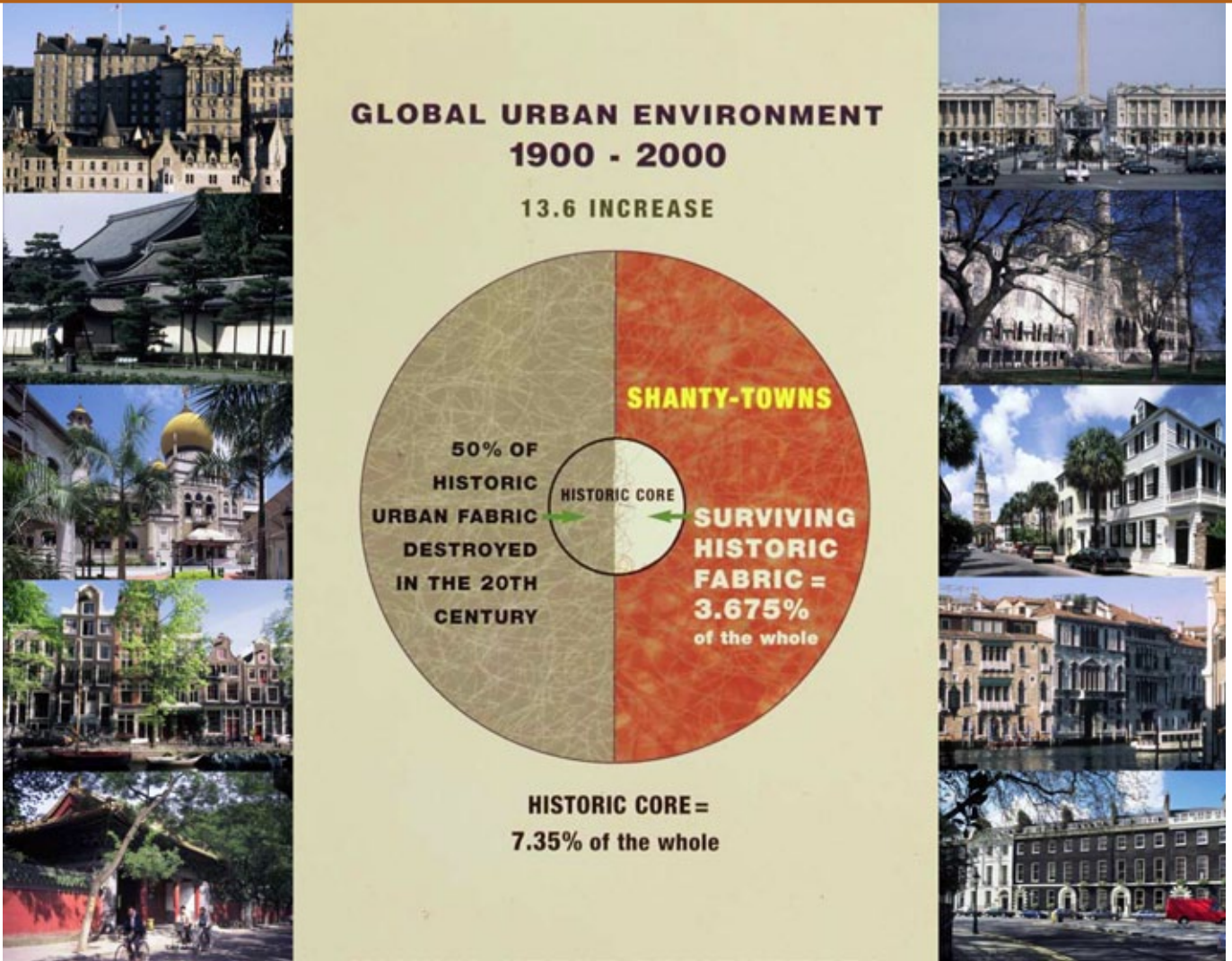
The culture of destruction

Once embarked upon this voyage, in every city I was confronted with two stark physical phenomena: widespread demolition of numerous irreplaceable structures and the fracturing of the historic milieu by out-of-scale, unsympathetic modern development as, across the globe, over the recent century, the human-made settlement grew at astronomical speed, often without forethought to the future, unparalleled in its size, and frequently assuming non-life-enhancing attributes. Thus in every city I would ask two questions: How much significant historic

fabric had been destroyed between the years 1900 and 2000? And, were stringent binding laws protecting the singular historic milieu enacted in time to avoid the obliteration of its character? Stringent binding laws are called for because across our global urban history nothing is so handsome it cannot be destroyed. For instance, although New York's greatest contribution to world architectural history is probably its collection of early masonry skyscrapers, such as the Woolworth Building, the New York Central Building, and the Chrysler Building, many wondrous structures had been demolished before the advent of preservation laws, such as the Old Madison Square Garden, the John Wolfe Building, and the Gillender Building. The lesson was the same in other cities I visited.

The medieval Islamic centre of Cairo has long been a treasure box of beautiful architecture. In 1900, it was perhaps the penultimate surviving treasure chest of Islamic urban civilization (comparable in the extent and depth of its beauty to historic Venice). Numerous seminal monuments of world architectural history stand within this area. Yet as in other cities in underdeveloped nations, lack of economic resources is a major causal factor of destruction, as well as explosive population growth, widespread illegal settlement, systemic governmental corruption, and a catastrophic degree of environmental pollution. The city's population multiplied by twenty times during the twentieth century, most of this growth absorbed in a property black market. In all, perhaps 80





Global urban environment 1900–2000 ©

per cent of Cairo’s expansion across the past 100 years has been unplanned, unregulated, unchecked: not subject to informed rational thought. By 1996, more than half of the city’s sewage, the excrement of six million people daily entered the ground water table untreated. This, in combination with a virulent degree of air pollution caused the waters of the urban environment – seeping upward from the ground and falling as rain – to be so contaminated with sulphuric and nitric acids that they melted the stone of the city’s monuments. Over the twentieth century, such pollution, in combination with widespread lack of building maintenance, has caused more than 50 per cent of the district’s medieval fabric to crumble and vanish. This, in a city where tourism income is so vital, and uncounted children breathe such toxic air?

The global development model

Given this phenomenon, unfolding on all continents, I went to the UNESCO Division of Cultural Heritage in Paris to ask experts how much of the global urban patrimony had been lost in the recent century. The difficulty of making such an assessment gave the professionals pause. Yet the answer was invariably the same and would correspond to my own detailed appraisal of the cities in my study: around 50 per cent. The speed of this global transformation is alarming. And because the destruction continues in many places, and is even escalating in others, we must ask ourselves this: How much will remain after another 100 years of urban modernisation? The causes are somewhat obvious. Foremost, since the Industrial Revolution there has been an unprecedented explosion of global population: in particular, from 1.6

billion in the year 1900 to 6 billion people in the year 2000.

Simultaneously, the percentage of people living in cities has also increased: from 14 per cent in 1900 to about 51 per cent in 2000. Thus the global urban population has multiplied by 13.6 times over the twentieth century, from 220 million to 3000 million people.

A model of the global urban environment today shows that the historic core now constitutes, on average, about 7.35 per cent of the modern conglomeration. With half of its significant historic buildings already destroyed.

Meanwhile, on average, 96 per cent of the contemporary metropolis has been constructed in the past 100 years. We are building with unparalleled speed.

And we are often building very poorly. The United Nations estimates that half of these new constructions have initially been raised as shanty towns by the 1.5 billion urban inhabitants who live without proper sanitation and are frequently excluded from the social contract. Never before has the planet known such extensive human misery.

Yet during this same period, spontaneously, on all continents, urban societies began to enact ever more rigorous heritage conservation statutes. First the monuments were protected; then the ensembles; eventually, after World War II, whole historic townscapes including large parts of the great cities. And in response to the creeping homogeneity of international modern architectural design the focus of urban preservation became to save the evidence of distinct historic cultures.

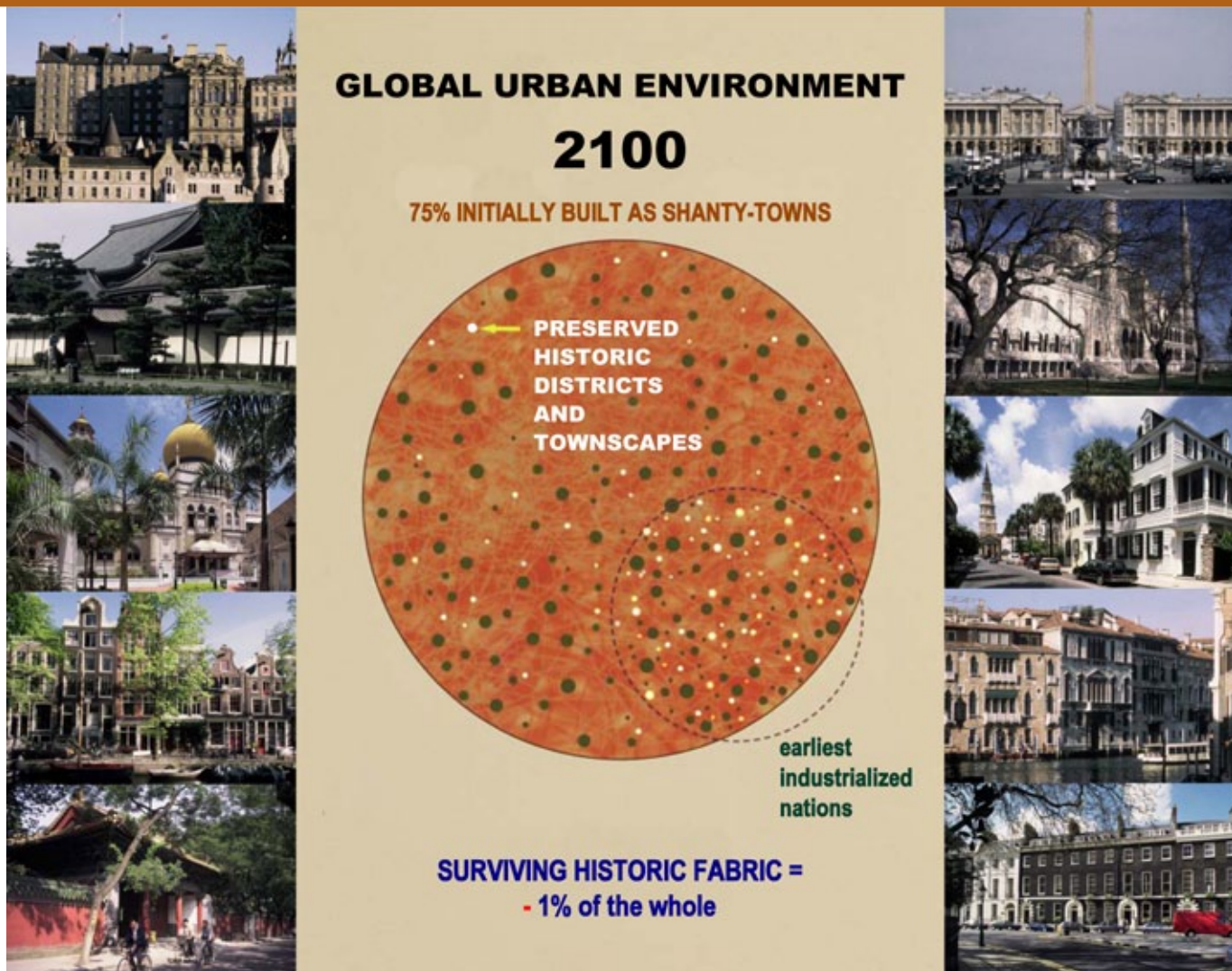
The evolution of binding preservation laws

Preservation efforts in France commenced in 1840 with a national survey of important monuments like the Pantheon. Nonetheless, despite numerous conservation laws, passed in 1887, 1913, 1914, 1943, 1963, and 1972, the greatest architectural artefact in France was still endangered: the interwoven fabric of historic Paris. Then, the construction of modern high rise towers began to threaten the ambiance of the glorious centre. Thus in 1974, a New Land Use Plan reduced allowable building heights to historic norms, removing the incentive for demolition.

It was the largest binding historic district in the world. Likewise, although preservation efforts in Great Britain began with its Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, the interwoven beauty of London's Great Estates was in jeopardy at the end of the Second World War. Here were some of the most handsome residential ensembles in history, which were finally secured with the Town and Country Amenities Act 1974.

Similarly, across the world, numerous cities enacted stringent environmental preservation statutes. In 1989, Italy declared the area within the Aurelian Walls of Rome a Central Historic Preservation Zone. Since its creation in 1965 the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission has designated about 25,000 properties within numerous historic districts. This constitutes some of the most valuable urban real estate in the world. In comparison, the total square area of protected properties in Manhattan equals the protected area of historic Rome (which, in turn, comprises 4 per cent of the modern Italian city). Even in disputed lands like Palestine, with or without the capacity to shape its laws and institutions, local NGOs like Riwaq have undertaken the conservation of their people's patrimony, as did NGOs in Hebron. These places of transcending loveliness, often less well known, nonetheless complete the global picture of human cultural diversity. Can sustainable urban preservation policy be imagined and instilled across the planet?

This was the case in Amsterdam in 1956 when Geurt Brinkgreve envisioned Stadsherstel Inc., or «The Company That Heals the City». Prior to World War II, as an art student in Rome Brinkgreve had seen the terrible loss of architectural fabric that resulted from the widening of historic roadways. And understood the terrible loss that might occur in Amsterdam if its canals were filled to accommodate automobiles. So he founded a citizen's group and fought such initiatives. He also anticipated to some degree the unbridled tourism and loss of residential liveability in Venice, comprehending that saving the city's monuments alone would not preserve the place that he loved. He wished that Amsterdammers might inhabit the preserved historic fabric of the city so that its spirit would continue in both its bricks and people. Of course the Netherlands is one of the leading nations for the production of social housing, particularly in



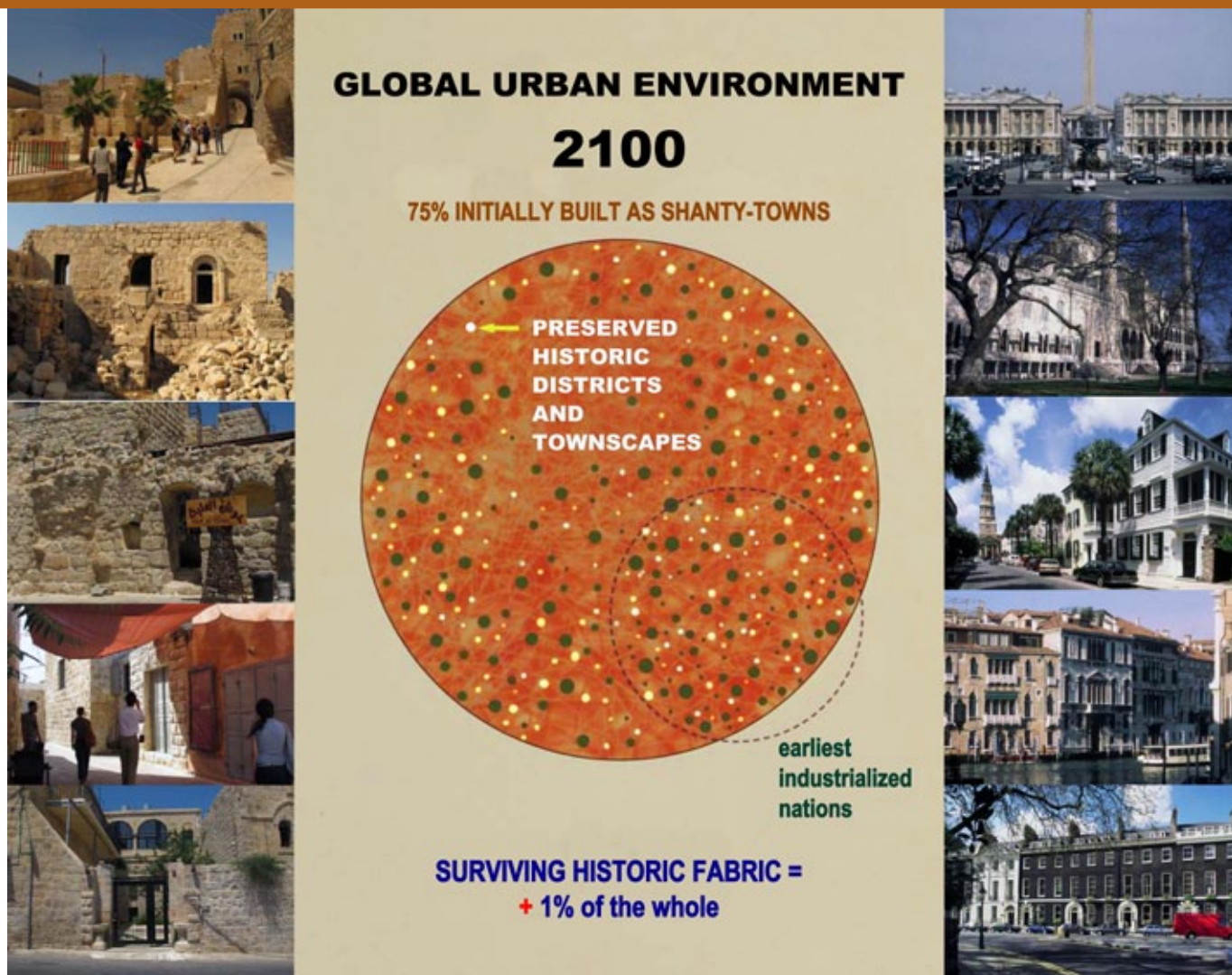
Global urban environment 2100 – dots & composite ©

its Housing Act of 1901 which empowered local citizen groups to build public housing with government funds.

Even so, Brinkgreve was imaginative in seeing that by creating a combined social housing and historic preservation NGO, it would qualify for government funding in both sectors. Once Stadsherstel had a holding of more than forty buildings or so, its directors were further imaginative in realising that they might renew whole neighbourhoods, by purchasing select combinations of canal houses: corner buildings, pairs of buildings, or dilapidated structures whose restoration was prohibitive for market-rate investors. By 2006, on the 50th anniversary of Stadsherstel, its 500 restored canal houses were probably worth near a billion dollars if sold on the open market. Numerous other social housing/historic preservation NGOs followed their example. The Jan Pietersz House

Foundation added special noise abatement for rent-assisted houses for musicians. The Diogenes Foundation provided subsidised studio accommodation for visual artists. There is a crucial by-product of such initiatives in terms of urban sustainability: for in the year 2010, when Amsterdam saw 12 million visitor days, its city center of 80 thousand inhabitants remained socially diverse and vibrant with indigenous activity since 35 percent of its buildings were assisted social housing.

Given current demographic trends as estimated by the United Nations (predicting that our planetary urban area will quadruple in size over the next century), in the year 2100, in a world awash with illegally constructed settlement, the preserved historic districts and townscapes of the world (shown as white dots) will be glittering gems of environmental meaning. Though magnets for future



Global urban environment 2100 – revised ©

generations of travellers (and the income that they generate), they will constitute but 1 per cent of the total Global Urban Environment and will be located primarily in the more developed nations of early industrialisation – reflecting the long-established Euro-centric bias of our architectural histories.

But perhaps such trends are subject to our will. Perhaps the less developed nations of the world will enact useful preservation policies that save the historic patrimony singular to their cultures, their geographies and climates. If so, the global outcome will change – then it will reflect the histories and architectural beauty of all the many peoples of the Earth.

Finally here is an instructive fact: half a century after the Second World War, a convocation of planners from across Europe, including those from Germany, the most heavily bombed of European nations, concluded that far

more architectural history was destroyed in the urban redevelopment that followed the fighting than by the tens of millions of bombs themselves. Except for in Warsaw, here Adolph Hitler demolished the cultural legacy of the city in order to quell the fighting spirit of its inhabitants.

But then the people of Warsaw put their heritage back. So, who builds the material world that surrounds us? We do. And when we build sublimely we endow that world with meaning. We live within these constructions. They acculturate us. And following generations, thus acculturated, may build something new that expands the realm of human possibility. The beautiful city is built by human volition. It is destroyed by human volition, preserved by human volition, renewed by human volition. It always has been, and always will be, subject to our choices.

Culture is Produced by People

SHEELA PATEL

Presentation 3

Abstract

Cities are now at the crossroads of what attributes they concede to the production of culture. Planning norms and practices have begun to identify buildings and districts and heritage sites and often end up protecting them against people! Yet cities are truly the creatures of cultural heritage and present seemingly sensible rules and regulations instead of creating mechanisms to arbitrate between diverse interests and conflicts created by diversity and producing monocultures which stamp out the rights of many for the fulfilment of rights of a few. Gated communities, shopping malls, flyovers and these new symbols of success and progress are all destroying city cultures that have evolved through many decades and in some instances centuries. How should rules of engagement for cities be developed? How can universal guidelines work to identify, deepen and make robust that which is celebrated and produces a public and street culture that «modernity» and this new monoculture systematically killing what is precious and that which creates identity, relationships and networks in cities? I will then share some of the examples of such conflicts and explore possibilities.



Snake boat race in Cochin, Kerala ©

Introduction

Cities are now at the crossroads of making choices in relation to what attributes they concede to the production of culture. Planning norms and practices have begun to identify buildings, districts and heritage sites – and often end up protecting them against people!

Cities are truly the creatures of living cultural heritage, and their inhabitants must face the challenge of dealing with seemingly sensible rules and regulations that are not working for a large section of their populations. Instead of creating mechanisms to arbitrate between diverse interests and conflicts, these processes are producing mono cultures that stamp out the rights of many for the fulfilment of rights for a few. These challenges are most obvious in cities of the global south, although these tensions and processes operate in all cities around the world.

All southern cities are crowded by people generally using non-motorised transport. There are large crowds everywhere, in markets and on the streets and in temples. There are festivities erupting in cosmopolitan neighbourhoods where modern global «good practices» seek to reduce sound pollution and thereby impose restrictive use of public spaces where traditional celebrations take place and where the poor participate in large numbers. As a result, the spontaneous yet structurally robust confusions created by celebrative events in the heart of cities are being stamped out by rules created out of fear and demand for clearing the public spaces for cars of the elite. Gated communities, shopping malls, fly-overs, all new symbols of modernity and success and progress are destroying living city cultures that have evolved through many decades and in some instances through centuries.

How should the rules of engagement for cities be developed? How can universal guidelines work to identify, deepen and make robust that which is celebrated and produces a public and street culture that «modernity» and «the new monocultures» are systematically killing? What are «the precious elements» that create identity, relationships and networks in cities? What can and should be changed in order to produce more equity and more inclusion and breach old cultural practices? Who has the power to decide?

Not an optimistic picture

The present situation is not very optimistic. In many cities both the built heritage and cultural traditions are first demolished and then their loss is bemoaned, by which time they cannot be reconstituted. Often the reasons for the loss are hidden and not understood by those who lost these spaces and lived through the processes of cultural change. What they do recognise are that what happened seems to lead to reduced tourism or reduced livelihood options and reduced revenue, which again brings a sense of crisis into the challenges already faced when addressing cultural issues.

Cities and towns in the global south seek to copy the development of cities of the north without acknowledging that in their past industrial stage they faced similar challenges. Development imageries are imported from northern post-industrial cities and imposed along with their development regulations, and end up making cities work for a few and make the majority's usage of the city illegal. The use of public spaces for informal habitats and livelihoods has become unacceptable by virtue of laws based on planning norms from the «global north». International development and knowledge systems and «modern town planning schemes» further accelerate this process. In some places the needs of 10–15% of the population elite override the needs of the whole city.

Culture and traditions evolve over generations and need public spaces

In the following I will give some examples of cultural practices of the past that have managed to generate income activities within the cultural economy of the modern cityscapes, and some that have not. Cities and their linkages with their hinterland and their interactions produce many cultural traditions. These are passed on through events and activities and produce public cultural rituals and practices which local neighbourhoods and citizens adopt and evolve through time. Throughout history, state patronage produced legitimacy or acceptance of these celebrative practices, some of which may even have begun as historical expressions of dissent but gradually became citywide celebrations with state assent.



Suburbia developing independently of the planned city scape ©

In Mumbai, for instance, the festival of the elephant-faced god Ganesh began in the beginning of the 1900s as a collective manifestation of dissent against colonial rule. Yet today it is a feature of public life in the city, long after its original purpose was fulfilled. Each year, over 5 million people are on the street on the eleventh day of immersion of the clay idol, following their gods in procession into the sea. Today we note, however, that for every practice that manages to survive, several die and are lost to the next generation.

The snake boat race in Cochin, Kerala is a cultural tradition where a wide range of local teams compete in the annual «snake boat» race each year. In a rare instance of public-private partnership, the network of the boating teams, the city and tourism department of Kerala have

made this event a global one which brings revenue to the boating teams and their associations, to the city and the state through tourists who come and the global media which broadcasts it to global audiences.

Countries, cities and localities in denial of their cultural heritage

Culture is not just old buildings, it is how individuals, neighbourhoods and cities create rituals and practices to transact their lives, producing processes and systems which enable them to cohabitation. Each generation has to assess these practices and choose what works for their time, and what is intergenerational and critical for future generations to retain.



City (SDI) planned suburbia ©

Markets, neighbourhoods and walled cities are under threat by modernity, mainly because the land on which these operate is now seen as valuable to capitalise. Wet markets (vegetable markets) which are in every city and town in the global south, where the rich and poor buy their food and other daily needs, are gradually being phased out. Malls are replacing the wet markets, and many studying this phenomenon clearly see that the natural cross-subsidy for fresh produce and vending opportunities are lost to a large majority.

In most cities the poor, the markets and the «modern city» compete for a place within the city centre. Many cities seek to kill the organic development process by constructing roads and large buildings in an attempt to provide some «order». Evictions from poor

neighbourhoods are seen as inevitable in the name of investing for public good, and many households have not even been given compensation because they did not have legal deeds to prove their title to the land, although they have lived there for many decades.

The questions to be addressed are: Are there other options? Can the right to life and livelihood be invoked to protect the rights of the poor? Can solutions be developed through dialogue and discussions? Can large infrastructure projects consider these processes as investments worth making, both in the time it takes to build consensus as well as to produce increased inclusion? The fact is that traditional neighbourhoods and their livelihoods are being destroyed every day as we are searching for evidence for «best practice».

Take the challenges of informality

Most of the urbanisation in the global south is informal, and the largest employment takes place within the informal sectors within a bazaar culture, such as vending and recycling businesses. Street markets and crowded sidewalks are all part of life in the cities and the markets are venues for many a cultural practice that modern planners seek to control, and in the process often destroy.

Take the instance of waste pickers in Cairo, and for that matter in all cities in the south. For centuries communities have traded in recycling and have created livelihoods which cities need to nurture in order to make them safer and with a link to the city's garbage management. These processes are sustainable and all they need from the state is the right to have space to sort and transport recyclable waste. Yet in almost all instances today the city hires private sector waste recyclers who rarely sort and separate the garbage collected. The traditional waste recyclers need contractual agreements that position and include them in the garbage industry. Instead city planners today seek expensive and unsustainable solutions in garbage handling systems from «the north», from countries which just recently have started in the recycling of garbage business.

Everyone at odds with slum dwellers

Cities are now at the crossroads in relation to what attributes they concede to the production of culture. Planning norms and practices have begun to identify buildings and districts and heritage sites and often end up protecting them against people! Informal settlements look like a sea of roofs from the outside and appear so impenetrable that the only way that planners figure to deal with them is by demolishing them. In reality these are complex neighbourhoods that are evolving and changing. Their ability to morph into viable neighbourhoods is dependent on the involvement of the state to assist and support this process. The poor living in the city centres are competing against the elite, struggling against the power of the vertically structured commercial residential and land market infiltrating their neighbourhoods.

The next few decades will exacerbate our urban challenges

It is already globally recognised that more than half of the world's population lives in cities and that even more will settle in the already crowded cities of the south. For some decades cities have had to accommodate very large numbers. Most new houses will be self-built incrementally because cities and national governments cannot develop financing mechanisms to aid them at the rate and pace they need. Most residents will be employed informally and will remain at odds with the law, laws they cannot accept because they are framed to exclude them. In many cities people squat on sidewalks and bridges in order to be near work, work which again very often forms informal occupations servicing registered institutions and businesses as well as elite households.

All southern cities are and will continue to be crowded. People will continue using non-motorised transport. There will be crowds in markets and mosques and churches and temples. Festivities will be erupting in cosmopolitan neighbourhoods increasing this spontaneous yet structurally robust confusion, which again will continue to be contested for every new formalising city rule created: Created out of fear and demand for clearing the public spaces for cars and the elite.

Cars are owned by 5–10% yet dominate public investments

- ♦ Motor cars and roads demolish neighbourhoods
- ♦ In Mumbai 2.5% of households own cars yet all streets are designed for cars
- ♦ Flyovers are signs of progress and modernity

When the state ignores problems people have to create institutions to represent them

SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers) started its work seeking the rights of households who live on pavements not to be evicted without alterna-

tives. From 1986 to 1995 pavement dwellers in Mumbai created their own organisations. These organisations fought to be accepted by the city of Mumbai and now they have a joint programme. It took ten years for the policy to be formed and in the next fifteen years to move households.

NSDF (National Slum Dwellers Federation), a federating organisation for slum dwellers in India that is nationwide and seeks to bring the voice of the poor to the development table, formed an alliance with SPARC and Mahila Milan in 1996, and together they have been founders of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) which now operates in 33 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Together all these organisations seek to build a culture of dialogue amongst the urban poor and to seek ways to facilitate dialogue between cities and local communities. Federations in SDI have managed to change some rules, and increasingly development actors both global and local are beginning to examine their solutions as means to address the challenges of conflict in cities. The role of social movements is to produce civilised dissent and produce demands for inclusion.

What is needed urgently: Capacity to arbitrate

Reconciling, negotiating and balancing are tough acts, and cities need leaders with such capacities. Incremental city growth and crowded streets are there and it is important to take a reality check into this environment before plotting strategies of how to manage cities and make them work for all. The questions related to this endeavour are many, but some are: How should rules of engagement for cities become developed? How can universal guidelines work to identify, deepen and make robust that which is celebrated and produces a public and street culture that «modernity» and this new monoculture systematically killing what is precious and that which creates identity, relationships and networks in cities? What should be the role of local national and global players which we now see becoming intricately woven into our increasingly connected globalising world? There is a need to stay focused on the local while building national and global terms of engagement. Capacity building efforts are often treated as «knowledge transfer projects», instead they need to build skills enabling people to negotiate and arbitrate: THAT IS ALSO CULTURE.

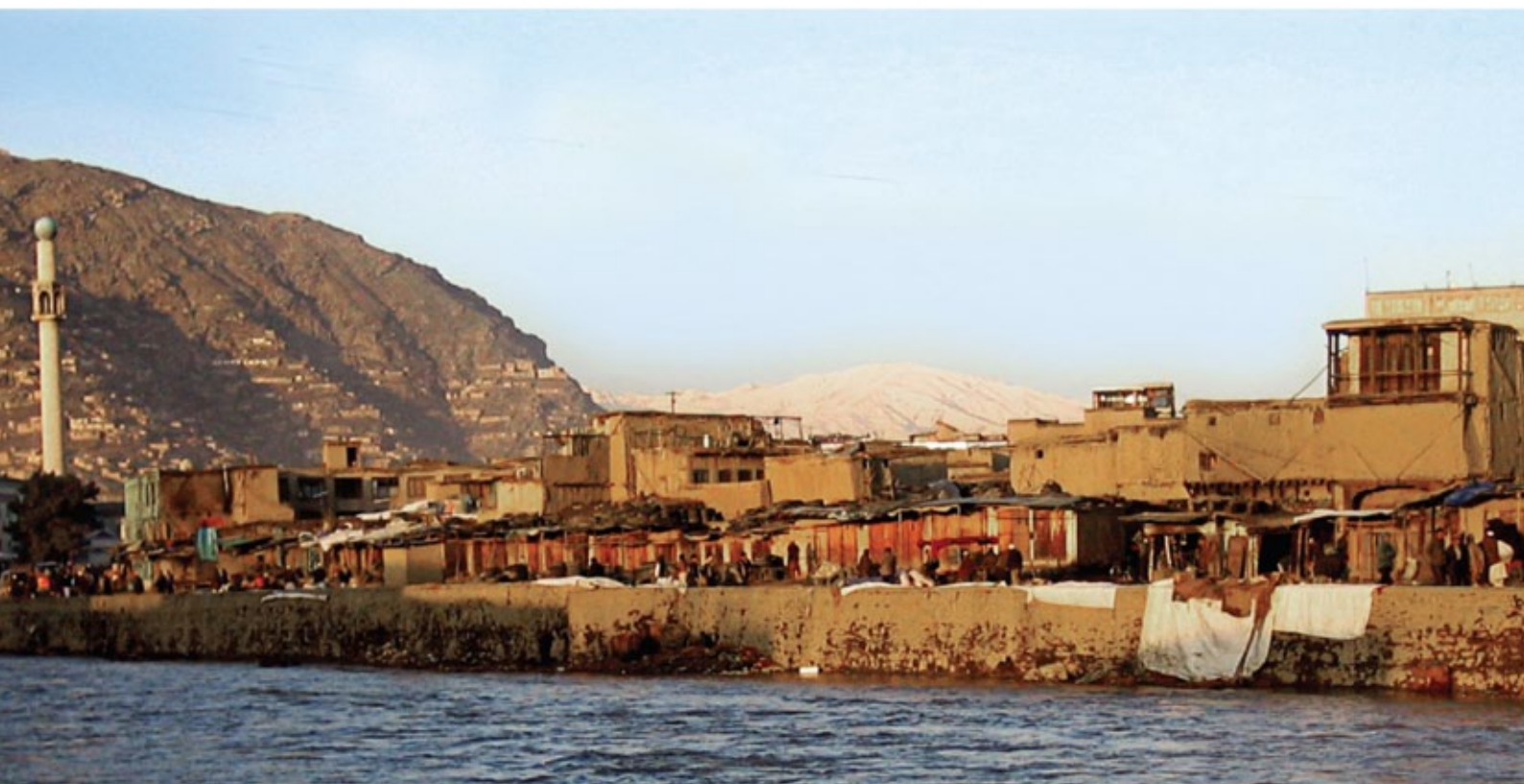
Cultural Heritage, Traditional Craftsmanship in Urban Conflict Recovery – Kabul

THALIA KENNEDY

Presentation 4

Abstract

The position of cultural heritage within recovery from conflict and disaster may relate to different aspects of urban environment and economies, to include the restoration of historic fabrics and sites, support for museums and collected artefacts, revitalised societal centres and cultural traditions, or heritage and tourist economies. As a country that has seen prolonged conflict over recent decades, the cultural heritage and associated economies of Afghanistan have been eroded, and as a result have in some instances been the focus for recent development assistance. As one of a number of organisations working in this sector, the mission of the Turquoise Mountain Trust in Kabul has been the support of aspects of the country's cultural heritage within an urban context. This keynote presentation will review, from the course of the project, some of the lessons learnt, challenges, and areas of success or difficulty, within the Turquoise Mountain Trust's activities, and suggests initial practice themes from this project experience.



Murad Khane, Kabul ©

Introduction

My grateful thanks to Carsten and NIKU for the very kind invitation to speak at this workshop and to the World Bank for requesting this innovative conference focusing on the hidden potential of cities. I have been invited to talk on cultural heritage and urban conflict recovery through the prism of the projects of the Turquoise Mountain Trust (TMT) in Kabul. I will give a brief description of TMT's work, before summarising the factors that enabled the implementation of projects. I would then like to comment on some aspects of the work with craftsmanship, as a link between historic fabric, traditional artisanal skills and economic opportunities.

Project description

The Turquoise Mountain Trust was founded in 2006, as a non-governmental, non-profit organisation, at the request and under the patronage of HRH Charles, Prince of Wales, and HE President Hamid Karzai. It is one of a number of cultural heritage organisations based in Afghanistan, which include the extensive projects of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, the Foundation for Culture and Civil Society, and UNESCO.

TMT's activities have focused on Murad Khane, a precinct of Kabul's Old City. Murad Khane is located on the bank of the Kabul River. It was recognised in 2006 by the Afghan government as an area of historic and cultural significance. It is home to tens of historic buildings, impressive and decorative earthen residences built by the Shia Qizlbash community in the last two centuries. Its historic fabric has been compromised in recent decades, with the rapid deterioration and demolition of buildings, and little investment in infrastructure or services. Today, the area is ethnically diverse, with a majority Tajik population (53%) although Qizlbash (28%) still represent the most powerful ethnic group due to their wealth and landownership.¹ The precinct is home to one of the city's main Shia shrines, the Ziarat Abu'l Fazl, with an adjacent bazaar. Local livelihoods are primarily in construction materials, jewellery, groceries, tools, and supplying ritual items and food for shrine visitors. There are around 50

1 The area comprises 53% Tajik; 28% Qizlbash; 12% intermarriage between Pashtun, Turk, Tajik and Hazara; 7% Other, based on E. Andersen, *Murad Khane Socio-Economic Report*, July 2009.

family groups in the residential zone. It is a low-income area with social problems and instability, poor health and low levels of education.² In 2006, the Murad Khane community council (*shura*) invited TMT to begin restoration and heritage activities in the area.

TMT has taken a holistic approach to cultural heritage activities in Murad Khane, focusing on three key areas; architectural restoration, training in traditional craftsmanship to support the transmission of skills and knowledge, and the development of associated crafts and restoration business opportunities.³ Traditional craftsmanship has linked all areas of activity, and created a pivotal element around which economic opportunity has been developed.

Architectural restoration began in Murad Khane in 2006, following a full structural survey and documentation, working on residential and disused historic buildings using traditional materials and craftsmanship methods. The transmission of craft skills and knowledge to young people has been achieved through on-site training at the restoration site, and through establishing an Institute for Afghan Arts and Architecture. The Institute is now located in formerly derelict buildings in Murad Khane, restored for the purpose as part of the wider programme. New buildings have also been constructed on empty ground, using traditional methods and materials, to accommodate Institute activities. The third key area of activity has been to develop products, markets and sales opportunities for masters and artisans in training. This has been undertaken through an in-house design and production unit that has served to identify and explore markets, oversee product development, and establish best practice and quality control, with a particular focus to date on jewellery, calligraphy and woodwork.

2 E. Andersen, *Murad Khane Socio-Economic Report*, July 2009.

3 TMT has also made infrastructural improvements in the area, including clearance of waste that had accumulated up to seven feet in depth, sanitation, public water supply, paved public spaces and streets, electricity pipes and cables, a decorative entrance door for the local mosque, and basic structural improvements to some shops in the bazaar area. A public healthcare clinic and primary school have also been established for the use of the local community, now under Afghan management as independent local entities. Infrastructure and social assets have been considered alongside cultural heritage in the area. See W. Beharrell, *Turquoise Mountain: An Approach to Community Development in Murad Khane 2009–2011*, December 2008.

Participation in restoration projects elsewhere in Kabul, and in the western city of Herat, has provided further opportunities.

These activities have taken place over a five-year period. The TMT office in Kabul has acted as a central hub, providing financial and operational support, and liaising with donors and government stakeholders. There has been strong financial, operational and human investment in the 2006–2011 phase of activities, seeing the completion of restoration and infrastructure projects, and the establishment and fit-out of the Institute, the Business Development Unit and small-scale businesses in Murad Khane. The TMT office closed in mid-2011. Mentoring local staff in key project management skills led to the handover to local management by 2012, with on-going extended support from associated Boards of Trustees and Directors comprising Afghan and foreign members.

Enabling factors

A number of factors have enabled project responses within the environment and context of wider challenges that Afghanistan faces at this time.

Flexibility: The organisational ethos been typified by a flexible approach. The project has been responsive and adaptable. By remaining small in scale it has been able to react quickly to changing situations, and this has enabled a focus on quality. This approach has also informed programme decisions, allowing innovation to take place within traditional crafts knowledge, and training programmes and business development capable of responding to new market opportunities. A dynamic approach to fund-raising has been fostered.

Programmes of Restoration in Murad Kane, 2006–2011

- Clearance of up to 7 feet of rubbish, improved infrastructure, sanitation, water supply, and primary health and education provisions.
- Structural surveys, historic buildings documentation, socio-economic assessments.
- Restoration activities carried out on 65 residences and derelict buildings in Murad Khane.



Recent Turquoise Mountain products, sold to clients in Kabul, Germany and Dubai ©

- Employment provided for between 350 and 500 skilled and unskilled workers on a seasonal (March–December) basis between 2007 and 2011.
- On-site training for young architects and apprentices in woodworking, plasterwork, traditional paintwork and earthen construction skills.

Visible results: Visible employment, training opportunities and progress in restoration programmes has helped maintain community support and built trust. TMT's activities and the location of the Institute in Murad Khane have brought an increasing number of visitors to the area, and it is hoped will continue to act as an engine of cultural heritage-related activity and opportunity. The physical location of training programmes in historic buildings has further served to emphasise the link bet-

ween historic buildings and fabric and traditional craftsmanship.

Collaboration: All programmes have brought members of different socio-economic groups together around a set of activities and have fostered collaboration. There has been regular dialogue between project managers and community leaders and residents. Master artisans, as the culture bearers and stewards of traditional craftsmanship, have been the primary voice for developing training and product design. Collaboration between artisans across crafts traditions has enabled the development of new designs and products. Masters have also recalled the mythologies and narratives of their crafts, and invoked great artisans of the past, as inspiration for trainees. Traditional rites, customs and induction ceremonies have helped to bring a sense of cohesion and inclusion.

Business Development Unit

- Business Development Unit with office based in Murad Khane and employing 45 full-time artisans and staff with a generated income of \$1.2m from 2009 to 2011.
- Establishment since 2010 of four affiliated small businesses in restored buildings in Murad Khane area in tailoring, jewellery manufacture, tile manufacture and pottery, providing employment for 15 men and women.
- Participation in building restoration programmes in Herat and Kabul province.
- Training and equipment provided for six local guild jewellers in order to outsource production lines for international and internet sales.
- Current local and international projects in development for private clients.

Local solutions and procurement: Using local solutions and materials that are easily maintained and accessed has increased the sustainability of TMT's work. Local procurement also has the added benefit of bringing revenue to the area's residents. The development of some crafts has had a multiplier effect in related areas, e.g. the production of hand-made paper for use by calligraphers. The

use of local materials (such as ishkor ceramic glazes) and methods, (such as the hand-driven gem-cutting machines more appropriate for cabochon and large stone cuts than electric machines) often bring high quality, sustainable results. Local materials and methods create a unique selling point for the products. Modern machines have been introduced to augment and facilitate craft processes where appropriate.

Institute for Afghan Arts & Architecture (Afghan NGO)

- Three-year programmes in traditional crafts vocational education in Woodwork, Calligraphy, Jewellery and Ceramics for 120 men and women aged 15–25, including young people from Murad Khane.
- Supplementary classes in Business, ICT, English, Literacy, Design and Art History to provide a rounded entrepreneurial education.
- National accreditation to Grade 12 (TVET); international accreditation from City & Guilds.
- Employment of 22 master artisans, 6 supplementary subject teachers, and 30 management, administrative, security and support staff, to include Murad Khane residents.
- 120 graduates to date, 80% taking up crafts-related employment, 13% taking further arts study, 7% taking up unrelated business opportunities.
- Parallel six-month course in jewellery manufacture introduced and completed by 45 young men and women in 2011, including 20 women from Murad Khane.
- 35% current enrolment of female students, predominantly in jewellery and calligraphy departments, crafts in which women have historically participated.
- Diverse institution bringing together Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara and Qizlbash teachers and trainees.
- Annual running costs of \$1.05 million USD – local staff salaries 58%; security, logistics, operations, equipment and materials, buildings rental and maintenance 30%; audit / reporting costs 12% (2012 forecast).



From top to bottom: Institute induction ceremony; Ustad Abdul Hadi and trainee; gem-cutting training ©

Long-term planning: Working together to build a strong future vision and framework from an early stage has supported crafts development. Thanks to generous flexibility from donors, TMT's on-going training activities have been secured for the next ten years. Long-term planning provides time to improve and continuously assess the future of the programmes and the potential for handover to the government. The Business Development Unit will also continue for-profit activities, contributing part of its income to the training programmes, and providing opportunities for future Institute graduates.

Programmatic comments

Documentation of crafts traditions: Documentation of traditional crafts and rituals has taken the format of written curricula, text and photographic workbooks, and film. It has taken several years to build trust between masters and administrators to document oral traditions, particularly given that secrecy is an inherent part of their value – most particularly, «trade secrets» that secure a market advantage for individual masters. All documentation is now held with the Institute and Ministry of Education (TVET Section), who use elements of crafts knowledge in their own vocational training.

*Choice of training programmes:*⁴ The choice of which crafts to support through training programmes has been determined by the presence and willingness of masters to pass on knowledge and skills; the viability of local markets in particular craft areas; and the sustainable availability of local, high quality materials and equipment.

Outside expertise: Outside crafts and materials experts have worked with masters to record and assist to re-establish traditional methods and materials, local supply and distribution chains, and particulars of design. Through technical research, outside advisers have worked with masters to restore quality to flagging tradition. They have also acted as a type of mediator between masters and administrative and educational staff to strengthen course content.

Responsive and relevant training: Some aspects of traditional apprenticeship systems have been modified in

⁴ Crafts that present concerns over universally accepted human rights or health and safety standards have not been supported.

order to respond to the contemporary needs of young people. Training times have been reduced from the traditional seven to ten years to a three-year programme. Teacher training has enabled faster learning times, whilst on-the-job experience opportunities are available to graduates, to augment training programmes. Courses are open to all successful applicants (averaging 600 applicants per year to date), an alternative system to the historic preference for transmission of knowledge within families or guilds.⁵ National and international certificates recognise trainees' achievements in a modern context. Courses are continually assessed in conversation with local businesses and guilds to help ensure that training programmes remain relevant for later employment.

Institute buildings: The Institute buildings act as a physical focus and engine for cultural heritage and craftsmanship activity in Murad Khane. The adaptive reuse of formerly derelict buildings of historic significance provides learning spaces that are physical reflections of historic crafts traditions. Current supply chains for materials and masters' expertise has also had an impact on the restoration of historic buildings, a reflection of current social circumstances inscribed into the physical fabric of these historic buildings. The dimensions of historic spaces are not suitable for some types of workshop and classroom space. New buildings have been constructed, using local materials and traditional methods, on empty ground within the complex. These buildings provide spaces large enough to respond to contemporary training and institutional needs.

Future crafts development

The on-going development of traditional craftsmanship as a cultural heritage engine in Murad Khane is focused on further economic opportunities, around three elements:

Local markets: International markets have seen high-value large commissions, but with increasing instability in the country, these may present logistical challenges in the future. Local markets have seen interest from the international community to date, bringing good income,

⁵ P. Centlivres, *Un Bazar d'Asie Centrale: forme et organization du bazar de Tashqurghan*, Weisbaden, 1968; H. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia*, Cambridge MA, 1966.



Historic Institute building; Institute assembly hall built using traditional methods and materials ©

but this community may decrease significantly in coming years. An increased focus on local clients, markets and projects therefore represents an appropriate area for further development, and is the current focus for the Business Development Unit.

Crafts skills in Murad Khane: Restoration projects have ensured that associated architectural crafts skills have been supported and passed on to young artisans. With the completion of restoration, finding new avenues for those now-skilled artisans is a priority. Architectural crafts skills may have aspects that are transferrable between architectural projects and individual products that can be enhanced. Restoration projects around the country may continue to provide opportunities to conserve the country's historic fabric.

Young artisans: The on-going support of young artisans will depend on continuing and relevant links between training programmes and viable market opportunities. The local small-scale enterprises already established in Murad Khane by young artisans represent a kernel around which to grow.

The Institute and Business Development Unit hope to continue close dialogue with the Murad Khane and artisanal communities to ensure the lasting development of crafts industries in the area.

Cultural heritage in urban planning for development: how do we balance interests?

Cultural heritage management in its ideal pursuit is an eco-friendly socially, culturally and economically sustainable development activity. What are the necessary steps to be taken in urban planning in order to utilise the business potential of the sites, and at the same time counteract possible negative effects such as gentrification, property speculation and uncontrolled tourism? The interest in urban planning projects, at the level of influence on processes and results, varies greatly between the stakeholders involved. Conflicts of interests between international and national governments, local and national governments, local governments and local neighbourhoods often occur, but how are they solved? What are the common strategies employed in order to recognise interests and yet pursue priorities connected to social sustainable regeneration of historic city centres? How do we ensure that the cultural heritage that is taken care of represents what the local population needs and identifies with – and not merely what we may think tourists expect to have and to see?



Overall the session focused on:

- ◆ Addressing urban planning – both as process and tool for development – from the strategic programme design level
- ◆ Learning from past examples of cultural heritage development programmes: Are there issues we should pay more attention to?
- ◆ The three presentations of this session, from different parts of the world, reminded us that everything is contextual when working in the field of cultural development – and this became the central lesson of our discussions. The presented cases – from Pakistan, Cape Verde and Korea – were very diverse, and reinforced that most lessons learned may be judged on the basis of their historic, social, cultural and economic context. But also, they display a variety of opportunities and choices, ideologies, strategies and ways of thinking when working with cultural heritage and urban planning. The following issues were pointed out by different participants to be given more attention:
 - ◆ The Pakistan/Lahore and Cape Verde cases on the other hand are in contrast with the Korean case in the absence of economic resources to invest in cultural heritage. Outside investments – e.g. agencies as the World Bank – are important in the first, and unthinkable in the last. Also, in Korea the political setting is stable, with a strong economy, and the plan for the restoration of the ancient capitals a national issue. In Pakistan, there are unstable political settings and a weaker economy, and public-private partnerships in urban planning and development projects a necessity for change.
 - ◆ The Pakistan/Lahore case, finally, expresses a wealth of cultural heritage/urban fabric which can be renovated/restored, whereas the Korean case in fact has not much physical heritage/urban fabric from the ancient capitals to preserve since it was made of wood, which has largely perished. Instead in Korea selected original sites, which are now overlain by new cities, are identified – the new is removed and a selected buildings/structures are re-created in memory of the old capital.

Everything is contextual

Our three cases were very diverse, and reinforced that most lessons learned may be judged on the basis of their historic, social, cultural and economic context. Below are some examples of the contextual variables and differences:

- ◆ The Pakistan/Lahore and Korea case, for example, reflects cultural histories which are several millennia old and where colonisation/ domination may be seen as brief period in a much longer historic heritage.

In contrast in Cape Verde there was no human settlement until the Portuguese settled and used the island as a port to bring enslaved Africans before taking them to the Americas. The creole culture in Cape Verde thus reflects a recent history of slave trade mixing Portuguese and Africans, which however still has clear traces of a socio-economic dichotomy between dominating and dominated population groups.

Definition of inclusive urban development

Inclusive urban development is holistic and can be seen as:

- ◆ inclusive for culturally diverse groups and for socio-economic strata, and allowing for a multitude of histories to be recognised
- ◆ respecting that the use of resources is within the natural capacity for regeneration, and adaptation/mitigation of climate
- ◆ economically sustainable

The Cape Verde example discussed the consequences of a knowledge gap, and exposed a need to critically discuss authorised and subordinated discourses on cultural heritage – and of broadening the heritage concept. In this

case also, the general population was not the driving force in preservation. How do we foster engagement of citizens in their heritage and community in urban development programmes? Possible ways of drawing on people's culture, intangible heritage, co-creation and ownership were discussed. Heritage sites are places with spatial designs and material forms situating social, economic, political and cultural practices. At some sites the original forms of «intangible cultural heritage» were abandoned and forgotten a long time ago. At others they have survived but exist in competition with new forms of value and meaning, producing aesthetic designs and cultural practices. The importance of interaction between people and objects were discussed, and it was recognised that preservation of heritage is dependent on these interactions. Cultural heritage is not only a material asset, but also cultural, for the people living in, and using, the area. That is also why it is necessary to have people living in the city/within the structures, representing different cultures and socio-economic strata. Zanzibar was mentioned as one example of integrating programmes of social housing in heritage preservation. This strategy proved to be a turning point of development.

We also discussed the meaning of the word or concept «development» – what does it mean? How are we approaching the word development? In Europe, there are many good examples that demonstrate how cultural heritage has been an asset for economic development, for instance, Liverpool or Manchester. There are also numerous examples worldwide where the issue is not so much the re-use of a building or a site (district or single structure). There may be some technical challenges, but these may often be solved by architects or engineers. The real challenge is to give the restored object an economic «future» after restoration. Again, the necessity of having people living in and using the sites and objects were stressed. One example is the Lahore case, where the Walled City since the late 1940s has witnessed an increased inflow of traders who do not live within the walls. This has pressed the original inhabitants out to some degree and living quarters have become partly slum-like. To renovate buildings on a larger scale in a meaningful way will require a reduction in the presence of the traders, who anyhow do not live there, to allow for more diverse groups to live in the Walled City and to improve

housing. Essentially this may require that businesses are given good opportunities to move to other areas outside the Walled City. This would however require a completely different project than the current PPP project with the World Bank in the Walled City.

Conflict between economic/business goals and cultural, social and environmental goals

Cultural heritage management in urban development operates in a context of local conflicts, where a key conflict is that between the expressed goal of reaching economic/business targets versus reaching cultural, social and environmental goals. What are the potentials, challenges and «heritage costs and gains» related to projects which radically change the purpose of the practices at a historic heritage site? The different sets of goals should be treated as different circles, which should overlap, but also have fundamentally different sets of dynamics, calling for different types of interventions. One should also bear in mind that when working with «competing needs» such as clean water, electricity etc., the link between heritage preservation/regeneration and economic development and poverty alleviation is important. Yet another issue to be aware of is the importance of infrastructure, which in many cases has proved to be crucial to realise the business potential of a site.

The Public Private Partnership Experience in the Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan

MASOOD A. KHAN

Presentation 1

Abstract

In 2006, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture was approached by the government of Pakistan to assist in heritage activities in the plains of the Punjab, rather than in the mountains where it had been working thus far. The ensuing partnership focused on the historic core of the city of Lahore, and resulted in planning activities at several levels: The historic core in relation to the larger city, new legal frameworks, a strategic plan, baseline data, analytical studies, a GIS system and socio-economic initiatives. Within the physical confines of this project, a number of pilot demonstrations were carried out illustrating the manner in which infrastructure development, revalorisation of the urban fabric, rehabilitation of the historic building stock and the improvement in the quality of life of the resident population were to be replicated in the larger project. Moreover the demonstration projects were the scene for training both young professionals and unemployed youth from the neighbourhoods. In the presentation I will look into some factors which impinge on the methodological aspects of urban heritage conservation and pose the question of the validity of a model multidisciplinary team that provides physical conservation as well as human development activities that result in elevation of living standards and increase social and economic mobility among the communities that populate urban heritage.



Introduction

In 2006 the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) was approached by the government of Pakistan to assist in heritage related activities in the plains of Punjab, rather than in the mountains where the Trust had been working thus far. In 2007, the Trust entered into a Public-Private Partnership Framework agreement with the Government of Punjab, Pakistan's largest province, a partnership which would focus on the historic core of the city of Lahore. Consequently, the two sides would together undertake planning activities, create a framework of discrete project interventions and undertake to jointly implement a pilot project. This presentation describes what the partnership has been able to accomplish.

Prior to the coming about of the partnership, the Government of Punjab had already entered into a US\$ 50 million municipal infrastructure improvement loan agreement with the World Bank under which the latter would apportion a small amount for a heritage specific project in the Walled City of Lahore. For this purpose a Project Management Unit had been established charged with implementing the pilot project, the establishment of a sound institutional structure for governance in the Walled City and of appropriate legislation to help facilitate it. One of the principal activities of the partnership has been the preparation of the pilot project for implementation.

Background

Like many historic cities the old historic core of Lahore existed along the bank of a river. It began as a mud fortification along the Ravi at an uncertain time in the past, and its earliest mention appears in an Arab chronicle of the ninth century. Oral histories abound and attribute the founding of the city to Loh, the son of Ramachandra. Today Lahore is a mega city of more than 10 million people. From the time of the British annexation of Lahore in 1849, the city has grown; first as a colonial administrative and commercial centre that surrounded the old Walled City, and then as lower density residential development. The latter began as the new military garrison was established five kilometres to the east of the colonial civil station. In the post-independence period, this kind of low density development has grown immensely. A consi-

derable part of the surface area of metropolitan Lahore is occupied by residential districts for middle-, upper middle- and upper-income citizens, who comprise a small fraction of the total urban population. The majority of the population consists of lower income people, who occupy a comparatively smaller component of its total area, in concentrated masses of poorly serviced built fabric.

From roughly three square kilometres in the mid-nineteenth century, Lahore today has an area of 2300 square kilometres within the metropolitan administrative boundary. It has some magnificent monuments, including two World Heritage sites, although there at least four more that could be listed as World Heritage. The historic core moreover has several lesser monuments and residential buildings of a high calibre and architectural merit and, in addition to individual buildings of considerable architectural merit and historic charm, the Walled City has a characteristic medieval morphology. In conjunction with building form, typology, stylistic character and a rich intangible heritage this creates an urban environment full of interest and the potential to serve as a powerful attraction for visitors.

The Public Private Partnership Framework agreement between the AKTC and the Government of Punjab entailed working as partners on a number of different fronts. This collaboration resulted in:

- ◆ Planning: policies relating to the historic core at the plane of the larger city, new legal frameworks, a strategic plan, baseline data, a geographical information system (GIS), and socio-economic initiatives.
- ◆ Area development projects and joint implementation of such projects, while devising programmes to improve income levels and job opportunities for low-income families.
- ◆ Conservation and rehabilitation of monuments and public open spaces.
- ◆ Capacity building among public sector personnel and among local professionals.

These activities are presented here as an interlinked matrix unfolding in time.

A Planning Activities

Planning activities undertaken by the partnership were not the first of their kind in Lahore. The Walled City had been the subject of planning and conservation on at least two prior occasions in previous decades, and both were funded from World Bank loans.

In the present context too, the urban heritage component of the loan was part of a larger municipal services improvement and infrastructure development programme aimed at some two dozen small town municipalities in the province.

The strategic plan

The planning component of the PPP agreement resulted primarily in a document which could be said to be a framework for the creation of the enabling environment recommended to be established by international guidelines such as the 1976 United Nations Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas and the 1986 ICOMOS Charter for Historic Cities. The Strategic Plan combined proposals for multi-dimensional regulative policies with a series of tangible proposals at various scales and for different parts of the Walled City.

The Strategic Plan was done quite fairly quickly, within the first eight months of the Partnership, given that the already year old World Bank loan had to be put to use as early as possible. It was based on the review of planning data already available from previous planning exercises such as the Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Studies of 1980, and the 1988 PEPAC Conservation Plan for the Walled City. The review helped in the appraisal of the existing situation in 2007-2008 which reflected a failure of municipal governance, inadequate municipal services, lack of regulations and/or regulatory enforcement of land use and building control, and more particularly of the failure of protection of sites and monuments already listed under the existing federal or provincial heritage related laws.

The Strategic Plan reviewed the existing planning and development framework. In the post-independence period, the modern city had grown away from the historic core (and from the colonial-period developments around it) in the form of low density bungalow-villa

suburbs. By now many of the characteristics of the Walled City were also shared by the denser colonial period centre. A sharp boundary now marked the physical separation of the «haves» and the «have-nots» of the city, and an urban apartheid has clearly come to exist, with a majority of Lahore's 10 million people living a markedly under-privileged existence, reflected in almost every aspect of their lives. What is poignantly interesting is that Lahore's rich monumental heritage is embedded deep within this area of blight. Although shared generally by the area of central, downtown Lahore, the conditions that applied specifically to the Walled City were (i) a pronounced loss of the residential population with whatever resident population that remained becoming progressively poorer; (ii) inadequate, low quality and poorly maintained infrastructure, some of which was over 100 years old; (iii) preponderance of commerce with an emphasis on warehousing; (iv) a weak regulatory environment; (v) preponderance of undocumented or partially documented and informal sector businesses; and (vi) unmanaged traffic with a high concentration of slow moving hand- or animal-drawn vehicles carrying goods destined for warehouses.

Paradoxically, the Lahore Walled City is a beehive of economic activity and its present condition is partly there because of the enormous commercial and economic pressures from the region and the metropolitan area. The commerce within the Walled City is of two kinds. The first, populating the historic bazaars, is of a small scale, much in keeping with the historic built fabric, and is relatively benign. But there is another kind of commerce which, although of a small-scale, traditional informal mode, caters to the warehousing, movement and distribution of large amounts of industrially produced goods (textiles and cheap shoes)⁶. This second scale of commerce owes its presence to two key factors: The first is the continued presence of central transportation functions in the form of trucking and bus activity encircling the Walled City; and the second factor is the buildable open space created by the arson of 1947, where the markets that house these business were allowed to take root. A third and important reason for its existence is the

6 The textiles are produced in other areas of the province, chiefly in Faisalbad, while the shoes are produced at a craft scale within the Walled City.

macro-economic environment in the country which promotes small, independent entrepreneurship within protective traditional urban environments, offering physical and institutional shelter from the formal sector.

The river crossing at Shahdara carries the majority of freight traffic destined for Lahore. As a result, the areas closer to Lahore Walled City have become the freight handling zone for the entire metropolitan area, creating congestion and impeding access to the Walled City. The other river crossings are more recent and are not properly connected to the rest of the metropolitan area. The capacity of the new ring road has recently been increased to redistribute transport around the entire city and relieve areas around the Walled City, but there is no land use planning in conjunction with this development. Metropolitan transport functions (inter-regional passenger and freight) and central railroad functions continue to huddle around the historic core creating an entrenched inter-dependence between transport and the wholesale and warehousing in the Walled City.

With the three maps showing the growth of commerce, we can compare the change from a point in time before 1947, when commerce was at the scale of a craft economy and urban life was in accord with a feudal social context surviving from pre-British era. At that time, British period interventions, such as the water supply system introduced in the late nineteenth century and the railway station and inter-city bus activity, already affected life in the Walled City. The mark of the arson that took place in 1947 is felt acutely in the second map, a 1987 recording of commerce in the areas destroyed. The historical event of 1947 in conjunction with the pressures of the larger city has affected urban form and life in a context of questionable planning decisions (such as the construction of district shopping markets where housing could have been rebuilt), and of weakened regulatory functions not very conducive to the safety and survival of the historic quarters. By 1987, transportation and wholesale functions are strongly conjoined and the long-term residential population has begun to flee. In the third image, constructed to reflect the conditions in 2007, metropolitan urban pressures now overwhelm the urban fabric, government regulatory functions are almost totally abandoned, illegal demolition and reconstruction

is rampant and the outmigration of residential population is now pronounced.

These wholesale specialised markets function at a regional, even national scale and threaten the historic urban fabric with unimpeded demolition, pushing the residential population out. While retaining its economic advantage and enormous productivity, the Walled City has been under the threat of losing its historic and residential character. A process of relocation of wholesale, industrial and retail activities from LWC is crucial to stabilising residential use and the future preservation of the historic neighbourhoods.

Infrastructure conditions in the Walled City leave a lot to be desired. A piped water supply with a gravity fed network was established in 1863 during the colonial regime. Many places to this day rely on water pipes that were last changed in 1910. A pressurised grid system was introduced sometime in the last quarter of the twentieth century and is fed by the main overhead reservoir and 15 tube wells. The system in place is not reliable and is prone to negative pressures at certain points resulting in contamination of potable water. Pressure is inadequate leading to the need for online centrifugal pumps installed by almost every household. Moreover, the water supply is not metered. Upon the advent of the piped water supply, waste water disposal became a serious matter although the old drains along the sides of the main bazaars continued to serve for this need as well. There are still some 15.5 kilometres of open drains serving as trunk sewers in the main bazaars. In the period from 1979 to 1991, considerable work was done to cover up the drains in the smaller streets and lanes. However, due to the lack of a system with adequate water seals, the network is rife with rodents and pests. Moreover, there is considerable leaching of drainage water into the foundation soil. Poor quality of plumbing in homes results in the constant discharge of water and effluent, much of which finds its way into the building fabric and into the bearing strata of the foundations. Structural failure has been endemic in the LWC for decades.

The «organic» traditional urban morphology of the LWC does not lend itself readily to the rationalism of modern services. The electricity distribution network, inadequate as it is across the metropolis under most circumstances, becomes grossly contorted and poses a

major challenge to the project of infrastructure improvement, as well as being a serious health hazard.

The Walled City has thus long been the victim of indifferent governance and a neglectful civil society resulting in a deteriorated built environment and low socio-economic status of residents. It is therefore not very easy to distinguish this slum from a heritage site. As past development initiatives were geared towards slum upgrading, the consequent provision of low quality infrastructure services based on the ability of the beneficiaries to pay have resulted in the exacerbation of the slum-like qualities of the urbanism. The rich urban image and the authenticity of the urban experience is markedly reduced further by the invasion of new building types. Altering the urban sensory qualities and recreating a sense of enhancement of authenticity in this heritage environment calls for strong regulatory policies with social and economic and political implications. A possible shift in perspective from «slum» to the values of a «heritage site» is necessary. This in turn makes it imperative that place value and human dignity are recognised as the primary assets of the urban context as an evocative urban artefact from the past. The emphasis has to move to the conservation of a human and urban continuum, and the need of the hour is to understand the heritage city not as a collectivity of buildings as objects but the heritage city in its totality as urban fabric.

In summary, the strategic plan aims to:

- ◆ Redefine the Walled City's role within metropolitan Lahore
- ◆ Define the strategies and planning measures needed to retain Lahore's special identity and historic elements
- ◆ Address the negative developments and current threats
- ◆ Provide detailed planning proposals for key urban areas

These general aims call for a strategic vision based on a few key ideas and broad priorities to be pursued at three different levels: firstly at the level of the Metropolitan / Central Area; secondly at the level of the Walled City; and lastly at the community / *Mohalla* level.

The strategic plan aims at a strong identity for the historic core especially by means of exploiting the built in potential which the Circular Road and the Circular Garden around the Walled City have for separating and enhancing its existence. Closely related to this aim is the idea of opening up public open areas and making green spaces accessible to the Walled City residents. It aims at the conservation and protection of cultural assets, and conserving, revalorising, enhancing and representing both the monumental and the ordinary/vernacular heritage. The Strategic Plan lays emphasis on the regulation and redefinition of land use, the regulation and rationalisation of traffic. One of its chief aims is the improvement of infrastructure and the delivery of urban services at all scales. It also aims at the encouragement of investment in tourism, and at promoting retail more appropriate to the heritage environment in terms of both type and quality. Meeting human and economic development needs within the operational context of the rehabilitation of the residential neighbourhoods are also important aims of the Strategic Plan.

Baseline data

Planning activities under the partnership also included the development of baseline data sets on the physical, geo-spatial and socio-economic planes that would help impact evaluation and management of the urbanism after all the main interventions have been made and assist in the planning and implementation of intervention in the longer term. The partnership carried out a topographical survey of the entire walled area, and its 122 kilometres of circulation roads, lanes and alleyways. At the same time AKTC began an inventory survey of all 21,800 land parcels and their buildings. This was recorded on a survey form in six different classes of information with over 170 attributes for each building, and included photographs. Another inventory of the qualitative aspects of the streets and open areas in the Walled City was similarly created. The two inventories were entered into a database and then spatialised using the topographical survey and cadastral information from earlier surveys to develop Pakistan's first urban GIS, accessible on an internal web URL. The GIS has been used to generate several kinds of geo-spatial analyses and maps, from the standard land

use and heritage asset maps to more complex analytical maps. Eventually the GIS will be turned into a municipal GIS system.

In addition to the geo-spatial data generated by the physical inventory in the Walled City, a household socio-economic survey carried out by the project in three stages to cover the two main residential localities, creates another baseline data.

The interdisciplinary complexion of the project team led to a combination of the capabilities of the GIS with the statistical information from the house hold survey. Geo-spatial analyses were possible that combined topographical information, alpha numeric data, data from the plot-and-building inventory and data from other smaller surveys carried out, such as one that compared water contamination levels from a hundred sources of water, public and private, across the Walled City.

B The Pilot Project

Under the PPP agreement, signed initially for a period of three years, AKTC-AKCSPP has provided technical assistance in the design and implementation of the Pilot Project. This project was included as a main deliverable of the Project Management Unit.

The Pilot Project was initially started as a tourist «heritage trail», taking advantage of some half a dozen monuments that straddled a bazaar spine in the Walled City. This is what has been thought to be the route the Mughal nobility would take from the eastern entrance of the city at Delhi Gate, with its elegant bathhouse, to the royal palace in the Fort – a ceremonial passageway noted by the Emperor Jehangir (r. 1605–1627) in his memoirs. The project was framed by a consultancy arranged by the World Bank under a Government of Italy Trust Fund, and was chosen despite the fact that some half of the length of the route had been taken over completely by the regional wholesale specialised markets in textiles and shoes. It was thought to be a manageable infrastructure upgrading, street and townscape clean up exercise where tourism-friendly commerce could be encouraged. As it happened the project has taken a considerably different path to fruition.

As soon as the project was announced it was thrown into confusion with a legal issue of an extraneous origin:

the Supreme Court of Pakistan invoked the 1975 antiquities legislation, itself drawing on colonial period precedents, which would have everything within 60 metres of a protected monument demolished. The order was applicable primarily to the shops and businesses that had come into being as encrustations on two main heritage monuments on the trail; the Wazir Khan Mosque and the Shahi (or Imperial) Hammam. But it had implications that became a threat to anyone within the legal distance of 60 metres. Quelling the disturbances which consequently arose forced the early and very successful deployment of the social mobilisation unit of the Project Management Unit. This led to immediate pacification, giving the social mobilisers considerable self-confidence, and to an eventual expansion of the advocacy group's activities beyond the bazaar into the residential zones beyond.

The project was initially to be designed and executed with the existing mechanisms of infrastructure development and maintenance – the utility agencies and companies that have done this so far. However the notion of the utility companies preparing their own design and then implementing it through some coordinating agency was discarded owing to difficulties of design coordination and implementation in the tight confines of the Walled City, and in a context where such coordination is rare even in the larger city where conditions are much more conducive to coordinated scheduling and implementation. Higher engineering and project management criteria had to be established that better served the needs of a heritage environment that was being reshaped to several aims. The aims were the representation of a revalorised heritage environment by means of quality urban design and the resultant civic «ownership» and the reinforcement of cultural identity on the part of the citizenry; infrastructure engineering that would have to be robust and elegant enough to serve this environment technically as well as be integrated with the urban design component; and the better servicing of a residential population whose benefit was not a part of the initial considerations of the project. So while the tourist heritage trail continued to be the spine of the project, the project became more complex as attendant logical and logistical issues came to the fore.

These issues were more easily understood in terms of the main trail. The bazaar, even though dealing with the traders' associations raised difficult issues of advocacy and socio-political management. These also related to the condition of the «hinterland» residential neighbourhoods and their poorer inhabitants, however, and came to the fore when a decision had to be made about the extent of «visual» incursion of the project as framed into the smaller lanes that fed into the main bazaar. The issue of the topography of the city and that of drainage catchments of the principal drains that followed the bazaars would transform the project from a linear heritage trail to one of a heritage area. The project became accepted by its very nature as an area conservation and development project, one that would have the amelioration of the economic status of the residents as one of its principal aims. The importance of providing some benefit of the project to the residential population also fell on receptive ears at the World Bank which agreed that this residential hinterland was not just a case of visual immediacy – it had engineering, sociological and political dimensions too, just like the bazaar itself.

A conceptual design for integrated infrastructure development

In response to the need of better standards of engineering, AKTC-AKCSPP and a team of international engineers prepared a conceptual design for «integrated infrastructure development» for the Walled City as a whole with the aim of providing the technical basis for the design and implementation of the Pilot Project. The development of this larger design framework was shared and agreed, but not without considerable disagreements and stress, between the international engineers on one hand and Pakistani engineers engaged by the Government and the World Bank for detailed design and management, and engineers from all four major utility agencies (water supply and disposal, electricity, gas and telecom) on the other. The design concept spelt out design parameters and standards, technical details at various scales of implementation with an eye to coordination with the urban heritage conservation aspects. It also laid out an

integrated phasing of the implementation process over a ten-year time span.

The Pilot Project thus acquired a larger scope than originally conceived, mainly as a result of the consideration of the intertwined elements that constituted its inherent programmatic character. Its multiplicity of components could be abstracted to three main ones: (1) urban rehabilitation, street façade and street surface improvement; (2) infrastructure replacement or improvement and (3) the conservation of the historic building stock.

The inherent duality of the project

These components cut across two distinct urban entities – the main bazaars and the quiet much narrower residential streets that constituted the residential neighbourhoods. In fact so radically different were the substantive logistical factors that marked these two kinds of entities in the urban morphology of Lahore that different methodological approaches had to be adopted for each of them. The Pilot Project was thus perceived to have an inherent duality that ran through almost all the philosophical and methodological aspects of the project, as well as the practical and implementation aspects of it. It also made the nature of the three components acquire markedly different characteristics as they would play out in (a) the bazaars that constituted the «heritage trail» and (b) the residential neighbourhoods that formed the «hinterland» that fed the bazaars.

In the bazaars the issues were simpler. Revenue officials marked out the extent to which the public right of way established in colonial times had been encroached upon by owners and shopkeepers modifying and extending their buildings at will. AKTC-AKCSPP staff then measured the façades of some 500 odd of these buildings and prepared proposals for their alteration and reordering according to certain criteria of authenticity and historicity. As part of the rehabilitation of the façade, a considerable number of illegal occupiers of public land and rights of way would have to be removed, completely or partially, with compensation to be paid in cash or kind. An impact assessment was carried out under the aegis of the World Bank and the process of paying out of the compensation and the removal of illegal occupiers has already been put into effect. It might be pertinent to

point out that the degree of attention to the bazaar façade was directly in proportion to the degree of authenticity prevalent in any given situation, and to shops and sections of the bazaar which still functioned at the scale of a traditional bazaar economy. Such detailed care was not applied to the regional wholesale markets to be found in certain sections of the chosen route.

Myriad issues at the scale of the small residential neighbourhoods needed to be looked into and resolved. Structural failure is endemic in most historic buildings in these neighbourhoods, often resulting from poor foundation soil, failing infrastructure in general and poor plumbing in individual houses. The lack of regulatory instruments translates into inappropriate and unbecoming alterations to structures. In some cases, modifications have taken place to such an extent that historic buildings are beyond recognition. Additionally, changes in the socio-economic structure over time have resulted in the change in function of most dwellings from single units to multiple tenements, increasing the demand for additional service facilities within already congested spaces.

The neighbourhood demonstration projects

In order to address the issues outlined and to generate the necessary experience to effectively implement the Pilot Project agenda in the residential neighbourhoods, the partnership designed and implemented two Neighbourhood Demonstration Projects (NDP) in close proximity to each other. The first of these was in Gali Surjan Singh (GSS) and its cul-de-sac off-shoot Kucha Charkh Garan (KCG), and was implemented directly by AKTC with its own funding. The second demonstration project was implemented sometime after the completion of GSS and was implemented with World Bank funding and using the bank's procurement guidelines.

The initiative at this scale allowed for an understanding of the range of social and environmental implications of the proposed interventions now being implemented by the PMU/GoPunjab under the larger Pilot Project. The NDP demonstrates ways to rehabilitate historic quarters in other historic urban cores in Pakistan which tend invariably to be populated by low-income households. Through a combination of technical and social extension initiatives, the project aims to show that historic urban

localities can be revalorised in an integrated manner if the provision of service infrastructure of a robust standard is combined with attention to cityscape improvement and the rehabilitation of the historic building stock. The project thus subscribes to the notion that urban conservation is a matter of the conservation of the urban fabric taken as one indivisible entity comprising both the public and the private realms.

The social mobilisation and advocacy aspect of the effort was greatly assisted by the early formation of community-based organisations (CBOs) which were territorially limited to the area of intervention. The close interaction with the neighbourhood residents and the presentation of a heightened future value of their neighbourhood environment while enabling an enhanced appreciation of the cultural value of the residential environment, also drew out latent polarities between the «trader associations» and the resident communities that had been so far interdependent in so far as many residents relied on petty jobs offered by the traders.

In order to pursue a holistic development agenda comprising a focus on income enhancement, but also to raise awareness about urban conservation in historic settlements, a third component; a Skills Enhancement Programme, was introduced in 2009. This constituted the main platform for encouraging youth participation in the project. As a result of this, both male and female interns, residents of the project area, have acquired skills in spatial mapping and/or building trades. As primary stakeholders of the NDP, the larger group of GSS and KCG residents of the project area (26 families, 150 persons) was represented by a Community Based Organisation (CBO).

The sites for the two demonstration projects were selected due to their proximity to a major thoroughfare, Delhi Gate Bazaar. They represent a significant proportion of the qualities of the historic urban fabric of the Walled City and of other areas within the Pilot Project, in terms of their physical attributes and the social and economic attributes of their residents. The following is a description of the NDP as carried out in Gali Surjan Singh, the demonstration project implemented by AKTC.

The undertaking consists of two physical components: (i) infrastructure upgrading and façade rehabilitation and (ii) the conservation of historic dwellings. The project

area measures about 1177 sq. m. Between June 2009 and April 2010, infrastructure upgrading was carried out for a total cost of USD 100,000. Thirteen historic houses were conserved between 2009 and 2011 for a combined cost of US\$ 233, 000. Following the conservation of a single historic house in 2009 (G-324), the German Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs provided grant funding for the conservation of the other twelve historic houses. Owner equity participation ranged between 8% and 15% of the total cost of conservation. Many owners were able to participate with payments made in instalments spread over the period of construction, usually averaging about four months for each house. Payments were usually on time with a zero default rate. Again the social mobilisation team of the partnership comprising members from both the public and private component of the partnership played a key role in negotiating the quantum of equity participation and in its timely recovery.

Infrastructure improvement comprised replacing previously existing water and sewerage pipes with high density polyethylene (HDPE) and unplasticised polyvinyl chloride (UPVC) pipes respectively, and replacing the tangled electricity distribution system with aerial bundled cable (ABC), with clamps and fasteners at regular intervals to enable the cable to follow the architectural features of the building façades. Telecom and television cables also followed the basic layout of the ABC. The system was re-designed and laid in a way that responded to and coped with the needs of the households, and within the peculiar conditions of the Walled City. Statutory approvals from the utility agencies for so many innovations in one place meant a considerable effort, and the approvals eventually came after the usual inertia had been surmounted and with the consequent considerable loss of time.

The replacement of overhead infrastructure justified the structural consolidation of building façades. For this reason, façade improvement became a matter of its inclusion in the public realm, and this principle was accepted by all stakeholders including the World Bank. Façade improvement led to certain interventions in the interiors of the houses, mainly pertaining to in-house plumbing. The structural consolidation of the exterior walls included the removal of heavy concrete balconies for bathroom, kitchen and washing purposes. These

functions were re-designed and incorporated into the interior spaces of the houses.

With few exceptions the houses subscribe to one or two standard typological forms, either a square plan or a rectangular three-cell configuration. The average total floor area is about 36 sq. metres. Prior to implementation of the project some of the houses were as high as four or five storeys. The older dwellings were built as single family houses but some of them now serve as tenements, divided up between two or three units of an extended family. The majority of the households are low-income families where housewives are inclined to support family incomes by running small crèches or education support facilities for primary school children. There is a pre-school facility run by one family for some 35 children.

The colonial era buildings are constructed with pre-colonial sized bricks as well as with the British standard brick introduced in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The original exterior load-bearing walls are double skinned with the outer bricks laid in lime mortar, and the inner core filled with brick rubble and soft mud mortar. Floor structures (including roofs) comprise timber joists boarded over and covered with a thick layer of earth, and finished with brick tile floors. Traces of cement concrete overlays indicate upgrading efforts by the residents. With much of the original timber floors in a state of decay, residents are inclined to insert steel joists to consolidate the building's structure. However, such interventions are incompatible with the delicate and fragile outer structural walls, introducing point loads and resulting in diagonal cracks along the walls. The process of decay is accelerated by timber rot which is a result of water penetration as well as insect attack.

The principles adhered to during the preparation and implementation of the project might be enumerated as follows:

- ✦ Every element of the project environment had to be taken on its inherent ontological qualities whether as an urban or an architectural artefact
- ✦ The human element was as important in conservation as the physical artefact we were dealing with

- ◆ Conservation issues and the solutions to them were born of a mutual dialectic between the above two criteria
- ◆ In the public realm all individual conflicts were dealt with in consultation with the CBO
- ◆ Once stated, the issues and solutions had to be discussed with the CBO and the individual home owner
- ◆ In the private realm, solutions were evolved through dialogue with the owner/s, and recourse made as often as needed to the CBO for resolution of any intractable issues
- ◆ Grant funding combined with owner equity participation was established as a fundamental building block of the conservation of the historic building stock in the private realm
- ◆ Negotiations were held on a continuous basis for owner equity participation and for the effective collection of instalments; agreements were signed at both the level of the CBO and at the level of the individual home owner/s
- ◆ Infrastructure standards were not sacrificed to considerations of the social status of the inhabitants, but were maintained at a level in accord with the heritage environment
- ◆ Wherever possible, infrastructural elements within buildings were exposed and made accessible for ease of maintenance and repairs
- ◆ The principles behind higher infrastructure standards and adherence to safety standards were explained to beneficiaries as part of a didactic component of the project
- ◆ Modifications made to the architectural form of the building stock was always made in full deference to the historic architectural fabric and its formal and typological authenticity
- ◆ Most modifications were made in allusion to pre-existing corresponding elements

- ◆ New materials were used in a subdued way and always appropriately matched with traditional and authentic materials

Except for the combined grant- and owner equity-funded historical building stock improvement programme, which has remained limited to the AKTC NDP, the lessons of the two NDPs are now being replicated across the Pilot Project.

C Monument Conservation

The monument conservation part of the Partnership effort has been limited to two monuments; the Sonehri Masjid (Golden Mosque) and the Wazir Khan Mosque. The latter is one of the prized assets of the Walled City and its conservation involves a sustained programme of intervention. AKTC has been able to carry out a detailed expert documentation and risk analysis of the building on several planes; structural, architectural, material science, and neighbourhood context. The results have just been published.

D New Legislation

In a joint effort, new legislation was carefully drafted by the partnership over 2009 and 2010. The Lahore Walled City Act of 2012 was finally enacted in March, 2012. The act will set up a municipal authority which will be limited to the area of the Lahore Walled City and its Circular Road. The authority will be run by a bureaucrat or technocrat appointed by the chief minister of the province and will have representation of the resident citizenry as well as of the traders' association. All matters pertaining to conservation will be decided upon by a professional conservation board. The act has a large canvass of what defines «heritage» and includes both tangible and intangible heritage, and both individual buildings and «zones of special value». The act mandates a «master conservation and development plan», a register of protected buildings and zones of special value and includes provisions for land use, zoning and building regulations.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the Public Private Partnership in Lahore unfolded in a series of activities with sizable investments on the part of both partners. These activities resulted in important achievements in both planning for urban heritage conservation as well as in concrete projects and their implementation. During the latter the partnership was able to achieve its capacity building aims quite substantially, and a series of government officials, administrators, young professionals and para-professionals gained an understanding of the issues at play and the technical skills required to bring such projects to realisation. At the present moment a contract for the implementation of the first phase of the Pilot Project has been awarded and work is about to commence.



In Search of Alternative Routes/Roots: Sustainable development as emancipation

PATRICIA ANAHORY

Presentation 2

Abstract

The main objective of this presentation is to contribute towards a broader definition of cultural heritage production. It will present the results of the first survey of housing architecture in Cape Verde. This research project aims to recognise the importance of socio-cultural and spatial practices of everyday life and the production of anonymous architecture as heritage. Usually studies of heritage have focused on the preservation of the hegemonic voice of the official history. In countries with long period of colonisation, such as Cape Verde, cultural heritage projects have focused on the preservation of the relics of the Portuguese legacy to the detriment of other possibilities of memory construction. This is the case of Cidade Velha, which in 2009 became a UNESCO World Heritage Site. While recognising the importance of this material (architectural) patrimony, we hope to add other perspectives to the discussion of heritage and development. We understand that the (re)affirmation of identity is an important and essential step towards development as emancipation. The presentation will explore how research and the valorisation of unofficial histories can play a central role in the consolidation of memory and identity. In conclusion, our intention is to address possible paths towards sustainable development as emancipation.

For technical reasons a paper could not be made available for this report.



Sustainable Management of Cultural Heritage and Ancient Capital Cities in Korea

MIE OAK CHAE

Presentation 3

Abstract

The basic framework for protecting cultural properties in Korea was established in full scale with the enactment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act in 1962. This Act played a vital role in protecting cultural assets from the rapid industrialisation and economic development that began in the 1960s. However, such a policy-centred approach, which focused on the conservation of individual cultural assets, proved to be ineffective in managing and harmonising them with the surrounding areas. Some cultural assets have been surrounded by high-rise modern buildings, making it difficult to save the historical environment. The Ancient Capital Conservation Plan (ACCP) of 2005 is aimed at recreating the historical context using the spatial planning concept and the historical identity as well as improving the residential environment and reviving the regional economy which had slowed down due to development restrictions for the protection of cultural assets. This paper will review the conceptual framework of the ACCP and its characteristics that differentiate it from urban planning and cultural heritage protection system. It also presents as an example some aspects of the ACCP of Gyeongju, a capital city for over 1000 years, from 57 BC to AD 992.



Introduction.

The history of cultural conservation policy in Korea

In Korea, the basic framework of protecting cultural properties was established on a large scale with the enactment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act in 1962. This Act played a vital role in protecting cultural assets from the rapid industrialisation and economic development that began in the 1960s. The policy approach focused on the conservation of individual cultural assets but proved to be ineffective in managing and harmonising them with the surrounding areas. There were several cases in which historical and cultural scenic areas were damaged because the site-specific conservation policy was not able to control random developments and high-rise building constructions nearby.

The attempt to manage the cultural resources at a larger district level began in the 1980s but was not pursued continuously. In the late 1990s, the «Save Hanok Village» movement began as a campaign closely related to the villagers' daily lives rather than development for the sake of tourism. With the success of Jeonju Hanok Village (North Jeolla Province) and Bukchon Hanok Village (Seoul), there has been a growing movement to stimulate the regional economy by preserving traditional residences. Also, there is an increasing attempt to utilise historic and cultural resources in urban regeneration projects, such as the creation of arts and cultural streets, forging liveable cities, and renewal of public facility designs.

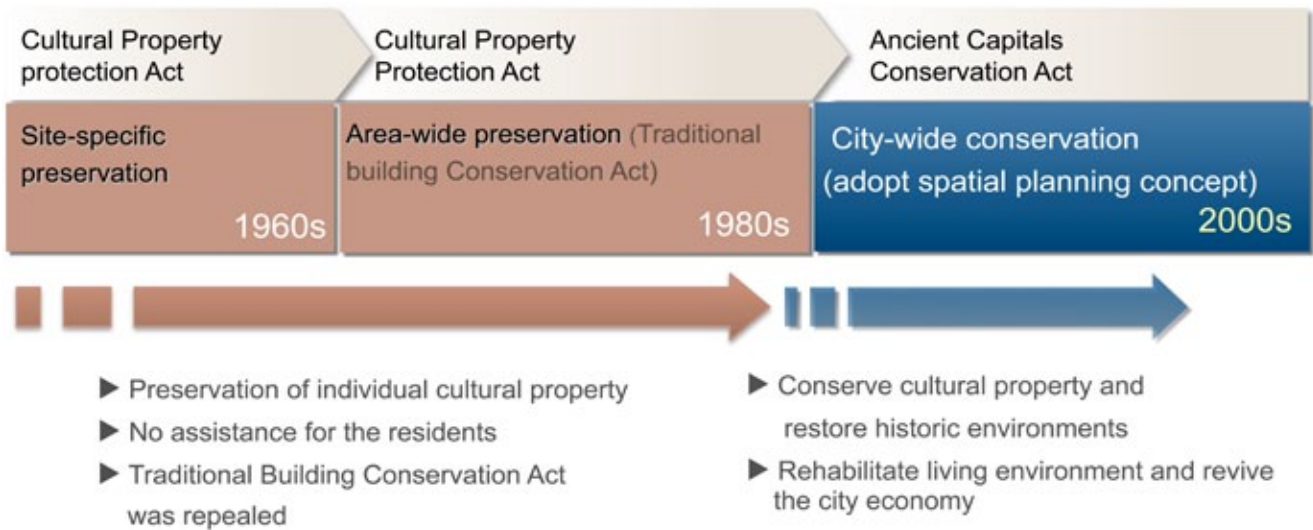


Folk village and traditional Hanok-village district ©

However, enhancing cultural uniqueness and authenticity through conserving a city's historical texture and its spatial structure still seems far from being reached using the site-specific preservation method or district-wide approach. Historical remains of the ancient capital cities are dispersed and surrounding areas are poorly managed. Some cultural assets are surrounded by high-rise modern buildings, making it difficult to save the historical environment and the atmosphere of the ancient capitals. In order to solve such problems, the Cultural Heritage Administration enacted the Ancient Capital Conservation Act in 2004. The law articulated the assistance programme for residents who had been excluded under the former cultural asset preservation policies, and stipulated making a city-level management plan for the cultural environment.



Cases of inappropriate management of the surrounding area of cultural heritage sites ©



History of cultural conservation policy in Korea

Sources: Chae, Mie Oak. November 2009. «Changes to Territorial Development Plan and Ancient Capital Conservation Plan», Ancient Conservation Forum of Iksan City, Mabaek Cultural Conservation Research Institute.

The conceptual framework of the Ancient Capital Conservation Plan

«Ancient capital city» in this context refers to cities which served as historical and political centres in the old dynasties, where the kings resided. Among the ancient capital cities in Korea, four cities (Gyeongju, Buyeo, Gongju and Iksan) have been designated as ancient capitals under the Ancient Capital Conservation Act.

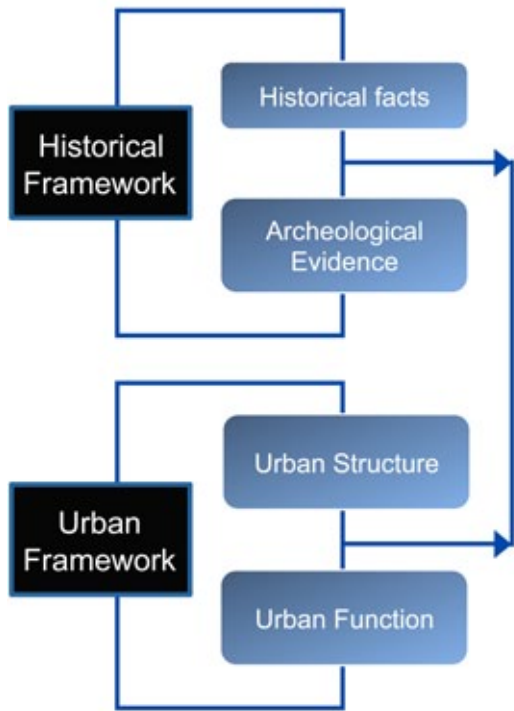
The ancient capital conservation policy aims to conserve and restore the historical environment of an ancient capital on a city-level by incorporating urban planning concepts. To implement this policy goal, the government started to prepare the Ancient Capital Conservation Plans (ACCP) from 2005. Basic surveys for the Ancient Capital Plans for the four cities were conducted between late 2005 and mid 2007. The conservation plans for Buyeo, Gongju and Iksan, were completed in 2009 and the plan for Gyeongju completed in 2011. The aim of the ACCP is to restore the historical identity and context of an ancient capital using the spatial planning concept as well as to improve the residential environment and revive the regional economy, which had slowed down due to development restrictions for the protection of cultural assets.

As can be seen in the figure below, the most important thing in formulating ACCP is how to read and interpret

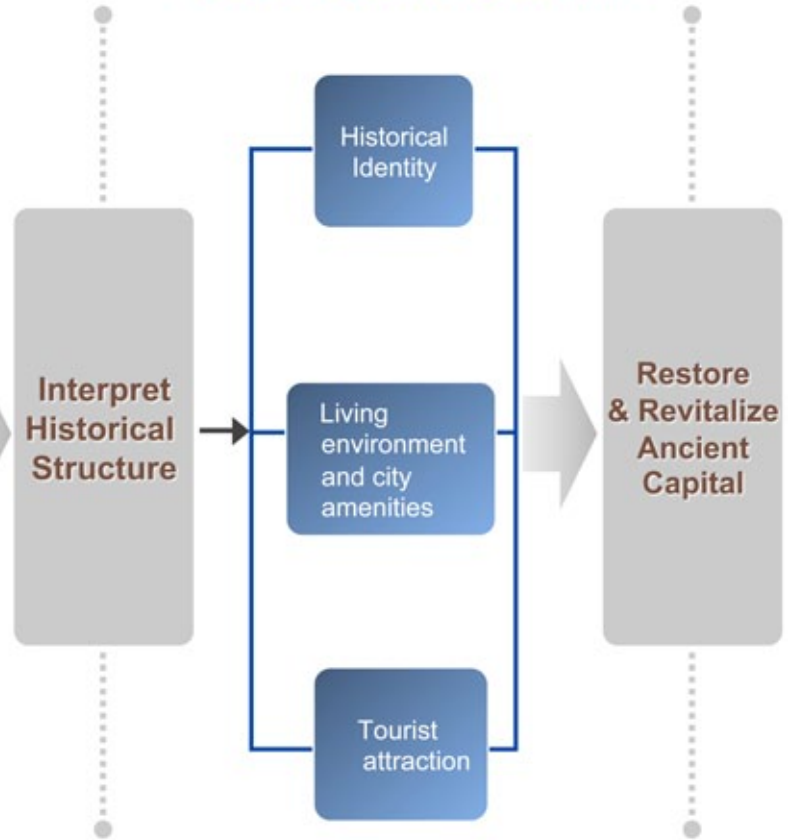
the spatial structure of the ancient capital. The ACCP reads and interprets the spatial structure of the capital based on the intangible history and myths, the principles of urban structure as well as the tangible heritage and archaeological substances. After interpreting the capital's structure, three aspects have been considered in making the ACCP.

The first aspect concerns conservation. The plan is designed to conserve the ancient capital's historical identity and enhance the historic authenticity. Through the analysis of geographical conditions, the distribution of cultural heritage objects and historical places, the plan seeks to distinguish places that must be preserved or restored, that is, to rediscover and revive the hidden potential of the ancient capitals. The second aspect concerns breathing new life into the cities. In order to prevent hollowing-out phenomena, the plan seeks to create vibrant living conditions by regenerating the dilapidated areas in the cities in harmony with the historic environment. Finally, the plan is intended to showcase the ancient capital. It seeks to generate high touristic value by harmonising historical and cultural assets with local residential spaces and transforming them into tourist attractions.

How to read? ▷▷▷



How to manage? ▷▷▷



Conceptual framework of ACCP

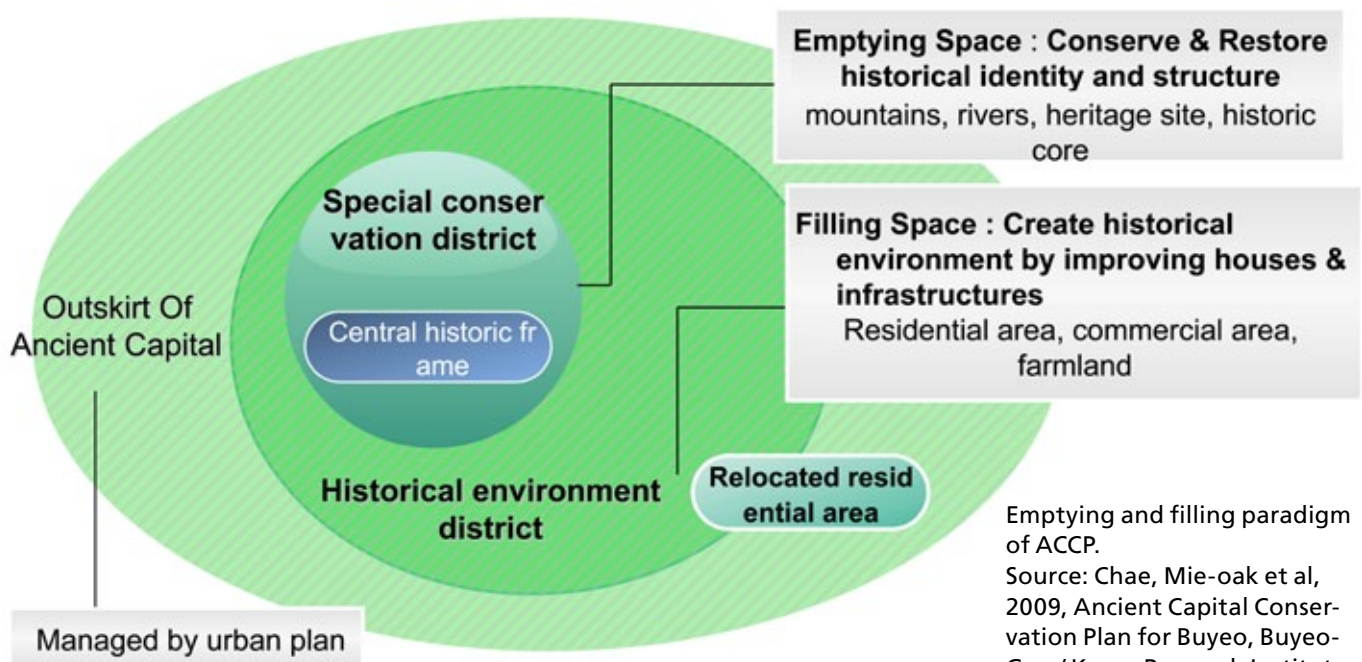
Source: Chae, Mie Oak et al. 2009. Ancient Capital Conservation Plan for Buyeo. Buyeo-Gun / Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, p. 104.

The ACCP is similar to urban planning in that it is a comprehensive plan that covers a broad region, not just a single cultural heritage object. It includes plans for the conservation of the cultural assets, conservation of the eco-system, recreation of the scenery and for tourism. However, there are differences in some aspects.

1. The ACCP aims to leave the ancient capital region free from the pressure of development. Urban planning focuses on selecting areas with low costs to improve economic efficiency when selecting areas for development whereas the ACCP focuses on selecting the regions that should be excluded from development until a thorough investigation and examination of the ancient sites are performed and the realities of the historical sites are uncovered. In other words, according to ACCP, the areas which need their historical

identities and structure restored or identified are excluded from development, and the areas surrounding these areas are developed harmoniously with the historic environment.

2. The ACCP attempts to trace and ensure the historic structure of the ancient capital, contrary to a cultural protection plan conserving individual heritage sites. The ACCP seeks out ways to restore and conserve the historic environment of an ancient capital including both the geographic and urban conditions and cultural property. Under the plan, mountains, rivers, palaces, castles and other assets that constituted the pillars of ancient capitals are designated as «Special Conservation Districts». Residential areas and farmlands surrounding the core spaces are designated as



Emptying and filling paradigm of ACCP.
 Source: Chae, Mie-oak et al, 2009, Ancient Capital Conservation Plan for Buyeo, Buyeo-Gun / Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, p.105.

«Historic Environment Districts» and should be managed in harmony with the historic atmosphere.

- Urban planning tries to reorganise or recreate the city in a short period of time. However the ACCP attempts to leave the selected regions untouched until the historical reality is unveiled. Instead, it seeks to refurbish the surrounding areas in order to prevent development pressure.

The case of the Ancient Capital Conservation Plan of Gyeongju

Gyeongju lies in the south-eastern part of Korean peninsula. Gyeongju was the capital of the Silla Kingdom for over 1000 years from 57 BC to AD 992. There are 297 designated cultural assets distributed in Gyeongju: 205 are state-designated cultural assets, 51 are local government-designated cultural assets and 41 are cultural assets. In addition to those mentioned above, the Gyeongju Historic Remains Zone, Bulguksa temple and Seokguram, Mount Myeongwhal, and Yangdong village have been designated as UNESCO World Heritage in Gyeongju.

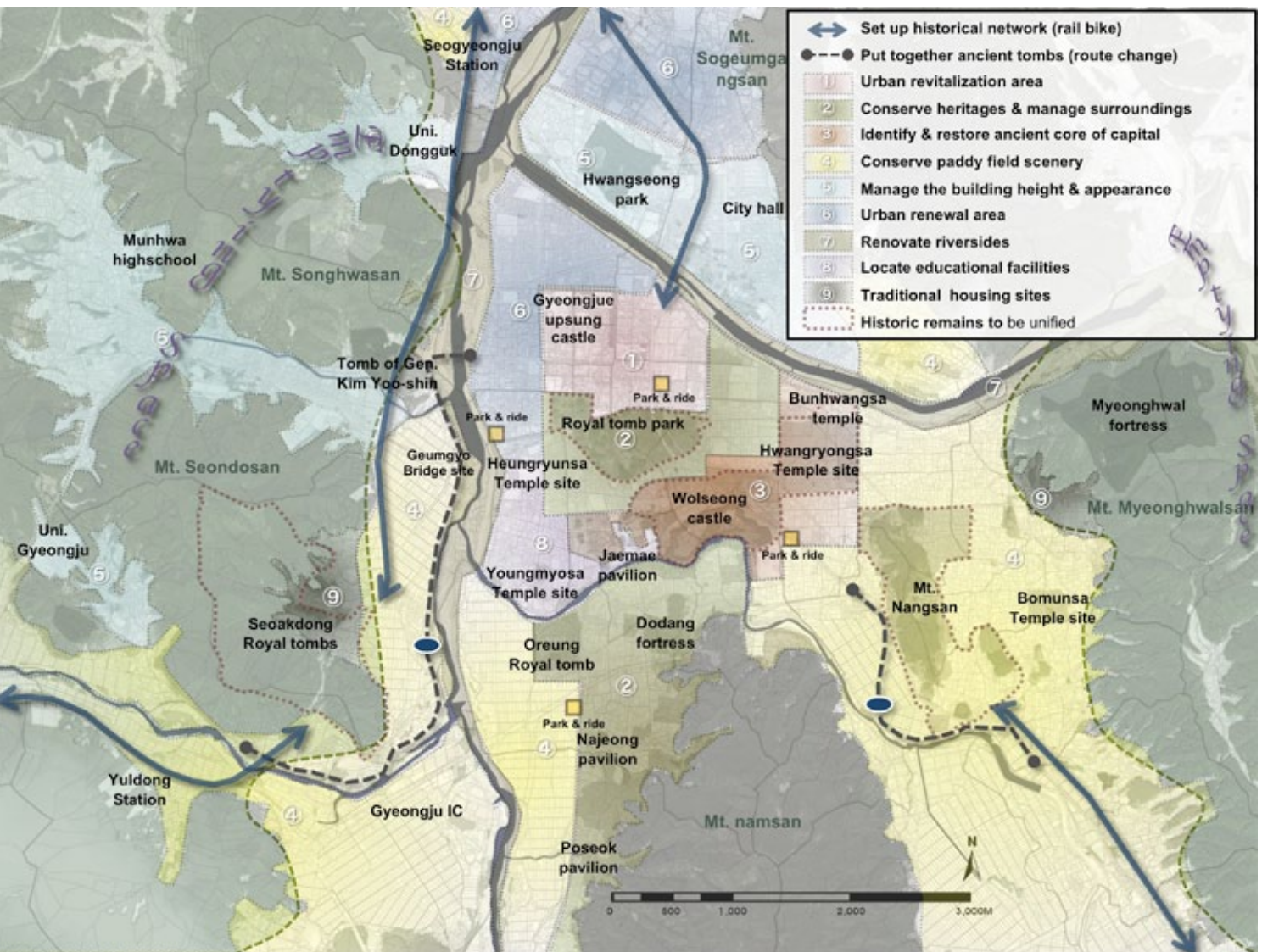
The ACCP has two aspects: one is the identification and restoration of the structure of the ancient capital to enhance its historical authenticity, and the other is the revitalisation of the decayed urban function. For this purpose, topological elements such as mountains and rivers and areas that need to be identified and conserved as historical sites should be managed as «Emptying Space» by designation as a Special Conservation District, depending on the archaeological value and the type. In areas that were excavated and backfilled with earth, some remains should be exposed to show the historical structure and spatial context of the ancient capital. Others should be preserved as visual corridors but with their locations and historical meanings highlighted through storytelling. The area where the functions of the city must be recovered should be managed as «Filling Space», by designation as a Historical Environment District. In a Filling Space, various urban revitalising projects including housing renovation are implemented.

- ♦ The primary emphasis is to enhance the historical authenticity of the capital. The plan suggested upgrading the image of the tomb city, known for its group of ancient tombs, into that of the royal city, the ancient capital. Even though most of the area should be

conserved as vacant land, some part of the remains of the core area and inner region of the capital should be restored or visualised to form the image of the royal capital.

- ◆ Gyeongju will be managed as a massive outdoor museum, through visualising various remains and sites that show the Silla planning scheme, technology, arts, and international trading.

- ◆ To integrate the divided remains, modern roads and railways cutting through the remains should be removed or adjusted. Edges of the remains distorted by railways and roads should be repaired to restore the structure of the ancient capital based on the city block system.
- ◆ Harmony between the historical environment and the living space will be secured. Residential areas adjacent to major historic heritage objects and sites will be



ACCP of Gyeongju

Source: Chae, Mie-oak et al, 2011, Ancient Capital Conservation Plan for Gyeongju, Gyeongju-Si / Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, p.132.



Korea ©

renovated to enhance the living environment of the residents as well as to harmonise with the historical environment of the capital.

- ◆ The plan should restore the urban centre by restoring its historical representation and reinforcing the public and cultural functions. The historical urban centre should be characterised by a day/night cultural and commercial environment to strengthen the competitiveness of the tourism of the urban centre. Trails for pedestrians and bicycle riders should be made between remains and the historical urban centre.
- ◆ To form an appropriate skyline as the ancient capital and to prevent disharmony due to distinctive buildings, the current height limitations in the downtown area must be maintained at least. To enhance the scenery of the urban district, the signboards and exterior of buildings in the downtown area should be managed in harmony with the historical environment of the ancient capital.
- ◆ The view of the farmland should be maintained as the scenic background for the historical area. Vacant grounds should be preserved along with the tangible cultural assets, in order to help visualise the historical context and enable people to link them to the folk tales and historical places

- ◆ The historical and cultural scenery damaged by high-rise apartment buildings should be restored gradually. The surrounding areas of Dongguk University, Gyeongju University and Dongcheon-dong that can be seen from the downtown area, and Yonggang-dong pond area, need to be under a long-term scenery management system that oversees the height, layout, and appearance of buildings to gradually secure harmony with the historical and cultural scenery.

Note

This paper is based upon the following works by the author and colleagues:

Chae, Mie-oak, Kwon, Tae-jeong, Hwang, Byeung-choon, Kim, Nam-hee, and Lee, Nan-gyeong, *Ancient Capital Conservation Plan of Gyeongju*, Gyeongju City/Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2011.

Chae, Mie-oak, Kwon, Tae-jeong and Hwang, Byeung-choon, «Ancient Capital Skyline of Korea and Its Implications for Urban Plan», *Journal of International City Planning*, The International Symposium on City Planning 2010, The City Planning Institute of Japan, Nara City, Japan 2010.

Chae, Mi-oak and Hwang Byeung-choon, «Spatial Characteristics of the Ancient Capital, Gyeongju and Its Conservation», *International Symposium on Preservation Historic City and Planning*, The Korea City Planners Association, 2011.

Getting into business

Urban cultural heritage management schemes come with unique possibilities for economic development. As economic growth is entwined with political, social and cultural dimensions, development programmes for economic growth has proved to be a highly complex multidimensional exercise. In this workshop we set out to investigate some of the dimensions and factors at risk by addressing the questions of:

- ▶ *How to generate jobs for low income residents by means of heritage conservation work?*
- ▶ *Once upgrading has taken place with the regeneration of a historic urban centre, how do we work with marketing, promotion and management of the sites and at the same time secure social stability, economic sustainability and cultural continuity? What are the factors at risk?*
- ▶ *What are the fiscal and financial mechanisms to be utilised in order to promote private investments?*



Analysing the relationship between rehabilitation of urban cultural heritage and reduction of poverty is a complex subject. This involves many objectives simultaneously such as: making it possible for the urban poor in slums and squatter areas to improve their living conditions; facilitating the urban contributions to economic growth; promoting cultural development including cultural heritage management. This debate is often inserted between two frontiers:

On one side this renovation can contribute to the reduction of poverty by developing new forms of activity that can benefit the employment of the poor (*ProPoor Tourism*). This strategy is relevant but not always successful.

♦ On the other side this renovation can lead to gentrification through the expulsion of the poor from city centres. This gentrification is sometimes justified on the basis of pure economic values, but not in respect of social values: for example, the removal of artisans to remote districts suppresses their direct relationship with the customers and dries up their creativity.

Nevertheless, this problem is yet more current than ever. Regardless of the type of city, globalisation leads to the transformation of downtown areas, concentrating here highly qualified services, for businesses as well as households. In doing so globalisation creates a growing competition between different uses of the land, and the demand for services limits the possibilities for housing the poorest.

One thing however was very clear for the members of our group: a social mix is always desirable in the heart of the city, not only because it avoids unfairly deportation of people from the centres, but because a social mix can be a source of economic and social creativity. It can be a source of economic creativity because the diversity of population expands the prospects for markets, and a source of social creativity because the social mix increases the social capital in strong (or intra group) links and weak (or inter groups) links. Of course, this does not mean maintaining exactly the same composition of the

population since things can evolve. Moreover conserving everything is a concept alien to the evolution of the city.

How then can strategies for the rehabilitation of cultural heritage lead to raising the standard of living of the poor by reintegrating them in sustainable activities and life conditions?

1. *A place rather than a simple location.* A recent debate inspired by the theories of Schleicher concerns «helping the poor but not the places», thus neglecting the collective quality that can be associated with a place. The opinion of the participants of our group was contrary to this statement. Helping poor people not poor places is not a sustainable approach. For us, there is a difference between a location or a point in a space and a place or a locus characterised by a set of opportunities, links and animations to be permanently maintained. This means, therefore, that a retrofit should be intended first to enrich and support a social milieu.
2. *Governance rather than a government.* The city as a district is a common good, being produced and consumed collectively by a number of actors; firms, households, public services, government agencies, associations etc. This means that its management will be effective only if it involves all these actors in a coherent manner and that we have to move from normative urban planning to a negotiation-based approach and that local governments must show a high efficiency and high efficacy in order to potentialise the stakeholder initiatives. This implies that the local government has to build a corporate identity of the city administration, and to reduce the resource needs (of time, energy, air, solid, water etc.). Finally, this means that the principles of decentralisation and subsidiarity must be respected to empower local actors. The links with central governments must not be ignored since cities must indeed be open to the flow of ideas and people. The example of the city of Ljubljana has long been studied because it offers a mode of governance illustrating these principles and

their corresponding success. *Our message was very clear: Without leadership and community involvement, projects are not sustainable.*

3. *A fine management of land issues.* This point was mentioned several times. It is essential because it involves property rights allocation, as the presentation on the development of tourism and the attractiveness of small cultural cities in the east of Georgia has shown. Here we should take into consideration the variety of poverty situations that can be found in cities, such as Mumbai, and therefore the variety of responses to be made. (For example, in Mumbai the rehabilitation of the Chawls is a strategy that has to be combined with the upgrading of street slums.) Controlling the speculative movements of real estate prices is central here. In addition the maintenance or not of some populations depends not only on the real estate prices but also on the supply of utilities, as shown by the case of Bamako (Mali) where re-invented schools have been created in the city centre; with facilities for young children by day and adults by night. In the same vein, the maintenance of traditional markets must be respected as far as possible, as the removal of such markets to the benefit of shopping malls changes radically the face of the city. The fact that the conditions of life and activity of a part of these populations are informal encourages caution: tailored strategies must take into account the cultures of these social groups. Finally, it should be relevant here to combine public and private efforts. In the case of Tozeur (Tunisia), the controversial strategy of restoring façades – mainly organised at the initiative of the local government – was enriched because it was followed by incentives for leveraging the internal restoration of the houses, which involved private efforts. In a more general vision, our group stressed the leveraging effect of housing conservation and adaptive reuse, with tailored financial tools such as microcredit, making sure they are used for investment and not consumption.
4. *Using the opportunity of cultural heritage conservation to distil and disseminate new skills and competencies for poor people* should be central and is very likely a condition to get them into business. This point is too

often overlooked but it is central. The experience of the Glasgow Wise Group has been pioneering here both by offering qualifications in building and gardening professions to non-qualified youth and by encouraging some of them to become self-employed workers offering the corresponding services in other development perspectives. This theme was widely repeated in a number of Latin American cities, inspired by the experience of Spanish schools-workshops. This programme was based on the following consideration: rehabilitation projects of cultural heritage are opportunities for delivering and adapting the professional and vocational qualifications of young people. Today this can sustain the development of niches of new products and services.

5. *Disseminating an entrepreneurial culture by opening new cultural practices is an important but frequently neglected pillar.* Entrepreneurial culture implies a set of values and behaviours that are conducive to the growth of entrepreneurship, and cultural values deeply affect entrepreneurship. Actually, culture has something to do with the entrepreneurial process since it focuses the attention on the discovery and interpretation of new values and new opportunities. Here the use of cultural heritage can be very important since cultural practices are a way to understand how many artists or architects have designed new solutions for new problems. In a sense, it can be said that the opportunity to benefit from cultural practices is a way to understand creative experiences and teachings better. Urban planning thus has to take this need into consideration; public arts and active cultural workshops can constitute here very good opportunities to raise the creative touch of everybody. The examples of Lomé (Togo), through the restoration of public fountains, and of Parques-Librerías in Medellín (Colombia) have been quoted by our group as illustrations of the contribution of cultural activities for upgrading both social capital and creativity.

Getting into Business

XAVIER GREFFE

Presentation 1

Abstract

Cultural heritage conservation and rehabilitation has both tangible and intangible dimensions that increase the efficiency of the struggle against poverty. First, it can improve living conditions for many people. Secondly, it can maintain and disseminate skills, know-how and competencies that are opened to upgrading and will benefit various sectors of the economy. But these effects have to be monitored, and we cannot think only in terms of success stories. Many challenges and pitfalls have to be considered during both the design and implementation of such strategies. The first challenge lies in the fact that we cannot fight against extreme poverty the way we deal with less extreme forms of poverty. The second one is the maintenance cost that will have to be supported. Better known, the third one lies with various forms of gentrification and/or the creation of kitsch.



Introduction

For nearly thirty years now, links have been proposed between the conservation of cultural heritage and its positive contributions to poverty reduction. When this debate appeared, many observers focused this link on the expected effects of tourism. Tourism is supposed to create jobs and income for the benefit of poor communities in countries with a low degree of development. However, it cannot yet be said that this reduction of poverty is sustainable and others have not failed to note that some economic benefits were often exceeded by the multiplication of costs and speculative behaviours. Today these arguments are redesigned under the slogan of *Pro-Poor Tourism*, but with the same ambiguities.

Another perspective, more comforting, might be found in the fact that the conservation of the cultural heritage is also a way to contribute to solving one of the most acute problems of poverty, namely housing. This question deserves at least as much attention as the previous question. Many social projects have taken place in recent years that reflect the relevance of such a problem.

Cultural heritage matters too, by extending the opportunities for housing and improving the living environment. Therefore nothing prevents us at this stage from considering how poor people and households may be integrated into this perspective. Moreover the cultural heritage projects on which this strategy relies most often are downtown ones, places where many poor people live.

To explain this starting point, let us start from the evolution of the problem of land in a number of cities, regardless of the region of the world. The Latin American city was founded based on the orthogonal layout (or checkerboard) conceptualised by the Spanish king Philip II. The African town was founded in traditional kingdoms that did not value individual appropriation or family property, and transformed by a British or French colonial administration that introduced the concept of real estate. The Indian city was a mixture of British administration and the caste system where city areas became populated by people belonging to a particular caste or ethnic community. But whatever the type of city, globalisation has brought profound change. It has induced a specific urban design considering the functions of metropolisation that are expected from all cities. Here, metropolisation means that cities have to create an interface between global and

local development and to concentrate some new service functions at the core of the cities; services for enterprises and entertainment for the outgoing inhabitants and tourists. All of the strategic functions of the city were now located at the city centre, which has induced a deep restructuring of the urban plan. In this context the traditional historical sites were relatively less affected, either because they had some protection, or because their market prevented the most radical projects. This again resulted in an unfavourable pattern of development: investments declined, houses were abandoned and the poor section of the population and immigrants moved in – into what became to be a framework for survival with few comforts. But more generally, two effects resulted from that new attitude:

- ♦ The importance of the funding investment called for at least a private-public partnership for implementing such strategies, when it was not a pure private funding strategy.
- ♦ Gentrification was a kind of logical effect of such strategies. We have to stress here a specific issue: gentrification may be defended on behalf of a better allocation of land resources. But when many artisans or small and medium-sized enterprises are expelled to the suburbs we see a loss of creativity since demand and supply are definitely disconnected, leaving only but the intermediaries piloting the future of business.
- ♦ Nowadays, there is much data to show the importance of this loss of low-income people engaged in traditional activities. In Mexico City, the decline in the population of the city centre is a trend that started as early as the 1950s: the population decreased by 5 to 10% between 1950 and 1960. Since 1970, the four central districts have lost one-third of their population. If some of this loss could be explained by the earthquakes that affected the city centre, the most important cause was the accelerated functional change that affected the city. In Quito, Ecuador, the residential use of land in the central zone decreased to 63% of the total. According to «the assistant to housing for the city of Venice», the population of Venice is now 70,000, down from 100,000 twenty years ago. The first to go were the poor. As a result population is ageing too.

The Four Pillars

The main issue is therefore not only to maintain a social mix in the cultural heritage area but also to create opportunities to alleviate poverty in every area too. In relation to this four elements should be considered:

1. The strategies must absolutely offer more safety and security, and contribute to improving the welfare of the local inhabitants. As consequences of this principle two elements can be stressed here:
 - ♦ Façadism which is often an element of such strategy must not be an end in itself but a leverage for making local inhabitants care more about the interiors of their habitations. In Tozeur (Tunisia) the rehabilitation of the façades with small traditional bricks first appeared somewhat artificial, as if justified by the desire to create a film set. In fact it was followed by a deep change in the behaviour of the majority of the population who did not hesitate to undertake at their own expense the renovation of interior spaces but also to modify their behaviour. The renovation of the façades was followed by an effort at rehabilitation of the streets, improved waste collection, and the evacuation of animals that used to roam there.
 - ♦ Public proximity services have to be organised if we intend to make people stay in the city. The example of Bamako (Mali) is very impressive. The Bamako renovation plan ensured that there is a space for very young children (from three years upwards) to be in the daytime in school buildings housed in renovated traditional architecture. Each school now has a main building housing a library and audio-visual workshop, a courtyard annex for manual workshops, a small theatre and a paillote serving as the kitchen. In addition, lighting and tables in the courtyard welcome adults in the evening and to facilitate literacy and training programmes. The materials used are traditional such as banco or raw mud bricks. The walls are painted in the traditional way. These schools were redefined as reading centres.
 - ♦ Another issue is the keeping of traditional or wet markets. Many cities have encouraged the construction of shopping malls that fit only with the standard of living of a relatively high-income group

and therefore contribute to the emigration of the traditional residents, as can be seen in Jakarta.

2. All of these elements can already contribute to the ambition of building up social capital. This is very important since a social mix creates both strong and weak links (in the sense of Granovetter), which urban planning strategies can have different effects and this has to be strictly taken into consideration. Let us consider the experience of Quito (Ecuador). In the first period the urban redesign of the core city was realised with NPOs and offered a substantial quantity of social housing which again helped maintain the social mix and then a rich social capital. During the second period of planning, and mainly due to the increasing scarcity of financial resources, a new strategy was implemented in coalition with for-profit institutions. This strategic move drastically reduced the offer of social housing and the quality of the social capital of the population.
3. To disseminate and capitalise new skills and competencies constitutes the third pillar of such relevant strategies. This point is traditionally overlooked in strategies of renovation involving cultural heritage and the fight against poverty: but it should be central. In Europe, the experience of the «Glasgow Wise Group» remains a point of reference in this field. In Glasgow, the renovation of the buildings and their environment has led to two tangible results; qualifications in building and gardening occupations to youths who had no qualifications; and encouragement for some of these young people to become self-employed workers offering the corresponding services in other development perspectives, once the seminal rehabilitation programmes are completed. The issue is therefore dual; create human capital and distil entrepreneurial capabilities.

This theme has been widely repeated in a number of Latin American cities, inspired by the experience of schools-workshops in Spain in the 1980s. This programme was based on the following consideration: rehabilitation projects of cultural heritage are opportunities for delivering and adapting the professional and vocational qualifications of young people. An assess-

ment made by the OECD noted a number of positive points:

- ◆ The training effort is organised over a long period (up to three years in some cases) and is progressive, the sequence of the two phases to ensure that some foundations are acquired or recalled.
- ◆ The training effort is based on the acquisition of effective professional or vocational qualifications.
- ◆ Practical training is provided by professionals, often also older skilled workers or technicians in early retirement: the acquisition of know-how is thus preferred.
- ◆ Training is given in a framework that closely resembles that of a company: it is organised around the realisation of a project, of a product or service to be delivered. Training must assume the achievement of the required qualifications and meet deadlines. It is in a mixed situation: not quite in the spirit of business logic, but yet more so than simply training.

The same study also pointed out the limitations encountered in reality:

- ◆ Sometimes the field of specialisation is not wide enough to allow a later conversion
- ◆ It is always difficult to give a real qualification in a limited period of time to correct insufficient initial training
- ◆ There is not always a forward-looking strategy on activities and jobs that might exist at the end of these programmes

There are unfortunately few reliable statistical surveys on opportunities out of these programmes, but a synthesis – this time it conducted on Spain – can be the following: The average rate of placement on three consecutive years was 58.03%, but there is a downward trend as the programme continues in time. The average placement rate is significantly higher for boys than for girls: 66.36% against 46.29%, and 61.37% of young people are employed afterwards in jobs corresponding to their specialty.

4. Disseminating entrepreneurial culture through new cultural practices is an important but frequently neglected pillar.

Whatever type of people, entrepreneurship is mainly the product of the environment. Social values, culture, government policies, political system, technology, economic conditions, customs, laws, etc. influence the growth of entrepreneurship. In fact, the entrepreneurship cannot be kept aloof from the changing social values, ideologies, new emerging aspirations, environmental pressures, religious beliefs, consumer wants and society's needs etc. Business is a system made up of certain environmental factors which require the entrepreneur to adopt a dynamic attitude and a new strategy of their own. Entrepreneurial culture implies a set of values, norms and traits that are conducive to the growth of entrepreneurship. Cultural values deeply affect entrepreneurship and the level of economic development. Culture has something to do with the entrepreneurial process and focuses on the discovery and interpretation of opportunities, neglected by others. No entrepreneur can overlook the country's cultural heritage and values if he wants to survive and progress. He needs to function on the basis of social expectations, desires and goals.

Additionally we can make a distinction between *entrepreneurial culture* and *enterprise culture*. The first deals with the thinking in terms of new projects, social and economic problem solving; the second deals with the aptitude to manage and finalise the implementation of such projects, mobilising legal, human and financial resources. Very likely but a small part of the local people will incorporate the second one. But anybody can participate in the distillation and dissemination of the first, the entrepreneurial culture. Here the use of cultural heritage can be very important since cultural practices are a way to understand how many artists or architects have designed new solutions for new problems. In a sense, it can be said that the opportunity to benefit from cultural practices is a way to benefit from creative experiences and teachings. Then urban planning has to take this need into consideration: public arts, active cultural workshops can constitute very good opportunities to raise the creative touch

of everybody. Let us consider two modest examples. In Lomé (Togo), the public fountains have a significant social and symbolic value since they are a place of meeting and exchanges, including for women. Their renovation could therefore both maintain their role for social capital formation and disseminate examples of what can be a creative project. It was therefore decided to better understand the social functioning of public fountains, and then to hold a competition for new ideas from young architects before implementing the renovation. In Medellín, the dissemination of *Parques-Librerías* has given many teenagers (and their parents too) the opportunity to understand better which are the challenges of creativity through the experience of artistic and literary creation.

Some more general considerations

Interventions on cultural heritage, rehabilitation and poverty necessarily change according to the level of poverty. Indeed, things may not be the same when the occupants are poor but partly inserted in the mainstream; and the very living informally on the margins of society, not generally having paid jobs but still for historical reasons living in older settings. For these people it is necessary to design both housing and social inclusion strategies while they have no resources to achieve either one or the other. Considering that only the first category can remain in place and that it is illusory to consider this same perspective for the second one will definitely change the sense of the place. An illustration of these tensions can be found in the analysis of Mumbai. For a long time the working city brought together formal and informal workers living in two types of homes: the Chawls, buildings of several floors often constructed in great depth from a fairly narrow façade defining collective and private spaces for the benefit of workers paying rent; and slums, often made of street booths with people who had no defined occupational status.

The capabilities of expression and proposal of the inhabitants should be retained. When, in 1996, this principle had already been confirmed thought many international symposiums and by Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, and Carlos Jarque, manager of the

Department of Sustainable Development of the Inter-American Development Bank: «However, the development preservation policies and their application through the ‘monumentalism’ were not enough to achieve a maintenance and conservation of the centres, as the promotion of social development».

Policies and regulations for the city relating to the reform of habitat and the rehabilitation process must be developed in a very clear way. They should particularly consider closely the situation of real estate companies responsible for rehabilitation, because they retain the information and make decisions concerning urbanisation.

Non-profit organisations that hold in a certain way the privilege of time must receive much attention and be systematically associated with the development and implementation of such strategies. As an example, the University of Ecuador and their work on the development of craftsmanship may be put forward.

The resale of the land at a profit should be prohibited. The sale of public property must be done through a public sale with the open means of communication and the free participation of the inhabitants.

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Visioning the Sustainable City as a Step Towards Heritage Preservation: A Small Lesson from Ljubljana

MARCO ACRI

Presentation 2



Abstract

The political and economic transformations that occurred in many Southern and Eastern European countries have involved a change of approach in the town planning systems, requiring new development regulation in urban design and management practice. Cities of this region have been running quickly to grasp the challenge of competitiveness with Central Europe, trying to attract businesses and new markets. In these countries, heritage preservation and urban re-development have been dialoguing for years, capturing modern «western» development and restoration practices and reinventing them according to the inherited tools and procedures.

Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, was among the first «Eastern» cities to face this change, as a result of the relatively low involvement of the country in the Balkan wars, as well as its logistical and historical proximity to Central Europe. In the last ten years the image of the historic city centre has changed rapidly, thanks to a resident oriented policy which respects the uniqueness of the historic assets and values. The target of the city's government and planners has been to make a city for all, paying special attention to sustainability and creativity, with art and design at the core. New small-scale quality infrastructures, as well as being incentives to educational, cultural and business activities, especially in the historic city centre, favour the multiplication and improvement of conservation projects, as well as enhancing peoples' sensitivity to the values of heritage.

Main Issues and Keywords

Dealing with heritage preservation, culture enhancement and urban development, the present literature and research field acknowledge the importance of some determinant issues:

The definition of historic urban landscape and urban landscape as tools for new management models of preservation and development (or progress). This investigation, carried out officially by UNESCO⁷ with parallel initiatives by other international organisations⁸, institutions and research institutes, stresses the necessity to integrate urban development policies with preservation activities, as well as to approach urban development with more focus on culture and heritage assets. The debate on this same topic reveals different views on how (historic) urban landscape should be seen, either as a planning/panoramic matter, or as an individual/communal experience. In my contribution, urban landscape is not seen as a planning tool, but as a methodology to investigate and give value to the individual and communal daily experiences.

♦ The international debate, especially in the European context and led by the Council of Europe is exploring the relevance of culture, in a context of slow development, as a pillar in policies for sustainable development. This vision correctly translates the common understanding of culture as the ensemble of cultural tangible and intangible manifestations, as arts, heritage, folklore, traditions etc. A different and more anthropological approach to culture would consider it as a set of values that explains our behaviour: in this view culture is the intangible matrix that explains our organisation in time and space, and should thus be considered a development context more than a development pillar. In this paper I have considered culture in this latter view, starting from its tangible and intangible manifestations to its daily potentialities, given by the genius loci and the temporal location.

- ♦ Addressing heritage and local development, one of the most common discussions refers to communities and identity. Although international experts in the field of heritage management do agree that a major role should be attributed to the local communities in the governing process, some deepening should be made concerning what communities are made of and whether this terminology should be applied indiscriminately, in view of the steps forward made in philosophy and anthropology⁹. The debate should now move into the definition of public and private goods versus common and shared goods, absorbing the contribution of Elinor Ostrom¹⁰ and valuing the importance of transforming heritage and cultural expressions from public goods to common goods.
- ♦ The shift in the approach from collective and public goods to common and shared goods can happen only through governance and not government. The process of governance happens when participatory processes are envisaged and practices; information and capacity building, as well as participatory budgets and shared planning. The actuation of projects is also discussed with the appropriate flexibility to the advantage of the social structure. The process becomes negotiated instead of normative.
- ♦ As a parallel effect of the previous process, the continuous solicitude for creative thinking by direct and indirect communication (mostly through artistic and design means) works for the local appreciation of urban space (landscape?). The hidden potential of culture is liberated by daily (cultural) provocation, which stimulates thinking.
- ♦ Understanding that preservation and conservation, as well as cultural based policies, cannot be detached from sustainability and the attention to the present and future quality of life and the environment.

⁷ UNESCO is currently engaged in the development of a *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL), after several years of investigations and debates, starting from the Vienna Memorandum of 23 September 2005.

⁸ The discussion should include the European Convention on Landscape made in Florence on 20 October 2000, which defines landscape as «an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors».

⁹ Among others, I should like to refer to the book by Giorgio Agamben entitled *The Coming Community*.

¹⁰ Nobel Prize Laureate in Economics in 2009 for her theory of collective action and commons.

Why the Case of Ljubljana?

Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, is by European standards a medium-sized city of approximately 280,000 inhabitants. It was the first city of the former Yugoslavian countries to face the transition from the socialist socio-political system to European capitalism, having the advantage of a relatively low involvement in the Balkan wars of the 1990s. The city immediately started adapting and adopting some of the central European government tools, although keeping most of the social welfare tools deriving from socialism. In 2011 the mayor of Ljubljana, Zoran Jankovic, during the Ljubljana forum for the reinforcement of the network of south-eastern European cities and their relationship with the private sector, declared that «cities in South East Europe can be even more connected since cities in the region are mostly older than states, with traditions of cooperation and connection». On the same occasion Blaž Golob, organiser of the meeting stated that:

Slovenia is positioned as a promoter of trends and developments and that is why the purpose of the conference is to connect projects, promoters of development of urban regions of South East Europe with knowledge and experiences. Slovenia was the first «Eastern European» country to enter the EU, acting as the symbolic bridge to the East, managing its strategic position in central Europe. In this logistic and strategic framework, Ljubljana has declared itself¹¹ as a city with: a smart economy; smart mobility; smart environment; smart people; smart quality of life; smart governance; and thus being a citizen-oriented smart city. What is important is that the municipality clearly understood its role, avoiding the urge to project itself in improbable markets (as the «crossroads of Europe», the new «international business centre», or «the new European tourist destination»). To this end, the municipality has foreseen investments in renewed infrastructure to facilitate internal and external accessibility, reducing barriers and pollution and valorising green areas, to provide residents with the necessary conditions to improve their quality of life. These policies were integrated with the target of renewing public spaces and attracting residents to enjoy them, by intervening on infrastructures, while

favouring restoration of private properties, which was in any case left to the market.

In fact, the main goals of the Ljubljana development agency are:

- ◆ Accessibility for quality of life
- ◆ Preserved heritage
- ◆ Efficient high-quality spatial planning
- ◆ Efficient municipal utility services
- ◆ Equal Opportunities – contribution to the region's competitiveness
- ◆ Culture – competitive advantage of the region
- ◆ E-administration
- ◆ Supportive entrepreneurial environment
- ◆ Cultural tradition and identity

The city of Ljubljana has a rich cultural tradition and cultural heritage. Although it cannot be considered an outstanding world example of urbanism and architecture, it shows interesting historic evidence, homogeneously integrated in a pleasant environment created by the river Sava and the surrounding hills.

The first settlement, the Roman city of Emona, is still very clear in the town core, but the large-scale urban development happened during the Middle Ages, growing to its present historic extent and signified by a fortified castle on the top of the hill. On its medieval foundations the city grew during the Venetian period, evident through some baroque architecture and decorations; during the Austro-Hungarian period, with exceptional examples of early twentieth-century art nouveau; and mostly when it became the so-called Ple niki Capital¹². In this period, after the First World War and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the city started a new planning period under the guidance of the most famous Slovenian architect, Jože Ple niki: the work of this architect, which gave an imprint to the town image, is especially important in this debate because it easily communicated, through its buildings and works, the impor-

¹¹ www.ljubljanaforum.org

¹² A. Hrausky and J. Kozelj, *Architectural Guide to Ljubljana*, Heart Edition, Ljubljana, 2007.

tance of design, materials and details. His lesson has been understood by the present generation and seems to be imitated especially in the interventions in public buildings and spaces, and is certainly a means to establish a bridge in the citizen's mind for daily experience. In this direction we should read the present actions of the municipality of Ljubljana, jointly with the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (ZVKDS) in favouring restoration schemes and adopting flexible but up-to-date guidelines in the restoration process. Public interventions make clear that restoration interventions should be made with optimal materials, ad-hoc methodologies and respecting the tradition as well as the design practice: the principle of re-use, daily maintenance and adoption of high quality materials to guarantee long term life of works¹³.

Tools for Preservation – A Precondition

The good practice of the municipality and of the ZVKDS, especially through the Restoration Centre, would not be possible without contemporary tools to favour heritage preservation.

Since 1991, Slovenia has been developing new national legislation, giving value to the previous government tools, as well as opening the spectrum towards European advancements, acknowledging the EU's experience of a capitalist socio-political model. In doing so the country, with Ljubljana as its capital and potential metropolitan town, accompanied the population in the transition, favouring foreign investments, slowly producing new regulatory tools, keeping the previous social welfare structure. In the field of preservation and urban regeneration, the Slovenian legislation continued the plan of the past, introducing new instruments, in line with international standards. In particular:

- ♦ The cultural heritage protection law (ZVKD) of 2008, which forces the municipality to include in the urban planning regulation all conservation requirements and guidelines, asking all stakeholders involved in the

¹³ The idea of following the lesson of the most influential Slovenian architect, *Joze Ple nnik*, although not manifested, helps create a shared attitude in the use and interpretation of the common environment.

planning to consider at all times the legal acts of the Heritage Register. In this view, the strategic plan for Ljubljana targets preservation, maintenance and strategic planning of the city centre.

- ♦ The already existing «Cultural Fund Tolar» (Kulturni Tolar) established in 1991 by the Slovenia Ministry of Culture, to give financial support to the preservation of the most endangered national monuments.
- ♦ The Co-Financing project (Sofinanciranje Projektov), to finance projects of documentation, restoration and valorisation of any project for the renewal of the historic fabric on the basis of public tenders.
- ♦ The 1991 project «Ljubljana – My City Campaign», established to subsidise the restoration of façades and roofs, and to finance the renovation of public spaces especially for handicapped people.

These tools are part of the renovation package of any Western country and town. The city of Ljubljana integrated these legislative tools with concrete actions linking infrastructural provision and conservation, by means of design and high quality materials.

These tools are also supported by specific communication activities by the municipality towards citizens, such as the short leaflet distributed to people entitled «Dragocena Kulturna Dediš ina - Stara Ljubljana» (Valuable Cultural Heritage of the Old Ljubljana), which aims at guiding citizens (not tourists) through the valuable assets of the city, providing them with all practical information to carry out any type of intervention.

Being a Sustainable City

In view of all these prerequisites Ljubljana elaborated an internal policy of sustainability to move from development to the protective policies of sustainable cities. This means moving towards achieving sustainable mobility, sustainable construction and a sustainable urban economy in line with sustainable principles and environmental responsibility, with the following aims:

- ♦ amount of public transport to be increased to 30%
- ♦ amount of non-motorised traffic to be increased by 20%



- ◆ need for motorised mobility to be diminished
- ◆ long-distance road transport traffic and freight transport lines to be reduced by 20%
- ◆ energy efficiency of buildings in the municipality to be increased
- ◆ new construction energy efficiency to be ensured
- ◆ larger buildings to be connected to the central cooling system
- ◆ share of renewable energy sources to be increased to 12%
- ◆ existing green spaces to be preserved and new ones created

This vision is oriented towards preservative, social and commercial restoration of the heart of the city, to the energetic, traffic, landscaped and programmed regeneration of residential areas for every generation, the rejuvenation of roads and bridges, the renewal of communal infrastructure, the regeneration of public spaces, green areas and footpaths, and the regeneration of villages and the countryside. The objective is creating an inhabitant friendly city, creating the condition for existing inhabitants to use the city centre and move constantly and easily from the centre to the periphery, served by district services. Culture and art is the «environment» of city life, given by design, cultural activities (organised by public, private and no-profit organisations), and environmental quality.

Achievements in these priorities are already many, like the change of the historic centre into a pedestrian area, with the provision of cycle routes and no-emission vehicles, the new refuse collection system, new bridges, the rehabilitated waterfront, newly restored squares and streets, new integrated parking areas, etc.

Specific Corporate Coordination in City Management: From Normative to Negotiated Planning

The most successful means to start the redevelopment and preservation process was based on the creation of a «corporate image»¹⁴. All civil servants should be aware of all ongoing activities by the city government and the civil society to integrate projects and optimise interventions. All the employees of the municipality, through constant meetings and graphic documents are aware of the ongoing development projects in the city centre, being thus in the position to integrate their contribution into existing processes. Urban projects start from planned infrastructural interventions by national public agencies and the private sector. Any project carried out in the city is discussed and negotiated with representatives of the authorities (Mayor/Deputy Mayor), who are aware of the needs and the parallel interventions in the city. More than

14 Designed by the vice-mayor who is a planner, architect and professor of design as well as a politician, though able to transfer theory into practice and communicate it accordingly.

incentives for investment, the local authorities practise the compensation method as a local strategy and asking for infrastructural and renovation investments. Development projects (and regenerating ones) are closely followed in their development by the vice-mayor as urban planner and designer. Projects are mostly covered (75%) by public national companies and private investors. In addition, all public investments and projects are discussed with urban districts through their representatives and web participatory tools. District representatives are elected and participate in the MOL (city council) meeting every week.

Conclusion – Why Ljubljana Could Serve as a Reference

In these few lines I have tried to show how a resident-oriented vision and strategy, strengthened by appropriate attitudes towards heritage preservation, can rapidly change the image and the living conditions of a city and its historic centre.

Clear vision on the re-assessment of the city governance. Generating a «corporate image» where everyone knows what is going to be spent and done, where and by whom.

- ◆ Art and culture as leading motifs to create the progress context: art and culture are considered basic assets and achievements to educate people, directly and indirectly.
- ◆ Sustainability is the core and conservation is by nature sustainable. The city (not only the inner city) should be oriented to the improvement of efficiency and reduction of waste (time by accessibility, energy by low-energy consumption equipment, improving air quality by new infrastructure and enlargement of pedestrian areas etc.).
- ◆ Policies oriented to residents: no stress on metropolitan competitiveness or the attractiveness of the city, but rather on the provision of services to inhabitants. The local authority is coming back to its statutory goals, namely serving residents (more than potential residents or visitors).
- ◆ Negotiation rather than «normation» – from government to governance. The city and its landscape are common goods more than collective/public goods.



Investing in Cultural Heritage – the Georgian Experience. Kakheti Regional Development Programme

IVANE VASHKMADZE

Presentation 3

Abstract

Background: Kakheti is one of the historical provinces of Georgia and occupies the eastern part of the country with a population of around 400,000 inhabitants. It is mainly agricultural land famous for its ancient wine making tradition, with a rich historical, cultural and natural heritage. The land is located along two main rivers, the Iori and the Alazani, whose fertile valleys are surrounded by high mountains to north and arid savannah plain to the south. In order to promote the socio-economic development of the Kakheti region the government of Georgia, with technical and financial support from a World Bank loan started implementation of large-scale investment projects. The project is targeted to stimulate the development of heritage tourism as an important vehicle for economic development. To stimulate development, the World Bank allocated over the US\$ 60 million investment for improvement of infrastructure around historical heritage sites located along the most popular cultural-nature trails, to start urban regeneration of historical towns, and to promote business investment facilities linked with tourism and agro-sector development.



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Background

Kakheti is one of the historical provinces of Georgia, occupying the eastern part of the country with a population of around 400,000 inhabitants. This is mainly agricultural land, famous for its ancient winemaking tradition, and rich with historical, cultural and natural heritage. The land is located along the fertile valleys of the two main rivers, the Iori and the Alazani, and is surrounded by high mountains to the north and by arid semi-desert plain to the south.

About the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia

The National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia is a public legal entity, subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and Monuments Protection. The National Agency was established in 2008, as part of the Department of Monuments Protection of the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Monuments Protection. According to the national law and its charter, the National Agency is responsible for the protection, administration and promotion of cultural heritage sites and museums in Georgia. It has a staff of 280 people, among them 80 in the central office and the others serving 13 museum-reserves in the regions. The main duties of the National Agency are the conservation of movable and immovable heritage objects, restoration work on heritage objects and monuments all over the country and outside (whenever it is related to the Georgian cultural heritage) and organise archaeological research. The National Agency represents the country at UNESCO sessions and is a member of national and international organisations related to heritage conservation.

The Agency established a bilateral institutional partnership with the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 2009. Since then the partners have successfully developed joint projects focused on systematisation of GIS heritage records, organisation of heritage digital achieves, design heritage site management plans, enhance conservation technique, etc. Currently a programme of cooperation for 2012–2014 and onward is being formulated.

A brief outline of the main statistics for the Kakheti region is presented below:

- ◆ Population: 404,000 (9% of the country's total); 21% in cities; mainly in villages along the Alazani and Iori valleys
- ◆ Territory: 11,300 sq.km., mountains (highest 4500 m), river plains (lowest altitude 250 m), arid landscape and semi-deserts
- ◆ Administration: eight municipalities of one province
- ◆ History: recorded remains range from Stone Age sites to late medieval architecture. The most visited heritage sites are Christian architectural monuments dating from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries
- ◆ Nature: Three protected territories; Tusheti, Lagodekhi, Vashlovani, including national parks, protected areas and monuments of global importance
- ◆ Wine : probably the oldest living winemaking tradition in the world

Project Profile

In order to promote the socio-economic development of the Kakheti region the Government of Georgia (GoG) with technical and financial support from the World Bank started implementation of a large-scale investment project. The project is targeted at stimulating the development of heritage tourism as one of the important vehicles for sustainable economic development and job creation. To stimulate this development the World Bank allocated over US\$ 60 million and the GoG contributed US\$ 15 million. The investment targets are infrastructure around selected cultural heritage sites, urban regeneration of small heritage towns, basic communal infrastructure and services, and management and promotion of business investment in the tourism and agricultural sectors.

The project is unique for its multi-sector approach and the wide range of stakeholders involved: the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia is responsible for heritage sites and historical monuments; the Orthodox Church of Georgia and selected monasteries for religious sites; the Municipal Development

Agency for Georgia is the project implementing agency; the National Tourism Administration is responsible for regional tourism components; the National Agency of Protected Areas; the municipalities of the Kakheti region and NGOs.

Objective

Improve infrastructure services and institutional capacity supporting tourism-based economy and protect cultural heritage

- ◆ Rehabilitate urban areas and basic communal infrastructure (water, sewage, energy) of heritage towns

Expected results

- ◆ Promote and protect heritage sites
- ◆ Improved quality of life and accessibility of municipal services in the heritage towns
- ◆ Improved quality and reliability of public infrastructure
- ◆ New jobs and cash income for the locals
- ◆ Increased value and diversification of private sector investment

Who Benefits?

The residents of selected heritage towns, communities around cultural heritage sites, tourists (domestic, international), local SMEs and individual entrepreneurs, all benefit from the project.

Basic schemes of project funds allocation

- ◆ City-wide infrastructure and municipal service 25%
- ◆ Cultural heritage sites adaptation 25%
- ◆ Infrastructure and private sector support 30%
- ◆ Urban economic development 10%
- ◆ Regional integration and management 10%

Project Priorities

The GoG set up development priorities for the Kakheti region, and based on this formulated the main principles of how to approach and select development priorities for the region.

Integrated regional development respecting social, economic, cultural, natural resources and traditions

- ◆ Use potential to transform Kakheti's rural economy through investments in agricultural supply chains, export and import substitute
- ◆ Increased tourism based on three main pillars: heritage/culture, nature/adventure, wine/rural tourism

Expected results are formulated as follow, enabling East Georgia to become one of the country's most dynamic growth centres.

Project Components

Considering the complexity of the project objectives three different components of the project have been elaborated. Component 1 has the largest financial share and divides the investment into two sub-projects; visitor service infrastructure at the cultural heritage sites (11 sites of national importance) and the regeneration of heritage towns, including reconstruction of historic areas, public spaces and improvement of municipal services. Component 2 – supporting business investment incentives by financing the basic infrastructure (access roads, energy, water, sewage, etc.) at the investment sites. Component 3 is institutional development.

Component 1: Infrastructure & services (World Bank US \$56.3m; GoG US \$14.1m)

Urban regeneration: An integrated approach is proposed for the renewal of Telavi, Kvareli and the heritage village of Dartlo.

- ◆ (a) Rehabilitation of municipal infrastructure in the central historical areas
- ◆ (b) Conservation and adaptation of cultural heritage public areas
- ◆ (c) Conservation/adaptation of the façades of buildings built in the vernacular style

- ◆ The proposed conservation and upgrading activities will help improve the liveability and hospitality, enhance the attractiveness for visitors and attract an increased volume of private sector investments.

Problem to be focused on: Heritage conservation aspects and RAC (Regional Activity Centre) are the most critical issues to be considered during extensive rehabilitation works in the urban environment.

Heritage tourism trails development: Integrated approach to the culture heritage sites, improved infrastructure and management around eleven cultural heritage sites located along the main tourism circuit/route in Kakheti.

Improved urban landscaping, signage and public parking

- ◆ Construction of information kiosks, shops, cafés and public toilets
- ◆ Improving access roads

Problem to be considered: the design and location of infrastructure units to respect heritage sites protection regulations. The ownership, operation and maintenance needs to consider monasteries, conservation and municipal agencies.

Component 2: Supporting business development initiatives (World Bank loan US\$ 10m; GoG US\$ 2.5m)

The financial support is allocated for the provision of financial resources to support local self-governance to provide public infrastructure services to private sector investments in tourism and food processing.

The funds will be administrated by the GoG to support selected private sector entities that show interest and the capacity to invest in selected tourism and agro-processing businesses, but seek complementary public infrastructure (e.g. public facilities, roads /sidewalks, water/sanitation, etc.). Funds will be allocated based on competitive selection considering investment, sustainability, job creation, economic return etc. Proposals will be subject to screening by a selection committee, appropriate conditions will be required to protect heritage sites.

Case examples: small and medium-sized wine producers, cooperative wineries, hotels, guesthouses, camps, tour operators, monasteries responsible for particular sites, etc.

Component 3: Institutional development (World Bank loan US\$ 3.1m; GoG US\$ 0.9m)

The objective of the third component is the enhancement of the institutional capacity and performance quality of the tourism sector stakeholders (national administration, tourism companies, etc.), as well as local stakeholders to carry out production of the promotional materials and rehabilitation of visitor centres in the historic towns. Destination management centres should be established in the region with the objective of supporting local development processes, training community members, developing municipal structures, and conducting feasibility studies and visitor surveys.

Expected Results

The project implementation started in 2012 and will be finished 2015 (overall length four years). The following results are expected:

Infrastructure Services:

Increased average number of hours per day of piped water services in project areas (from 8 hours/day to 24 hours/day)

- ◆ Support competitive market access by improving roads and reduced weighted average vehicle operating costs due to improved urban roads (25% cost reduction)

Tourism Economy:

Increased volume of private sector investment from zero to US\$ 50 million in targeted areas

- ◆ Increased number of hotel beds in circuit route areas by 20% (from 1610 to 1932 beds)

Institutional Capacity:

Increased points of sales in renovated culture heritage sites and cities by 30% (from 248 to 323)

Slum upgrading in historic city centres – how to secure social inclusiveness?

Viable rehabilitation of empowerished urban communities can only be achieved by involving the population in an active role before decisions are taken. What can we learn from recent experiences on local stakeholder involvement and social sustainability? How can decision processes around the upgrading of slums in historic city centres become sufficiently inclusive to facilitate genuine participation of the local population? How can no-income groups become low-income groups through locally based small-scale entrepreneurship in the heritage and tourism sector? How can high-income groups (residents and tourists) be attracted in ways that generate value for local medium- and low-income groups, so that they can have a better quality of life? How to secure housing for low-income groups in heritage development programmes and at the same time attract tourists and high-income residents to the area? How to counteract possible gentrification mechanisms?



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Some general themes from our discussions

Intangible cultural heritage is too often ignored when planning and acting for urban development. One of the central framings shared among the participants was a sensitive attitude towards local cultural social and economic practices and an engagement with a sense of place; i.e., what places, spaces and buildings actually mean to people occupying and living in the city. This is a situated knowledge that is crucial for any intervention, and the development community could still have much to learn about how to negotiate the diverging interests and identities within shifting, fluid and diverse communities.

Given the common interest in local contexts and dynamics, the question of social participation and incremental upgrading became central for our discussions. Many pointed to the challenges that informal and incremental dynamics create for formal planning systems. How do we plan for the incremental nature of urban change, and is it possible to merge formal planning ideals and procedures with the flexibility needed to facilitate incremental change? This also relates to acknowledging the many diverging interests in urban development, and questions about how we can bring groups of people and actors together even when their own meaning and representations of what a space and a place means might differ, and when groups have diverging economic and political interests. Here, there was a lot of experience to draw upon, much debate about the contradictions that often emerge and not least, a discussion about what social inclusion and participation actually means and how it is practised.

The exciting but difficult acknowledgement is of course that each city, each urban community and each project has its own dynamic and context. This brought the importance of situated knowledge to the forefront of discussion. This included discussions about the knowledge and visions that inform broader policy objectives, about what kind of knowledge we need in concrete projects and how to combine different kinds of knowledge in upgrading historic city centres.

The rest of the summary is structured along the policy dimensions outlined above. Our main recommendations are presented in bullet points, before I give a more substantial comment to these recommendations based on our discussions.

Strengthening democratic governance and the empowerment of local authorities

- ◆ Overcome institutional fragmentation that tends to place culture and cultural heritage in different compartments from urban development/slum upgrading/housing development within urban municipalities (but also across scale)
- ◆ National frameworks for cultural urban development that allow for local differences. One needs to see the linkages and create checks and balances between different levels of government and not focus on the empowerment of local authorities in isolation
- ◆ Establish local development boards (state, private, civil society actors)
- ◆ Allow time and space for negotiation and compromise – from narrow participation to democratic deliberation
- ◆ Our discussions on democratic governance and local authorities have clear links with the next dimension about how the urban poor can be included so that they can improve their living conditions. Here I mention some of the points that came out of our discussions about democratic governance, while social participation is elaborated in the next section.

One of the main challenges for democratic governance is institutional fragmentation which tends to place issues of culture and cultural heritage in different compartments from urban development and slum upgrading issues within city administrations as well as state institutions at other spatial scales. Upgrading policies and projects becomes more about physical surroundings and socio-

economic issues and less about sociocultural dimensions that should be considered in urban development processes. Another challenge is also that while we must acknowledge the diversity of experiences between cities, there is a need for a national framework for cultural urban development that allows for local differences. We need to see the linkages and create the necessary checks and balances between different levels of government and not focus on the empowerment of local authorities in isolation from broader institutional reforms at other spatial scales.

Another issue was how projects must create a space for engagement and deliberation. The importance of creating local development boards that include state actors, private developers and civil society was mentioned as an important tool for strengthening the democratic governing of a project and negotiate various voices and interests throughout the process. The paper presentation from Fez set an important framing for our discussions as an example of how residents were included in the upgrading of the medina. Kamal Raftani shared some of the important lessons learned when they started the upgrading project, which also led the managers to approach community participation differently in later phases.

A general recommendation is that any project must allow time and space for negotiations between the multiple actors and diverse interests that always is part of any urban upgrading initiative. But this is also a question about the quality of such spaces and what we mean by participation in urban planning. For instance, are spaces for participation like local development boards constructed to pay lip service to already made decisions, or is it an arena where decisions can be informed and where groups have power to influence formal processes? This is part of a broader debate within both urban planning and governance literature about the place of participation and how voices of the urban poor can be included. Local forums can be arenas for partial participation where selected groups are consulted but with limited power to influence decisions, as well as arenas that more closely resemble democratic deliberations. Perhaps most experiences are somewhere in between those opposites.

Making it possible for the urban poor in slums and squatter areas to improve their living conditions

- ♦ Social participation is the key (but what kind of participation? by whom? and at what stage of a process?)
- ♦ Allow the time and space (and money) to accommodate diversity in order to reach a compromise through open negotiations and deliberations with different interests within and beyond the local community
- ♦ Acknowledge the important role of collectives/associations in many urban communities (and understand that they do not necessarily share visions and interests when interventions happen – see point above about deliberation)
- ♦ Rethink our imaginaries and the visions that inform most (western?) urban planning systems to allow for incremental urban change

A fundamental aspect of how to make it possible for the urban poor to improve their living condition is to acknowledge their potential and agency, and not see them as passive beneficiaries. Hence, as mentioned above, social participation is the key for successful upgrading projects. But the question is: what kind of participation, by whom and at what stages of the process?

We kept returning to the crucial importance of social participation for successful upgrading projects. But it was only at the end that we also started discussing the inevitable issues of the kind of participation from a multitude of different stakeholders, that are not always easy to define, and at what stage of a process people should be involved.

The importance of acknowledging difference and diversity was integral to these debates. We need to acknowledge and actually appreciate disagreements as starting point for deliberations – only then can «conflict» be progressive and not destructive. However, this is not an easy task because it requires financial and human resources. It also necessitates a potentially time-consuming process, which often comes into conflict with the need to proceed quickly within tightly defined timeframes in urban development projects.

It is also important to find processes in which people can make informed choices, but also recognise that experts and outsiders should not solely define the knowledge frames for what these choices are. For instance, a project that allows for using local traditions and practices can prove to be more useful in a particular context. This was evident in one of the key note presentations where a project included the traditional techniques for gem cutting. Another example was how the upgrading project in Fez included traditional workmanship and local building techniques. Here, the project was able harness local cultural traditions and workmanship in restoring the medina as an historical site.

To acknowledge the important role played by collectives and associations in local upgrading projects, but also understand that they do not necessarily share visions and interests when interventions happen, is moreover recommended. This was a point we discussed at length, and it relates to the question of what kind of participation is needed to strengthen democratic governance and the inclusion of the urban poor in the process. In much of the mainstream approaches there are tendencies to operate with a narrow understanding of participation. You actually ask a lot of people when we «require» participation and that this is based on what we think needs to be done rather than communicating with local actors and get their views on how they would like to do things. Then when things fall apart we tend to blame the local population, and when projects are completed and external actors withdrawn things collapse because the way of doing is not sufficiently embedded in local sociocultural practices. There is also a tendency to approach these communities as spaces of chaos, without acknowledging that there are often some sort of management structures and networks in place, however informal they may be. However, it is also important to acknowledge some of the potential challenges with inclusive participatory processes. While it is a way of negotiating interests and constructing some common ground, it can also create unreal expectations that are often not seen before something goes wrong and decisions are challenged and disputed. However, one way of avoiding such situations is to acknowledge the differences from the start and air the various interests and perspectives that exist.

A final and related point was that we need to rethink our imaginaries and the visions that inform most (western) urban planning systems, to allow for incremental urban change. This requires resources (time and money) to engage in-depth with local communities and all their diversities. Again, what many discussants argued was that we need to take the time for inclusive conversations and discussions and that all projects should start there. This also relates to a debate we had about whose vision frames a project, and the need to create some sense of a vision that is locally embedded. Part of this is also to acknowledge negotiations as well as compromise. Without compromise there will not be a common vision. Regardless whether you are an official, project manager or civil society activist, it is important that you know where you can and cannot compromise and that (in particular for local activists and representatives) there is an understanding of this in the actors' own constituency. During the course of these deliberations, we can also make our own abstract concepts and ways of doing understandable and accessible for others. This will broaden what we mean by participation, and it will require strategic thinking about who will be involved, who are the stakeholders and who makes the decisions at what stage in the process. It could perhaps even mean that we should differentiate more between different kinds of participatory mechanisms at different times of a project etc.

Facilitating the urban contributions to economic growth

- ◆ Diversification of economic activities and opportunities
- ◆ Using projects for local employment creation, and to ensure economic activities and job opportunities beyond specific interventions
- ◆ Build tourism sites and activities around the creativity of local communities (such as in the CURE Agra project and the use of heritage walks in Agra and other cities)
- ◆ Allowing for multiple practices in public urban spaces as the main site of informal activities (e.g. cultural

practices that have commercial value such as making and selling traditional crafts etc.)

- ♦ The impact of gentrification – does it have to create unequal growth, or can it be regulated/governed? The role of government policies in this regard

Cultural heritage investments and upgrading projects should be seen as investments in the broader local economy that can create employment opportunities and skills training, and also make use of and strengthen traditional knowledge in restoration projects. The two papers were excellent examples of some of the potential for economic activities that harness local sociocultural traditions and practices. The projects in Fez and Agra show how important it is to use local projects for local employment creation, but also that these opportunities must be long term beyond specific interventions. While Fez had facilitated the establishment of local SMEs which then became involved in the project, the Agra project showed how tourism can be built around local sociocultural practices and the active engagement of the urban poor. The project in Agra created income by offering heritage walks, and similar initiatives can be found in cities such as Dhaka in Bangladesh. In Fez, they included the use of traditional materials (produced locally) and building practices. By creating companies and relying on local resources, the circulation of money went back into the medina.

Another important policy implication is the need to diversify economic activities and opportunities. This is of course related to the above point of a long-term strategic plan for creating job opportunities. It also relates to another recommendation, namely that we must build the tourism sites and activities around the creativity of local communities and not as exclusionary spaces beyond the reach of the urban poor. This necessitates that governments acknowledge and allow the multiple informal and formal practices that happen in public spaces, which is the main site for informal activities where traditional handicraft, for instance, is translated into commercial value.

The debate also touched upon the issue of gentrification, and to what extent it is possible to avoid a process that does not inevitably mean new processes of social exclusion. This is a deeply political question about how we can regulate gentrification, the role of privatisation versus the role of state regulations and policies and so on.

In some of the cases mentioned, cultural heritage investments contributed to «negative» gentrification that pushed poor people out of the areas. This was particularly evident in Marrakesh, a case that contrasts with Fez which is less dependent on the tourist sector. On the other hand, the AGRA project apparently used innovative ways of combining tourism with local activities through heritage walks in ways that seem to bring benefits to broader sections of the community around the cultural sites.

Promoting cultural development including cultural heritage management

- ♦ Interventions and projects embedded in situated cultural, social and economic practices and knowledge
- ♦ Creating sense of belonging/shared vision through negotiations and deliberations
- ♦ Build upon local knowledge and workmanship in restoration projects
- ♦ The potential of sustainable and community-based tourism activities and sites that adds value locally and not just for private investors and other non-local actors
- ♦ In our presentation, we pointed out that the dimensions we highlight under this heading are implicitly or explicitly addressed in the other three policy dimensions. I will therefore only briefly tease them out here as concluding points.

What came out of our discussions was a common acknowledgement that any intervention must be embedded in situated cultural, social and economic practices and knowledge. We also agreed upon the critical role of creating a sense of shared vision and ownership to the project through negotiations and deliberations, although we did not always agree upon the best mechanisms of making this happen. The points above also highlights the potential value that local cultural traditions and workmanship can have in restoration projects. Finally, the group emphasised the potential for creating sustainable and community-based tourism activities and sites that add value locally and not just for private investors and non-local actors.

Housing Rehabilitation and Community Development in the Medina of Fez, Morocco

KAMAL RAFTANI

Presentation 1

Abstract

The medina of Fez, a World Heritage site since 1981, is probably one of the most intricate and spectacular medinas in the world with rich cultural, historical and architectural resources. Yet, Fez has experienced decades of physical decay resulting in serious deterioration of the urban environment. The decline has been exacerbated by profound socioeconomic problems some of which can be identified by the flight of the middle-class and impoverishment of the resident population, pauperisation and overcrowding, along with deep depreciation of real estate values. The collapse of housing units due to decay and lack of maintenance has continued unabated. Against this cycle of decline, the Moroccan government asked the World Bank to finance a major innovative urban renovation project aimed at assisting in the conservation and rehabilitation of the medina of Fez. After more than two years into the programme the results made were disappointing. The continuous gap between the ambitions of the administration and local participation were identified as one of the problems. The new rehabilitation approach was based on two main ideas: (1) Emphasis on common parts of the buildings that represent critical points for their structure such as terrace roofs and water drainage systems. (2) Given the level of poverty of the local residents, no pre-financing was required. In return, the residents would provide unskilled labour. This successful housing rehabilitation experience has been a starting point for a self-rehabilitation process aimed at reversing the cycle of decay.



Introduction

In the years since Morocco gained independence the uncontrolled spread of cities, as a result of mass migration from rural to urban areas in search of livelihood, has been coupled with the emergence of informal settlements at the fringe of large urban centres. This has resulted in growing social housing needs for lower-income population. Therefore, securing housing for the poor has become a central concern in public housing policies and programmes in Morocco. To reach this end, the Moroccan Ministry of Housing has tried to deal with the emerging housing challenges in different ways. It has undertaken many major social housing and slum upgrading programmes in larger cities. The first programmes in this respect – launched in the 1970s – focussed on the relocation of slum dwellers prior to the removal of the emptied informal structures. Subsequently, since the 1980s, these programmes have expanded to include the upgrading of urban informal settlements and run-down areas through the improvement of existing infrastructures (drinking water, electricity, sanitation, etc.). In addition, the Ministry of Housing has produced, through its public bodies, thousands of housing units in response to the pressing demand for social housing.

The purpose here is not to argue over the relevance of the adopted housing policies and how successful they have been, but rather to point out the early interest shown by the Moroccan authorities towards housing issues outside the traditional urban centres.

Paradoxically, very little attention has been paid to housing issues within historic cities and centres. The Ministry of Housing did not give priority to addressing crucial housing problems in historical urban areas despite the deplorable living conditions and the serious physical decay threatening their housing stock. On the other hand, most of the government preservation programmes that have been undertaken inside historic cities and centres mainly focussed on the restoration of key monuments and infrastructures.

Several reasons were behind this situation, including, but not limited to, a prevailing misconception based on the fact that the medina was, above all, cultural heritage, and therefore, it was the Ministry of Culture's responsibility to deal with the problems affecting its historical built

environment. Another reason was the lack of national professional expertise in the area of urban conservation.

It was in 1993 that the first significant interventions on historic housing were launched in Morocco (in the medina of Fez) as part of an innovative emergency action programme that was designed specifically for buildings threatened with collapse. This innovative programme was financed under a convention signed between the municipality of Fez and ADER-Fez, a local semi-private organisation in charge of the conservation and the development of the medina of Fez.

The conclusive results and lessons learned from these first housing interventions helped design a more comprehensive and ambitious project that was later submitted to the World Bank to be financed as part of the rehabilitation programme of the medina of Fez.

Housing rehabilitation in the medina of Fez, a major activity within the World Bank rehabilitation project

The historic city of Fez, a world heritage site since 1981, is probably one of the most sophisticated and vibrant medinas in the world. The old core consists of a substantial historical area of around 800 acres (Fez Bali and Fez El Jadid districts) with about 13,385 historic buildings, hosting 120,000 residents (according to the 2004 general population and housing census), and is characterised by a coherent urban system and a well preserved urban fabric that conceals unique cultural, historical and architectural resources. Its outstanding monuments, its ingenious water systems, and its hierarchical pedestrian structure all bear witness to the greatness of the Moroccan builders throughout centuries. In addition, the old city remains today the «heart» of the whole urban agglomeration of Fez and continues to play an important role as an active commercial centre for the whole city.

The historic city has, however, experienced decades of physical decay resulting in serious deterioration of its built environment, its historic housing stock, and its infrastructure. This decline has been worsened by the profound socio economic problems which are typical of historic areas and include:



Rehabilitation of site with aid of matching grant ©

Flight of the middle- and high-income families and settlement of immigrants from poor rural areas

- ◆ Pauperisation and overcrowding of the housing stock, and more intensive residential use of buildings
- ◆ More polluting crafts housed in former residential units
- ◆ Degradation of public spaces and services
- ◆ Deep depreciation of real estate values etc.
- ◆ Furthermore, based on the GIS of ADER Fez, the number of deteriorated buildings has increased dramatically over the past decades. Thus, the collapse of housing units due to decay and lack of maintenance has continued ceaselessly causing more human casualties and property losses.

Against this cycle of decline, the Moroccan government asked the World Bank to finance a major innovative urban renovation project with a main objective being «*to assist in the conservation and rehabilitation of the Medina of Fez, with particular attention to its historic built heritage and urban environment, through the expansion and acceleration of on-going conservation efforts and the alleviation of poverty through community development*». In this respect and given the central position of housing in urban conservation, particular attention was accordingly paid to the upgrading of the historic housing stock in project design through the development of three housing project activities; incentives for housing rehabilitation (\$0.75m), interventions on buildings threatening collapse (\$1.35m), and the removal of collapsed buildings and rubble heaps (\$0.49m).



Roof structure under rehabilitation ©

Rehabilitation matching grant of 30 per cent, an approach to housing rehabilitation that has shown its limits

This paper will rather focus on the first housing project component (incentives for housing rehabilitation) whose purpose was to secure better housing conditions and meet the pressing needs and aspirations of low-income groups, while triggering self-rehabilitation initiatives among the residents of the medina.

In this context, a scheme for matching grants for rehabilitation was designed for individual property owners who were able to pre-finance and carry out restoration work for up to \$12,000, using their own or borrowed funds, and obtain a building permit from the municipality. In return, ADER-Fez – the project agency – would reimburse the recipient for 30 per cent of the incurred restoration cost.

After more than two years of implementation, the results achieved by the matching grant scheme were

disappointing; among the 40 applications submitted to ADER-Fez only one grant was actually disbursed. The main reasons behind this situation include the mistrust of government by local residents as a result of years of continuous distance between the administration and the population, which resulted in a «wait and see» attitude among the residents. Another reason was the complicated ownership and occupancy situation, as a significant proportion of the buildings that could potentially benefit from the matching grant were owned by multiple private owners, and were occupied by a range of users.

A new approach to rehabilitation based on community participation

In response, the World Bank representatives and the project agency team, led by Fouad Serrhini, the Director General of ADER-Fez, with Omar Hassouni, a key player in shaping the agency housing rehabilitation strategy, worked on a different approach and explored new



Coordination meeting with the neighbourhood associations ©

mechanisms to foster the local residents' participation and encourage their active involvement in the project.

Thus, a new rehabilitation approach was developed, based on three main ideas:

Emphasis to be placed on common parts of the buildings that are critical for their survival such as terrace roofs and water drainage systems, rather than restoring individual spaces

- ◆ No financial contribution required given the level of poverty of the local residents
- ◆ No building permits required given the multiplicity of occupancy statuses of residents
- ◆ Upon all parties signing a simple form, the project agency would provide skilled labourers, technical supervision, building materials, and transport of materials and rubble. In return, residents would provide unskilled labourers (one per family living in the building being rehabilitated), who could be family members, neighbours or paid manpower.

To carry out this innovative housing rehabilitation activity, a community development unit was established and a new strategy for social participation developed. In this respect, a key role was given to the existing neighbourhood associations to mediate between the project agency and local residents, to motivate them and encourage their participation in the rehabilitation process, and to identify priority buildings.

A local consultant helped carry out a baseline census of existing neighbourhood associations in the medina of Fez and an initial workshop was held in January 2002, organised by ADER-Fez to improve the associations' awareness and build a common shared understanding of the new rehabilitation approach based on local community participation. The neighbourhood associations agreed to work with the project agency and became actively involved in the implementation of the housing rehabilitation activities. Several other meetings followed and helped in setting clear shared goals and jointly establishing appropriate mechanisms to facilitate their implementation.

Outreach to neighbourhood associations created a sense of ownership and joint responsibility. As part of the agreement between neighbourhood associations and ADER-Fez, training programmes were provided to their members offering skills in administrative and financial management, project design and resource mobilisation.

From a technical perspective, one of the project's aims was to develop innovative and optimised technical solutions appropriate to the specific context of the medina of Fez. Thus, the main idea was to subdivide the «standard» contract of works into three sub-contracts; provision of building materials, supply of skilled labour and rubble transportation. These technical solutions allowed the project to achieve conclusive results:

Effective cost saving: The average cost per building was \$ 4,500, while an intervention carried out by a «conventional» contractor could be five times more expensive.

- ◆ Good control of technical aspects throughout the intervention process: Better coordination between the companies working on the same restoration site.
- ◆ The use of unskilled labourers provided by residents in the intervention process.
- ◆ Providing jobs for existing master craftsmen in the medina of Fez: Craftsmen working in restoration projects have been encouraged to form small companies providing skilled labourers or building materials. Thus, at the end of the project, 10 small firms were created.
- ◆ Quantitative results of the project at closing date consisted of 132 matching grants disbursed at an average of \$ 1,000 per grant, and 107 interventions via the participatory rehabilitation of the communal parts of buildings with the average cost of \$ 4,500 per building.

What lessons have been learned?

This successful housing rehabilitation experience has been considered as a starting point for a self-rehabilitation process aimed at reversing the cycle of decay that is affecting the historic housing stock in the Medina of Fez. It could be expanded as a model for other historic cities in Morocco.

Some of the lessons drawn from this innovative experience include the following:

- ◆ Local participation is critical. It is the key for successful rehabilitation of the historic housing stock while triggering community dynamics.
- ◆ «The project has demonstrated that reconciling the objectives of urban conservation and rehabilitation with the housing needs of the impoverished inhabitants is feasible». This implies a process of dialogue and consultation that should depart from the beginning of the project, and involve community representatives in the design and the implementation of the interventions.
- ◆ Public investment in historic housing rehabilitation is a viable and effective way to help poor local residents improve their living conditions while initiating a self-rehabilitation process.
- ◆ Today, neighbourhood associations are essential social actors in the medina of Fez. They play a key role in mediating between the authorities and the local residents.
- ◆ Technically and financially, housing rehabilitation projects are feasible in historic areas.
- ◆ At the end of the project, the Ministry of Housing and Fez Municipality financed a new rehabilitation project (\$ 12m) that gave continuity to first efforts carried out with the World Bank loan.
- ◆ The Ministry of Housing is now more involved in housing development in historic areas in Morocco.

The Logic of Cultural Narrative in Agra's Slum Development Planning

RENU KHOSLA

Presentation 2

Abstract

Cities of today take pride in their capacity for economic performance, yet mostly fail to fold-in the people who live and work in them – their histories, textures, memories, cultures which give each city its unique character, social form and identity. Conceived around principles of space, form and efficiency, urban designs are losing their humanism, local flavour, diversity of activity and specificity of forms of collective decision-making. Cultural planning, an urban community narrative, sees cultural resources as assets with a strategic role in urban growth. According to Colin Mercer, the historic, cultural, economic, and social language of a community when embraced in spatial design develops, reinforces and enhances the sense of place and balances the inherently conflicting nature of the past and the present community values and demands. Slum communities are under-served and degraded informal settlements in cities where the poor live and work and forge interrelationships with the other city-transcending economic ambitions and physical limitations. This paper presents the work of the Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE) based in New Delhi, India, that works with slum communities in the historic city of Agra. Its Citywide Slum Upgrading Project relies on participation of the poor in exploiting the city's unique and unknown assets and resources.





Agra: The city

Agra, located on the banks of the River Yamuna is an ancient Indian city that epitomises India's historic-cultural heritage. Of the several dynasties historically associated with Agra, the Mughal dynasty left the most stunning architectural and cultural imprint. Thousands of monuments, besides the three World Heritage sites of the Taj Mahal, Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri, embody the history, memories, cultures, textures, etc. of Agra. Despite these architectural marvels, the city's inefficient and debilitating forms of governance have stifled its growth. A broad disconnection between people and their heritage is noticeable and has led to «monumental» destruction, defacement, dispossession and abysmal environmental sanitation.

A fast growing and populous city, half of Agra's 1,686,976 people (Census 2011) live in 43215 slums and low-income settlements that shadow the city's lesser-known monuments, with poor and inadequate basic urban and social services and lack of decent housing. Statistics confirm that Agra is the second most self-employed city in India. Large numbers of poor families work in the city's core (tourism) and other economic sec-

15 CURE, Slum Mapping Agra, 2011–12.

tors¹⁶. It is also the 20th most polluted city¹⁷ in the country with a low score of 39.5 out of 100. In 2004, Agra was chosen for renewal under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). More recently it was also tipped to receive funds under the Rajiv Avas Yojna (RAY), a new mission designed to make Indian cities slum free.

The cultural imprint

Culture is a way of life of a people spanning shared, deeply held and usually unquestioned thoughts, beliefs, behaviours, customs, traditions, rituals, languages, art, music, and literature¹⁸ that conditions the community's responses and shapes its living architecture. People, said the philosopher James Wilson, have cultural values that they try to live by and which motivate them. Social problems in communities often boil down to this cultural way of thinking¹⁹. Culture plays a critical role in local

16 Marble inlay, carpets, *zari zardozi*, sweet meats (*petha*), leather, footwear, iron foundries, garments, automobiles, biotechnology products.

17 Agra City Sanitation Plan, 2010.

18 Webster's New World Encyclopedia, 1992.

19 *The Economist*, 10 March 2012.

community actions by shaping people's acceptance of ideas, actions and belongingness. However, little data is gathered on culture and more data needs to be assembled so that culture is brought back into public discourse.

In an urbanising world, urbanism represents optimum economic performance and its urban form; the spaces, structures and systems that contribute to efficient growth. It is mostly neglectful of the multiculturalism that composes cities, the various histories, textures and memories that give cities their unique shape, character, social form and identity. Such de-humanising and neglect of local flavour is mostly the result of a flawed urban design practice that prefers homogeneity over diversity and universalism over specificity.

Slum upgrading in Agra: The intangibles

The Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE), a development NGO, has been working with low-income communities in the historic city of Agra since 2005, making an effort to understand the multi ethnic features and intangible heritage of its inhabitants. CURE has searched for and found common ground between diverse interest groups and customised solutions that have community, development and design appeal, catalysing a process of inclusive urban development.

The setting for the Citywide Slum Upgrading Project (CSUP) in Agra, funded by Cities Alliance, is its lesser-known monuments and shadow communities. Taking advantage of their tourism allure, some of these monuments are united into the Mughal Heritage Walk (MHW) aimed at generating incomes for the poor and triggering a process of upgrading settlements while conserving heritage.

Partnerships

The project hinges on community partnerships; its challenge being according to Nabeel Hamdi; «to capture the intelligence on the streets of slums, enabling structures to emerge, encouraging innovations and liberating resources for development action». Groups of women and young people have been mobilised, organised and empo-

wered and, through an investment in their resources and assets, new and mainstream livelihood pathways have been developed. Groups organised vary by need. Besides micro and small enterprise groups, there are self-help groups, toilet savings groups, health committees, community services management groups, etc. responding to various felt needs in the communities. The leadership skills of women have been enhanced to enable them to negotiate for their rights. Such partnering was neither natural nor easy. Influenced by a community's cultural values, contexts, experiences, and access to information, CURE's challenge was to build trust, manage conflicts and personal ambitions, address issues of exclusion, and leverage community resources.

Besides the key stakeholders, multi-stakeholder partnerships were also forged. Conventional partners were the Agra local body (ANN), other local and State agencies and elected representatives. However, upgrading actions demanded partnership with non-traditional actors; the Archaeological Survey of India – protector of monuments, the State Tourism Department – tourism promoter and regulator, the District Magistrate – custodian of state lands, the Agra Development Authority – city master planners. Besides institutional partners, the project engaged with street bureaucrats (sanitation workers, area engineers) and the private tourism and hotel sectors, critical to project success.

Kuchpura: Living on the edge

Kuchpura is a peri-urban, low-income, historic settlement of Agra that predates the Taj Mahal; the then king being the original owner of the lands on which the Taj Mahal is built. Kuchpura directly faces the Taj Mahal, across the River Yamuna. While its history may be glorious, it has been downgraded to a 'listed slum'. Until recently, it was also disconnected from the main city, with just one old river bridge linking it to the city's core area. Kuchpura was networked with infrastructure, resulting in poor environmental sanitation. A large organic wastewater drain flowed past Kuchpura conveying black water from several upstream settlements to the river.

The MHW is a one-kilometre circular walk starting at the ancient observatory, Gyarah Sidi, with a panoramic

view of the Taj and the Agra Fort. Gyarah Sidi connects to Kuchpura through agriculture fields with some old dried-up wells. Inside Kuchpura is the old Humayun Mosque, the first place of worship built by the Mughals. Meandering through its lanes, one can see the living community of Kuchpura, their livelihoods, living styles, cultural practices, foods, etc. A road leads out of Kuchpura to a magnificent view of the Taj Mahal and the site of the black Taj, the Mehtab Bagh, more recently excavated.

The upgrading of Kuchpura is centred on the MHW. In a series of street-corner discussions and conversations with community elders, stories of Kuchpura, its monuments and community were collected. The origin of the traditional art forms painted on house walls, henna application, etc. were traced and revived through more formal skill building. The walk route was mapped with the locations of old temples, community courtyards, platforms, doorways, houses with views, etc. Local youths were identified and trained to animate the community walks – recalling and learning to tell their own stories. Young girls prepared and presented street plays. Souvenirs were crafted using local skills such as pouches, pottery, leather key rings, etc. Other local residents were encouraged to be part of the walk by creating space for their enterprises such as a tea terrace, cold drink stalls, etc. The MHW was promoted by linking up with tour operators and hoteliers; the latter also procured products sewn by women's groups (bags, shoe covers) for their hotels creating new income sources. The MHW is a ticketed walk that is fully managed by a Community-Based Organisation (CBO) comprising all the stakeholders. A third of the ticket sales are paid into a Community Development Fund (CDF) and used for area development as proposed by the community. The other two parts are for the animators (as income) and logistics.

Localism: The language of upgrading

Re-plumbing works first started around the route of the MHW, and triggered a series of sanitation-based interventions in Kuchpura to address its complex sanitation problems with appropriate solutions. With just eight toilets among over 400 households, defecation in the open was the accepted practice. While houses lacked toilets

due to lack of space, knowledge, appropriate technology or money, the officials concerned usually viewed this lack as a cultural practice with rural origins.

Home toilets were designed and tailored to fit spaces in the houses, their nooks and corners. Suitable technologies were devised. A local septic tank manufacturer became an important partner. Willing to improve tank quality, he re-fabricated and resized these tanks to fit into available spaces. Over time he began to offer turnkey services to people bringing in the pan, plumbing and physical works. The Toilet Savings Group enabled women to save up their contribution for the toilet and a Toilet Revolving Fund capitalised from the grant money offered credit on a zero-interest basis and easy-payback plans. Part of the cost (pan, plumbing and septic tank) was provided under the project as a subsidy whereas the superstructure was fully financed by families, usually incrementally. From one toilet to one clean street where every house had a toilet to several clean streets and 100 toilets, Kuchpura is on the road to being the first settlement of Agra free of open defecation. Septic tank overflows had to be conveyed through surface drains as there is no underground sewer line here. However, CURE was of the opinion that a smart beta (where people can have an intermediate but important technology for good health) is better than a perfect alpha! Hence the drains were fixed to ensure proper flow. Embedded in the improved pathways were marker stones with a Mughal motif.

A decrepit community toilet at the edge of the settlement was redesigned for those who may still not have toilets. The blueprint was developed on the basis of community needs and discussion on operation and maintenance (O&M) plans with people. Two cubicles for tourists were proposed in the complex, both to cross-subsidise O&M costs for the poor and ensure that the toilet was well maintained. The city government funded and built the toilet. However, the financial plan was abandoned when the Archaeological Survey of India waived a rule barring construction in monument buffer zones. The toilet was eventually relocated upstream and is under construction.

Two toilets were built for the community school, one for girls and one for boys.. Community elders agreed to support negotiations with the education office provided



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the toilets were made available for the large community events that are usually celebrated in the courtyard adjacent to the school. In return, the community promised to keep the toilet clean. Water for the toilet was drawn from a municipal stand post.

A Decentralised Waste Water Treatment System (DEWATS) was built on the large drain that abutted Kuchpura and was a major health hazard. A cost-effective solution to deal with black water, the DEWATS is a root-zone, bio-remedial system that treats 50 kilolitres of waste water, bringing down its BOD levels from nearly 300 to about fifty. The sale of tickets for the MHW pays for the salary of one person who ensures the system remains operational. The cleaned water has now replaced the black water that used to be drawn by local farmers for agricultural purposes and is recycled for construction purposes.

Young boys of the community were motivated to clear up a huge open compound bordering a monument that was full of rubbish as a space to play cricket. The courtyard, the centrepiece in the upgrading works, was repaired; the repaving rewriting its historic hegemonic and inequitable use. Today, children and women use the common space, previously occupied by elderly men, more freely and safely.

Mainstreaming slums within city systems

Tajganj, the area surrounding Taj Mahal is Agra city's first concern. It has fifteen low-income, under-served settlements with several historic monuments, heritage houses, traditional vocations, temples and deep dried-up wells. The people living here are descended from the construction workers of the Taj. Over time, Tajganj has both densified and degenerated. Strict development controls have delayed housing upgrades, putting structures at risk. Houses lack essential amenities and/or use inappropriate technologies, discharging excreta directly into drains or water bodies. The plan is to improve the Taj East drain and drainage, and support households with housing upgrades, structural safety measures and toilet additions. The intention is to also revive old and dried-up water bodies. The overall aim is a plan whereby all 432

low-income slum settlements of Agra will be integrated within the city's overall development.

As a start, a walking route has been mapped in consultation with the community, the latter helping locate the touristic elements. Besides the tangible and physical heritage, intangibles on the route include the craftspeople of the area at work on pottery, embroidery, leather etc. Communities have by the means of their oral traditions also helped to create the subtext/historic narrative of the heritage walk. People have also mapped and prioritised their immediate concerns and identified the trouble-spots. Overlaid on spatial surveys, infrastructure solutions are to be designed, discussed and agreed upon by the people. Community concern over unchecked water extraction is being used to discuss a plan for roof-top rainwater harvesting where pipelines convey water to home storage systems above- or under-ground and store excessive run-off in dried-up wells, de-silted for the purpose; thus recharging ground water and revitalising the wells. Discussions on housing designs are underway; the objective being to incrementally improve living spaces to prescribed norms and with in-house facilities. Unlike the standardised and prescriptive structures, the intent is to customise designs to contexts, spaces, shapes, plot sizes, family needs and budgets. Slow work towards these goals aims at preventing needless indebtedness. Improvements along the Taj East drain will include disconnection of direct household toilets into the drain by connecting them to underground sewerage, landscaping, street design for play activities etc. Another outcome shall be the restoration of an old stream that is currently a drain.

Hardwiring slum narrative within a city's DNA

Mainstreaming the cultural narrative of slums within city systems is not easy, and there could be several pitfalls of which we must be conscious.

i Localising the cultural agenda

A development process rooted in localism must necessarily be intensive and long term. Capacity to facilitate community dialogue within the local governments is however, extremely low. Local bodies, mostly powered

by engineers, lack the local-cultural ideology, human resource and flexibility, and adequate finance, required for community processes and for deconstructing community knowledge to form the building blocks of development. Much misunderstood, the process usually abridges down to a tokenistic 'Quiz and Lecture' approach (where we ask the questions and lecture people on their mistakes) rarely listening to people's issues. Besides, it is impossible to breach set institutional systems and procedures to make way for new and innovative solutions emerging from such organic processes and for transfer of decision-making or resource management controls to people. As it is local governments are disempowered themselves, looking up to the State for its decisions and resources. Such centralisation results in loss of local flavour.

ii Overcoming the technical hurdles

Core city areas are usually dense and crowded. These are also infinitely more regulated than the rest of the city, throttling investment in area development. Conventional engineering solutions for development of under-served settlement may then be unfeasible and/ or require new original solutions. However, as discussed above, non-standardised models are usually unacceptable or unimaginable in the government scheme of working.

iii Regulations: No relaxing the reins

Regulatory authorities in historic cities are far too authoritarian – it's imprinted in their name tag. They exercise centralised controls and usually follow a generalised approach that does not fit with people-centred development. While homes need upgrading, regulators are unwilling to relax the rules in order for utilities to be brought in to the neighbourhoods or homes. Simultaneously, channels for information flow between people and local governments that could help regulators to unbend are usually missing, blocked, considered insignificant or just one way – top-down. On the other hand, regulators are usually unmindful of the required changes, being far removed from the nitty-gritty of implementation. Considerable effort is needed for an all-encompassing attitudinal change.

iv Governance: «Iron-fisted yet un-buckled»

As discussed above, systems of governance are usually iron-fisted. Such structured systems are mostly unfriendly to inclusive development. Changing the developmental discourse, peppering it with the cultural contexts, is a challenge that is only made more difficult when multiple institutions and layers of authorities come onto the scene. Navigating these multiple bureaucracies can be quite frustrating, especially for the poor people, who lack the time, skills or knowledge to manoeuvre. They usually opt for easier, informal ways in the absence of loose implementation surveillance.

v Private sector partnership: Can it work in this context?

Development of historic areas can be supported by the private sector, promoting tourism. However, integrating the development of slums within private sector agendas could prove to be quite the contrary. The private sector is profit motivated and the intent to serve the poor could well be missing. Also missing will be the skill sets required for such participatory development and the time required for processes to mature. The situation could become exploitative and accident prone, especially if the local government decides to evade its social obligations.

Despite the challenges, there is logic to folding in people in the city's development. If well managed, the language of culture makes good economic, spatial, conservation and social sense. It has the ability to resonate with the deeply invisible, informal and conflicting (old and new) signature of culture. Democratising local actions and catalysing people-centred development is the algorithm that can reinforce sense of place, local flavour and specificity, shared responsibility, trust, durability and resource efficacy. Creating space for inclusive cultural development requires some re-imagination!

Working in post conflict countries

Today's armed conflicts with or without international involvement are increasingly fought in urban settings. Poverty and conflict are frequently entangled with one another. Poverty generates conflict, and conflict hinders economic development. Furthermore migration from rural areas into urban areas sometimes bring people from different or even rival ethnic groups into close contact, so that old themes of conflict become enhanced and new ones arise. Many conflicts have deep historic roots, meaning that they are so to speak inscribed into the cultural heritage. Therefore rehabilitation of historic urban centres will have to deal with the meaning and significance of places and buildings that relates to issues such as hegemony, perpetration and victimisation. How do we work with cultural heritage that relates to conflict? To what extent, can we diffuse the monolithic interpretation of heritage and emphasise hybridity – that which resists polarisation, and maybe even unites?



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Our case studies drew on experiences from Palestine, Bosnia and Afghanistan, and the overall questions that we were to consider were:

1. How do we work with cultural heritage that relates to conflict?
 2. To what extent can we diffuse monolithic interpretations of heritage and emphasise hybridity?
- ◆ Both questions were useful and interesting, but the discussion did not engage as directly with either of them as one might have expected. With regard to question 1, the reason was probably that the question did not make sufficient distinction between working with cultural heritage in post conflict societies and working with heritage that directly relates to post conflict discourses and competitive claims. The focus of our discussion became what happens to heritage when it is caught up with conflict. We also agreed that there is not a single concept of conflict or post conflict and that the phrasing that the language suggests is difficult to recognise in case studies. It was, however, clear in various ways that many heritage related issues become heightened in post conflict situations meaning that normal practices, assumptions and solutions are not valid. When working with cultural heritage relating to conflict we should be even more aware of social issues, including social involvement and benefits, censorious of our own motivations and politics, and critical of donor involvement.
 - ◆ It is also important to appreciate that historically there has been a change in the nature of conflict and therefore also a change in the way heritage is drawn into, used and contested during conflict and in its aftermath. It is important that we are aware of such changes and contextualise our responses to the particular situations, rather than assuming that heritage that relates to post conflict has universal characteristics. Context and situation specific understandings of post conflict heritage, its potentials and problems, are needed.

- ◆ Rather than directly discussing how monolithic interpretations can be diffused, the panel considered evidence of how they are produced, and how common heritage preservation practices may inadvertently help to reproduce them; our main concern was therefore practice and process. The specific nature, and inherent aims, of conservation activities during post conflict needs to be recognised. They may be understood as commonly formed around a notion of turning back time, and it was argued that in these situations reconstruction is always reflexive of the conflict – this means that the roots of conflict may often be built into conservation practices. Heritage work therefore often allows claims on ownerships over heritage (whether spiritual or legal); this works against hybrid interpretations of heritage. The panel discussion of practice and process although wide-ranging can be summarised in terms of a number of core themes:

Language, categorisation, and terminology

The ways the concepts of conflict and post conflict are used can be extremely unhelpful as they carry with them an assumption of a similarity of process and of clear cut phasing into a conflict and a post-conflict phase. The problem of categorisation goes beyond this particular vocabulary. For example, the use of terms such as «elite» or «ethnic heritage» are unclear and may be counterproductive in their implications. Such labelling and categorisation clearly have political overtones. *It is particularly important to be careful about language use in situations of contestation.*

Destruction and neglect

Post conflict heritage is affected by different processes, amongst these the difference between neglect and destruction is particularly important as they may result in similar physical state of the heritage but are related to different intentions and reasons. It is important to under-

stand their differences and how *the perception of the causes behind the state of the heritage may affect the subsequent reasons for engaging in conservation and the meanings and impacts arising from such actions*. The difference between wilful neglect and deliberate destruction is well illustrated by comparison between Bosnia and Palestine/Israel.

Practice and social engagement

The criteria used to decide whether projects dealing with post conflict heritage are successful are unclear. This may not be a problem per se, but it must be recognised that the reconstruction or stabilisation of the physical matrix of single buildings or the retraining of traditional crafts cannot be measured disconnected from their further social and political repercussions. Poverty reduction cannot in a longer term view be separated from a decrease of hostility and inter-community tensions.

Nonetheless, it may be possible to identify some of the pre-conditions for heritage conservation projects being successful and meaningful. It is a practical reality that job creation is a forceful means of getting funds from international agencies, with a potential spin off being the creation of places that fulfill social needs. Private and national donors, however, often fund different kinds of projects with an emphasis on the reconstruction of tangible remains and especially religious buildings. It is generally difficult to fund conservation for the sake of protection per se. *Heritage needs to be made useful, but what are considered useful heritage investments differ between donors*.

To be effective regeneration projects need to work with several different aims simultaneously, i.e., community mobilisation needs to begin in parallel with physical interventions, rather than their practices progressing from one objective to another. *Heritage projects in post conflict need to be part of a broad-spectrum approach*.

Value

We need more insight into whether and how regeneration and restoration projects conducted in post conflict situations create different kinds of values than we see in other

situations. Do they become part of group or nation building projects or build self-awareness?

Value of the empirical data

The power of the example was emphasised, and the need for increased empirical data and using feedback from examples to learn about the impact of interventions, including detrimental ones, was stressed. It was suggested that we have to identify principles based on empirical investigations rather than approach case studies in terms of «findings».

Suggestions

- ◆ Should we aim for long-term success and therefore accept short-term failure?
- ◆ If heritage is not contested it is good to connect it to resources, but if it is contested it may be problematic to attach it to resources
- ◆ There should be responsibility that the investment is done intelligently by being relevant, and that it fits in with several different visions about what the heritage means
- ◆ Top-down approaches have generally been rejected and replaced by bottom-up ones. Neither works; messy and clumsy processes/solutions should be allowed and explored, the process can be too structured. Demystify the processes
- ◆ Heritage preservation projects should be packed better
- ◆ Findings
- ◆ Ill-conceived decisions and projects are possibly worse than no conservations
- ◆ Donor intentions and influences are complicated and can be detrimental
- ◆ Wars with winners and losers are different in their impact from those where there is neither, and this difference impacts the roles of heritage

- ◆ If heritage is contested it is extremely problematic to embed it within local relations, and it might be helpful to connect it to wider discourses
- ◆ Inclusion of local communities, an easy thing to say – difficult to do
- ◆ Concept of «best practice» should be questioned/ redefined
- ◆ Symbolism of heritage should be recognised, heritage often has complex meaning
- ◆ Specific reflections on the connections between poverty, sustainable development and post conflict heritage
- ◆ Poverty reduction cannot in a longer term view be separated from a decrease of hostility and inter-community tensions
- ◆ The intricate relationship between claims and heritage in post conflict societies needs to be understood to ensure investments are successful
- ◆ Ways of engaging in post conflict heritage that do not contribute to conflict should be explored to avoid contributing to further conflict
- ◆ The possibility of heritage being used for reconciliation after conflict needs to be investigated to make the investment beneficial
- ◆ Post conflict heritage projects should not take sides, and should be integrated in broad-spectrum reconstruction approaches to avoid being used against other projects and claims
- ◆ The different roles/aims of international/national funders and private donors should be understood, and conflicts between them recognised and responded to.

Regenerating Historic Centre in Palestine: Saving the Past for the Future

FIDA TOUMA

Presentation 1

Abstract

In a country of very limited resources, conflicting histories, and threatened identities, cultural heritage takes on a more critical and imperative importance. In Palestine, vernacular architectural heritage, a true representation of people's social and economic histories, has been the victim of neglect, ignorance, and in some cases deliberate destruction. This talk will present the current state of cultural heritage in the West Bank and then follow that with a description of the efforts of Riwaq (an NGO in Ramallah) to regenerate historic centres for the benefit and enjoyment of local communities. It will discuss how inherited laws in Palestine disregarded a major layer of heritage and history, what socio-economic realities are manifested in historic centres now, and the types of interventions undertaken by Riwaq to change such realities. The goal is bringing life back to historic centres thus re-discovering and re-shaping the relationship between people and their cultural heritage in a country where identity and existence are key issues of conflict.



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Introduction

This is a presentation of the work of a Palestinian non-governmental organisation called Riwaq. In addition to discussing the regeneration of historic centres in the West Bank, this presentation will be highlighting some issues that hopefully will draw attention and generate discussions. I will be talking about our work on the regeneration of historic centres in the West Bank and will also be highlighting some thoughts on the architectural heritage in «conflict» areas.

My first thought is: *The case of Palestine can hardly be called «post-conflict»* as it is neither conflict nor post conflict. Palestine is still under occupation, even if it is an indirect one in certain areas, an occupation that is systematically working on eliminating the existence of others.

In 1948 and shortly after, around 418 villages in Palestine were depopulated, destroyed, or left to decay in time. When people were forced to leave their houses, they took with them whatever they were able to carry. These carry-ons became the main reminder of the spaces that were lost, and hence were highlighted as symbols of Palestine. Issues of identity and hence heritage were created and re-created using such tools and icons, while spaces served as the backgrounds they tried to re-create in refugee camps.

Another thought: the heritage I am talking about here is *the vernacular built heritage, not monuments*. Monuments are highlighted by themselves and wars are fought using them as symbols. The heritage I am talking about is the 99% of structures that embody the history of the space.

By the mid 1980s, the focus was on getting Palestine back and not on saving the built heritage that was left behind (at least in the 1967 areas)! The land was lost and hence that was the priority. So while Palestine was fought in parallel spaces, architectural heritage was neglected. Non-Jewish buildings and history was not of a major concern to the State of Israel in both 1948 and 1967 lands. The self-image of the occupied was damaged. The powerless looked at the powerful with a sort of admiration and hence living styles and built-up spaces reflected the perceived Israeli modernity and moved away from the traditional and the local.

Another thought: *the heritage protection laws the Palestinians have now are the ones inherited from the*

British mandate in 1929. These laws protect antiquities and anything in existence prior to AD 1700; meaning that an entire layer, the Ottoman period, the non-antiquities layer, was not seen as worthy of protection.

Riwaq

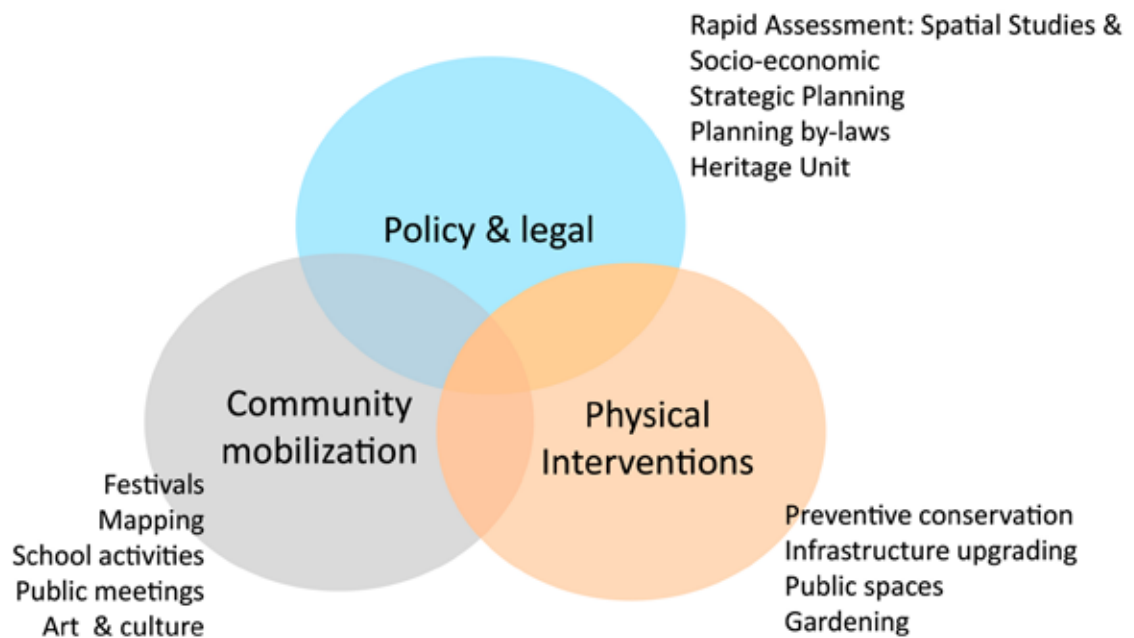
In 1991, Riwaq was established by a group of enthusiasts and, as it seemed at that time, crazy people, to save the built vernacular heritage. By 1991, the traditional building knowledge was almost gone, no one knew how many buildings were there and no one talked about typologies, details, etc.

The first project was the registry of such buildings. By 2000 it was established that there are 50,320 buildings in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. By 2000 around 50% of those were abandoned.

In 1991 when Riwaq first started, there was no Palestinian Authority to serve as a legal reference for the work. Riwaq started with simple experiments on restoration works, alongside the registry. By 2000, Riwaq was able to publish a number of books, build a community base of friends and affiliates, gain the knowledge needed for the restoration of buildings and be a reference of building protection in Palestine.

As the current *intifada* started (2000-2001), donor funds increased for job creation projects and hence Riwaq got its biggest break in linking restoration works with job creation. In a programme that has been ongoing for 10 years now, more than 80 historic buildings were restored with a total of around US\$ 5 million and the creation of around 200,000 working days. Buildings that were previously abandoned were turned into community centres and other publicly needed functions such as kindergartens and clinics. The idea here is not just protection but also the re-use of heritage in order to raise awareness, show examples and directly benefit local communities. The protection of heritage for the sake of protection is not a feasible option in the case of Palestine. Palestine is a country of limited resources and the built heritage is a main resource that can be capitalised for the future.

In 2007, Riwaq started another programme for the protection and regeneration of historic centres. From our registry we know that there are 50 historic centres in the



Regeneration of historic centres

West Bank and Gaza, that if protected will represent the protection of 50% of the built heritage in rural areas. Such centres were chosen on the following criteria:

- ◆ The number of historic buildings in each site
- ◆ The integrity and existence of an old core
- ◆ The historical and cultural significance of some sites
- ◆ The enthusiasm of the local community

Why regenerate historic centres?

After the Oslo accords between the Palestinians and Israelis, the West Bank was divided into areas, A, B or C. While most built-up areas are either A or B, connections between them, agricultural lands and fields as well as buffer zones are area C, which means that they are directly controlled by Israel. This means that areas included in master plans for natural growth were limited. With the surge in population and with the increase in building permits, more pressure was put on historic centres because they occupy the heart of any built-up area, they are mostly abandoned, and it is difficult to solve complex ownership issues.

1. There are no protection laws yet but it possible to work with municipalities and local councils on protection through the zoning and planning by-laws and hence our main partners would be these councils.
2. The rate of loss of historic buildings is massive. Riwaq estimates that almost one-third of whatever was registered is lost or on the way to being lost. We need a large-scale intervention to save the remainder.

I think regeneration might be actually a large word, what Riwaq really does is attempt to bring life back to historic centres by striking two main things: 1. Show the potentials of historic centres and 2. Create a local buy-in in the project. In each site a multidisciplinary team of professionals work together to achieve any project objectives.

Three main pillars of Riwaq's work

1. Actual restoration works
2. Community mobilisation
3. Policy and legal protection



Naleen before and after restoration by Riwaq ©





- ◆ In restoration works Riwaq targets certain neighbourhoods and areas with the aim of upgrading the living conditions in historic centres via preventive conservation works, infrastructural works, creation of public attraction points, gardening, etc.

On the community mobilisation level we work with the active local organisations, local government units, schools etc. to capture the local knowledge and tradition as well as needs and future plans, and here we try to connect the site with surrounding ones using festivals and tourism trails and maps.

On the policy level, Riwaq works with the local councils and communities on protection by-laws, strategic plans, and the administrative structures that may sustain the project after we leave.

So far Riwaq has been engaged in fifty sites; each site is special in its needs and potentials. These sites span from the north to the south of the West Bank. The main idea is to balance protection with use, to save the sites for their future potential of economic benefit, and make them spaces for social and cultural interaction.

These locations, of course, are within the 1967 borders of Palestine and hence anything that was lost in 1948 is different story.

Another issue: now after Oslo and after the second *intifada*, Palestinian-ruled areas are islands surrounded by walls and checkpoints. Our natural connections with the land, landscape and other towns and cities are being lost, if not already lost all together. This regeneration scheme of 50 locations can be read as an attempt to reconnect the disconnected. The aim is not to eliminate sites not included among the 50, but to create linkages between focal points; it is a way to redefine a visual map of Palestine that is a layer above the political reality.

It is our attempt at using natural and cultural heritage as a resource for wealth and development. A project that wants to connect the unconnected by rehabilitating historic centres and linking them along with the spaces in between in a web of cultural, economic and social threads. Hence the regeneration of historic centres and restoration of historic buildings becomes a tool for connection and a tool for creating new form of activities lin-

ked to such spaces. My final thought is a discussion for you on a case of which Riwaq is on the periphery.

The case of Lifta

Lifta is the last Palestinian depopulated village that is still intact. Lifta is now the property of the Israel Land Trust or the municipality of Jerusalem since it is on 1948 lands. In 2011 the Municipality of Jerusalem wanted to auction the land for private investors to be developed into housing areas. A coalition of Lifta descendants and Israeli activists were able to halt the process on the basis of a professional argument about heritage conservation and on the grounds that the municipality did not have a clear plan for the historic site and centre. So now Riwaq are faced with the challenge of producing an alternative protection and rehabilitation plan for the site.

The question is what kind of plan is to be proposed? The current discussion aims to eliminate political issues because any case that advocates Palestinian rights will be lost, so how do we advocate the importance of the rehabilitation of cultural heritage on a purely professional level? It needs to be a level that is pragmatic and looks on the history as a flat series of events not linked to rights, a level that should save Lifta's existence as a natural site for the benefit and enjoyment of the current population of Jerusalem. Riwaq's strength was in being apolitical when it came to the protection of cultural heritage; the political argument that is linked to issues of identity was never used. The future benefits that may come from tourism, housing and social-cultural activities was the stronger one, but can this argument be used for Lifta? How would the people of Lifta in the Palestinian Diaspora feel? And how will locals see it?



Politics of Cultural Heritage Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of Mostar

DZENAN SAHOVIC

Presentation 2

Abstract

Cultural heritage reconstruction in war-torn societies is often understood as a part of the reconciliation process, a process of healing of the wounds of war, physical as well as psychological. At least, reconstruction is supposed to help local economic development and empower victims of war. Sometimes, physical reconstruction is even considered to be a necessary condition for a lasting peace. However, current cases clearly show that the societal and political processes that surround the physical ones are far more complex. In the unstable political context of Bosnia, where groups still pursue their wartime ethno-national interests, reconstruction can easily become a vehicle for deepening of the inter-ethnic conflict. Inclusion and exclusion of different groups at the local level directly affects the power-balance at the local level and reconstruction thereby becomes a part of the problem rather than the solution. The city of Mostar, divided between two ethnic groups on each side of the Neretva river that runs through the centre of the town, is a perfect example of complexity

of the problem. Reconstruction and reopening of the Mostar Old Bridge in 2004 has contributed to tourism and local development, but it had also deepened the division between the groups. Understanding the mechanisms behind such unintended political consequences of grand reconstruction projects is immensely important for the future of physical reconstruction as a part of peace building efforts.

For technical reasons a paper could not be made available for this report



Conservation: A Way for Solidarity

HADI JAHANABADIAN

Presentation 3

Abstract

During decades of conflict and violence, in the history of modern Afghanistan a number of heritage assets have been destroyed or looted, but some of the most significant ones have been safeguarded by local communities. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) is one of the NGOs actively involved in the conservation and adaptive reuse of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Afghanistan. One of the largest conservation projects were carried out in a shrine located north-east of Herat. Following the death of the renowned Sufi mystic Khwaja 'Abd Allah Ansari in AD 1098 (491 AH), his grave in the village of Gazurgah became a major place of pilgrimage. The large complex, built around his grave, was expanded in AD 1425 (828 AH), when the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh commissioned architect Qavam al-Din Shirazi to build a new outstanding asset, which was subsequently expanded by Alishir Nava'i in 1499 (905 AH). The complex today comprises several buildings: shrine and graveyards, Zarnegar, Namakdan pavilion, a garden, a cistern, a semi-underground winter mosque, and a summer mosque. After the conservation project, local communities can enjoy such an amazing asset, with new services that do not conflict with its historic value.



Introduction

Afghanistan is located in a very strategic location surrounded by Pakistan, China, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Iran and Turkmenistan. The political borders of Afghanistan do not necessarily separate tribal settlements and therefore, the Afghan population comprises a vast diversity of different ethnic groups. This country comprises tangible and intangible heritage including historical monuments and fabrics, handicrafts, music, tribal and national traditions.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) is one of the NGOs actively involved in the conservation and adaptive reuse of cultural heritage in Afghanistan. In 2002, the AKTC signed an agreement with the Interim Administration of Afghanistan to restore and rehabilitate a number of significant historic buildings and public open spaces in that country. Since then, a

range of conservation and urban regeneration efforts, improvements to living conditions, addressing community development problems and planning initiatives have been implemented in war-damaged heritage properties.

The AKTC commenced a series of projects for documentation of the historic monuments and sites and training the local workforce for conservation of the cultural heritage properties. The main conservation projects have been implemented by the AKTC in Kabul, Herat and Balkh. The trust is also involved in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage in Afghanistan through the Aga Khan Music Initiative in Central Asia.

AKTC urban conservation and development work receives support from the governments of Germany, Norway, the USA, the UK, and Uzbekistan as well from as the Prince Claus Fund (the Netherlands) and the Open Society Institute.

Attarbashi house in Herat old city before conservation ©





Caravansary of Babur garden, Kabul ©

Conservation in post conflict Afghanistan

The vast religious and tribal diversity in Afghanistan resulted in great internal conflicts resulting instability in the political state of the country.

Through this traditional system, people spend a lot of time in the public – mostly religious – places. Such congruity in the spiritual atmosphere of the religious places is often followed by respect preventing religious and tribal confrontations, while the security crises have always been considered as a treath towards the ideal of congruousness.

During decades of conflict and violence, in the history of modern Afghanistan, a number of heritage assets have been destroyed or looted, but some of the most significant ones have been safeguarded by local communities. This reflects the importance of historic-religious complexes within the Afghan people and their key role as sources of unification and common cultural places. However, following the establishment of the democratically elected government of Afghanistan in 2002, these historic places were generally in a fragile state of conservation and had limited functionality compared with their potentials. Cooperation of international organizations

with the local workforce for reconstruction of the infrastructure of Afghanistan has altered the lives of Afghans through offering work opportunities as well as creation of new or reconstructed public places.

The significant role of religion in the traditional system and social life of the Afghan people magnifies the importance of the historic places which are connected to the religious customs. Although most of the surviving historical monuments of Afghanistan are those which are related to religious functions, such as mosques and shrines, there are also other non-religious public complexes, such as water reservoirs and bazaars remaining in less critical zones.

Conservation efforts implemented by AKTC have improved solidarity through the following approaches:

1. Team work of people from different religions and tribes
2. Activity for improvement of the living environment which results in enhancement of welfare and giving up radical concepts and activities

3. Preparation of more appropriate places for people to come together, especially in the religious places, enhances their sense of solidarity

Restoring the Gazorgah shrine complex

One of the largest conservation projects was carried out in a shrine located north-east of Herat. The shrine complex of Gazorgah is one of the most important surviving examples of Timurid architecture in the region.

Ansari shrine ©

The Ansari shrine

Following the death in AD 1098 (491 AH) of the renowned Sufi mystic Khwaja 'Abd Allah Ansari, his grave in the village of Gazorgah became an important place of pilgrimage. In time, a funerary complex, or *hazira*, developed around the grave, and in 1425 (828 AH) the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh commissioned the architect Qavam al-Din Shirazi to erect an enclosure, which was subsequently repaired by the poet and patron Alishir Nava'i in 1499 (905 AH) after flood damage.

The complex today comprises several buildings; the shrine and enclosed graveyard, the Zarnegar to the south, the Namakdan pavilion in the garden to the west,



a cistern to the north and a semi-underground winter mosque and a summer mosque. Several other structures that are mentioned in historical accounts of the complex have not survived.

The grave platform of Abdullah Ansari stands at the eastern end of a rectangular courtyard in which stand many other historic gravestones. Approaching the entrance to the complex, the visitor walks under a deep arched opening or *iwan* flanked by niches decorated with glazed tiles and bricks. The main door gives on to a lobby with rich painted decoration, on either side of which lie vaulted mosques with fine Moqarnas plasterwork on the ceilings. At the centre of each side of the courtyard beyond is an arched *iwan*, between which are smaller niches with geometric and floral tile-work and brickwork. To the east, behind the grave of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari which is now enclosed in a timber lattice screen, rises a tall arched *iwan* that forms the focal point of the complex.

The elevations of the shrine complex retain extensive areas of glazed tile-work and fired brickwork in floral and calligraphic designs that represent some of the finest examples of Timurid decoration in the country. While the shrine has been extensively altered over time, it retains its original form and proportions. Other important graves in the courtyard include a raised platform around a group of Timurid graves. In a room in the north range lies the *haft qalam* grave, an elaborately carved black basalt stone with seven layers of decorated carving.

Since its erection in AD 1425, the shrine complex has seen extensive alterations and restoration, including those carried out in the 1970s. In 2005, following a survey of the complex and signature of an agreement with the Department of Historic Monuments, the AKTC began to remove modern concrete and lay a weatherproof layer of fired bricks to repair the roofs of the western range so as to protect the plasterwork below. Along with a variety of other works, all of the roofs in the shrine were subsequently repaired. Work began on stabilising the eastern *iwan*, which showed signs of structural settlement, in 2007. During the course of repairs to the brick structure, evidence emerged of various additions and alterations that had been made to the structure over time – some of which were clearly intended to stop its collapse. The final stage of the stabilisation entailed the construction of

brick buttresses on the eastern side of the structure in 2008. In parallel with these works, brick paving was laid between the historic graves in the courtyard, where drainage was also improved and lighting installed. Three rooms on the north side of the shrine complex, found to be close to collapse at the time of surveys, have also been re-built. In addition to the physical conservation, the work has entailed detailed documentation of the structure and decoration of the complex.

The Namakdan pavilion

In AD 1490/895AH, Amir Alishir-e Nawai, who was then custodian of the Gazorgah site, started work on laying out a formal garden, one of several established by members of the Timurid court in the area north of Herat city. As part of this initiative, Nawai built two pavilions along an east-west axis in the garden. Only one of these, the Namakdan-e Olya, survives. Named due its resemblance to traditional salt-cellars, the Namakdan pavilion is a twelve-sided brick structure supporting a dome that spans a central double-height octagonal space, in which lies a pool fed by a water channel. Around this space on the first floor runs a gallery that gives access to a series of eleven niche-like rooms that overlook the garden.

Significant alterations were made to the Namakdan in the mid twentieth century which radically changed the character of the building by introducing an intermediate floor in the central space and fixing windows to enclose several of the external *iwan*. Following a detailed assessment of the condition of the structure of the pavilion, earth material was removed from the roof, along with the modern internal plaster, exposing the original Timurid-era brick masonry structure. Work then started on stabilising the fragile brick dome at the centre of the Namakdan, around which a system of steel ring-beams and ties were introduced in the spaces left by the original timber reinforcement, which had been consumed by termites. At the same time, the external footings of the pavilion were repaired, using materials and techniques found in the original structure. With the brick structure reinforced and repaired, it was possible to remove the modern intermediate floor that divided the original double-height space. The traditional ribbed plaster *karbandi* work in four of the external *iwan*, along with traces of



Timurid tile-work, have been restored in accordance with established conservation practice. The latter suggests that the Namakdan might have originally been a richly-decorated building.

During the course of the works, the base of a pool was revealed in the central space, along with traces of a water channel and a marble waterfall on the western side. All these elements have since been reconstructed, along with areas of stone paving around the pavilion. Discreet lighting has been introduced to enable the use of the Namakdan at night.

The Khanaqah-i-Zarnigar

To the south-west of the shrine lies the Zarnegar, or gilded room, which was built as a *khaneqah*, or meeting room. It is a fine example of Timurid architecture from the time of Shah Rukh (AD 1425/828 AH). The building takes its name from the rich turquoise and gilt painted decorations on the underside of its shallow brick dome. The interior of the building has some of the finest decorative paintings in all of Herat. Access to the building is from the north side, through a deep vestibule. In addition to the repair of the roof, work was carried between 2006 and 2007 on stabilising the south side of the building which retains several rooms with elaborate geometric plaster vaults.

Vital to the effective preservation of the shrine of Khoja Abdullah Ansari in Gazorgah is the management of the complex, which is a site of considerable religious importance and which receives hundreds of pilgrims daily. The AKTC continues to work closely with the head of the religious order that oversees the shrine to mitigate damage to the historic graves – some of which have been illegally removed to make space for new burials – and to ensure that modern services are appropriately incorporated into this important historic monument. After the conservation project, local communities can enjoy such an amazing asset, with better services that do not conflict with its historic value.

Concluding remarks

The conservation of the Gazorgah shrine complex, which was co-funded by the government of Germany, has enabled an important and unusual Timurid monument to be safeguarded for future generations of Afghans, and others. As well as documenting and conserving historic buildings, the programme aims to improve living conditions, generate employment and develop skills among Afghan craftsmen and professionals.

Perspectives and recommendations

RESUMÉ BY: HEGE LARSEN

The workshop as a platform for a fruitful encounter between specialists

The participants in the Oslo workshop represent a broad spectrum of actors in the area of development and the whole event became an exercise in the exchange of agendas, work tools, strategic ideas and experiences. For instance, one of the participants from Bangladesh, Mr Taimur Islam from the Urban Study Group in Dhaka and his team, spend most of their time in court protecting the historic buildings in the city centre of Old Dhaka from demolition – building by building. With the same ambition in sight, but with state support, a city plan and a development trust as managing partner, Mr Masood Khan from the USA and the rest of his team at the Agha Khan Trust has completed a pilot project for the protection, refurbishment and development of the old historic city centre of Kabul. In other words, the interesting mix of participants working towards the same ambition but through different organisational forms with different means and work methods, variety in the degree of public vs. private partnerships, and with different abilities to influence policy making and financial investment, balanced the discussions and made it possible to draw a somewhat holistic picture of the field of action.

Findings and recommendations

The agenda for the workshop were: *How can cultural heritage investment support inclusive urban development that benefits lower income residents?* The question was given many answers. For example, reflecting on the added values of a pilot programme in the walled city centre of Lahore, Mr Masood Khan emphasised in the panel discussion session that: «In the project they hired local youths to work on the sites. When they were done; the youths had not only refurbished the buildings but in the process they had also had an extraordinary experience of taking ownership of hope. They had used their own hands for making the world better».

The recommendations made for future inner-city investment projects, which includes investment in cultural heritage assets, support for lower-income residents and benefits for lower-income residents can be summarised as follows:

- ◆ Everything is contextual – the lessons learned and presented in this workshop must be judged on the basis of their historic, social, political, cultural and economic context – the public administration of cultural heritage management and development are very differently prioritised from place to place
- ◆ We should rethink our imaginaries and visions that inform most (western?) urban planning systems to allow for incremental urban change
- ◆ Urban landscape should not be seen as a planning tool but as a methodology to investigate and give value to the individual and communal daily experiences, starting from its tangible and intangible manifestations to its daily potentialities given by the genius loci and the temporal location
- ◆ Preservation and conservation as well as cultural based policies cannot be detached from sustainability and the attention to the present and future quality of life and the environment
- ◆ Policies and regulations for the city relating to the reform of habitat and the rehabilitation process must be developed in a very clear way
- ◆ Social participation is the key (but what kind of participation by whom and at what stage of a process?)
- ◆ Top-down approaches have generally been rejected and been replaced by bottom-up ones. Neither works. Messy and clumsy processes/solutions should be allowed and explored, the process can be too structured
- ◆ Donor intentions and influences are complicated and can be detrimental

- ◆ Any project must allow time and space for negotiations between the multiple actors and diverse interests that always is part of any urban upgrading initiative
- ◆ Allow the time and space (and money) to accommodate diversity in order to reach a compromise through open negotiations and deliberations with different interests within and beyond the local community
- ◆ Acknowledge the important role of collectives/associations in many urban communities, and understand that they do not necessarily share visions and interests when interventions happen
- ◆ Urban development policies should be primarily directed towards permanent residents rather than short-term visitors like tourists, and one should seek to offer more safety and security and contribute to enhancing the welfare of the local inhabitants
- ◆ Housing and social inclusion strategies must be mixed
- ◆ Strengthening democratic governance and the empowerment of local authorities
- ◆ Shift of policy approach from government to governance – from public and private goods to common and shared goods. This is a policy that invites social participation, and a climate for discussions and negotiation rather than normative rule
- ◆ The role government policies play in relation with gentrification processes should be identified
- ◆ One should foster a process of dialogue and consultation in the beginning of the project, and involve community representatives in the design and the implementation of the interventions
- ◆ The tools for preservation is a precondition: Constitutional laws, strategies for preservation and documentation of cultural heritages as well as city planning followed up with necessary funding
- ◆ One should build up social capital as social mix creates strong and weak links – which will be favourable to the distillation and implementation of common strategies
- ◆ There is a need to balance economic/business goals with cultural, social and environmental goals
- ◆ Facilitate the urban contributions to economic growth and secure the distribution of economic gains among stakeholders and city communities
- ◆ One should strive to utilise the potential of the informal economy and strengthen existing business occupations
- ◆ Make it possible for the urban poor in slums and squatter areas to improve their living conditions
- ◆ Mix high-quality housing schemes and facilitation of small businesses in the efforts
- ◆ Infrastructure development must be treated as an intrinsic part of housing schemes
- ◆ Diversification of economic activities and opportunities
- ◆ Disseminate entrepreneurial culture through encouraging the creation/facilitation of new cultural practices
- ◆ Allow for multiple practices in public urban spaces as the main site of informal activities (e.g. cultural practices that have commercial value such as making and selling traditional crafts etc.)
- ◆ Use the opportunity of cultural heritage conservation to distill and disseminate new skills and competencies for poor people
- ◆ Use projects for local employment creation, and ensure economic activities and job opportunities beyond specific interventions
- ◆ Build tourism sites and activities around the creativity of local communities (such as in the CURE Agra project and the use of heritage walks in Agra and other cities)
- ◆ Create a place not a simple location
- ◆ Secure a fine management of land issues – possibly to the extent that resale of land for profit should be prohibited

In relation to highly contested cultural heritages it is advised that:

- ◆ Cultural heritage can be symbols with conflicting meanings and cultural identities which need to be identified and analysed at the start of any cultural heritage effort
- ◆ Post conflict heritage projects should not take sides, and should be integrated in broad-spectrum reconstruction approaches to avoid being used against other projects and claims
- ◆ If heritage is contested it is extremely problematic to embed it within local relations, and it might be helpful to connect it to wider discourses, and ways of engaging in post conflict heritage that does not contribute to conflict should be explored
- ◆ The intricate relationship between claims and heritage in post conflict societies needs to be understood to ensure investments are successful
- ◆ The different roles/aims of international/national funders and private donors should be understood, and conflicts between them recognised and responded to
- ◆ In order to create solidarity between people one can:
(1) Include people from different religions and tribes/ethnic communities in the work teams. (2) Create activities for improvement of the life environment. (3) Prepare more appropriate places for people to come together

Reflections from the panel discussion

The workshop was concluded with a panel discussion between Ms Rachel Kyte, the Vice President of Sustainable Development at the World Bank, Ms Mie Oak Chae, Director of the Korean Centre for Cultural Territorial Policy, John O'Brien, Head of Corporate Strategy at IDA, Ireland, Ms Sheela Patel (Slum Dwellers International), Director of the Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), and author/architect Anthony Tung (New York). The session was moderated by Mr Carsten Paludan Muller, General Director of the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research,

Opening with general reflections on the agenda, Ms Rachel Kyte emphasised that the main objective of the World Bank is to bring people out of poverty to help everyone live a life in dignity. We live in a time of rapid urban growth. The cities are where the crucial innovation of our near future will happen. Green and inclusive growth of cities is the central ambition. Cultural heritage is a small but essential component of how the World Bank does urban work and there are examples of what works and what does not work. Liveable cities involve cultural heritage – and the more intangible assets of community life which secure inclusive growth. The World Bank invests in the enabling environment of cities, and investment in small businesses hinders emptying out and flowing in mechanisms. By the means of matching grants, blending finance, the World Bank can encourage people to set up businesses. Success is measured through money spent and investment returned, but also how people identify themselves with the place, and feel and respond to the environment around them. We do not yet understand the complete mechanisms in liveable cities, how the synergy between identity and belonging, the material space, cultural heritage and social life is designed but scientific areas of research such as Behavioural Economics helps in the investigation of how these inter-mixed factors operate and helps detect how people behave due to interventions and to measure the benefits and intangible results.

Ms Sheela Patel states that culture is what creates relations and engagement. It is at the core of our social worlds. The «capacity for civil descent» (rules of distribution of inheritance) must be fully recognised. We have to create knowledge and embrace change following the migration to, and growth within, the world cities.

Ms Mie Oak Chae accentuates from the Korean programme that we have to redefine the authenticity of heritage. It is important to enable the site to be conserved and at the same time used in harmonious dialogue with its environment.

The distinctiveness of the historic cities is important to Mr Anthony Tung. He reminds us that these places are full of cultural meaning and history, yet our world heritage is rapidly disappearing. In his view we have to save the endangered city centres as by saving them we save

cultural identity and preserve dignity. What we need internationally are strengthened laws of protection that take into account the differences in the affected locations, cultures and collectives.

The work of IDA in Ireland has given great results, particularly in Dublin. From this experience Mr John O'Brien stresses that worldwide there is a scarcity of talent, and that the investors seek to predict where the talents are going. In urban development programmes one has to think about how to attract and retain people with talent, since they are leading business and job developments for the future.

The question of how to secure mixed income groups in city centres and how this ambition is achieved was one of concern among all of the panellists: Mr John O'Brien pointed to the experiences from Dublin where high quality social housing was developed as a part of the general urban development plan. It helped keep the existing population in the area and to maintain established businesses. Ms Rachel Kyte highlighted that one has to keep people and small businesses everywhere, and that cheap collective transport is also a key asset in urban development. Mr Anthony Tung reminded us that development takes time – Amsterdam developed into its present form in a time span of 50 years. Ms Rachel Kyte brought the line of thought a bit further and emphasised that it is still a fact that housing is not an important part of the development agenda and that they presently work to find strategies for how people in low income households can access the financial market. Lending must be connected with other infrastructure efforts. Programmes have shown that to create «green liveable environments» and transit systems, efforts to reduce electricity bills, water bills etc. so that people continue living in the area, is one strategy to secure that people stay and pay back their loans.

Someone's rationality is someone else's chaos. Hence there is a lack of understanding from donors of how informal decision systems actually may produce sensible results. This is a key concern of Ms Sheela Patel. In India she has experienced that the development of city centres happens in accordance with the rationale and needs of the 15% urban rich instead of facilitating the cultural practices and life activities of the majority 85% of the

population. Ms Rachel Kyte elaborated further on Sheela Patel's concern and said that one person's rationality; is just another rationality and that yet in chaos organised – or organising chaos – amazing things can happen. Through its work the World Bank has experienced that investment in cities for development; development programmes for bringing people out of poverty, can only help to a certain level. There is a tipping point where governments have to co-join, where the national element is important for sustainability in the efforts.

The question of formal versus informal structuring of development activities was then brought up and Mr John O'Brien stressed that to create a common vision of which many independent actors work for the realisation is more realistic than to believe that one is able to create a master plan for the whole urban development process. Mr Anthony Tung elaborated on this fact and brought to our attention that the greatest innovations in history have appeared without any planning, that Amsterdam has developed through informal structures only. The example of the work of Riwaq in Palestine is moreover one where informal communities have found life affirming paths for the preservation and new use of historic buildings. Nonetheless, he emphasised the need for laws to formalise the informal structures. International standards of conservation and best practice still have value and guide the work of actors operating within informal structures.

Ms Rachel Kyte commented on Mr Anthony Tung's example from Amsterdam and said that it costs too much for people to exist in the informal world. Informality is putative for those paying the price as the opportunity cost is huge. Informality offers something else but there is nothing romantic about paying 40% interest rate on a loan. Ms Rachel Kyte closed this part of the discussion by pointing out that the question of formal vs. informal structures is a complex issue and that in relation to each single effort one has to consider: What are the top down structures which actually support the efforts of the bottom up – where do they meet? What is the scale of involvement required? What is the size of the financial engagement required to see results?

Reflections and words of advice from the audience at the panel discussion

Work with cultural heritage makes the young engage with the history of their own place, and brings the memories of the past into the future. It is a process which generates something positive in many aspects, not only jobs on the sites. The power of constituencies should be utilised and one has to look for new ways to increase the involvement of the private sector. One has to work with the business communities and the business owners. Job creation is the main objective of most development efforts. It is a fact that the youth participation in the

labour market is alarmingly low in countries of the Middle East and Africa and here is also where one encounters issues of weak governance and corruption. Therefore the efforts must address the emergent markets and develop the appropriate skills and talent. Cultural heritage and urban development programmes is one place to start. Even though there is evidence for a direct link between cultural heritage development, job creation and poverty reduction, cultural heritage has to be moved up on the list of priorities among policy makers. Policy made lending is prioritised before project lending and one has to build the data and evidence.



Session 1

Anahory, Patricia – CIDLOT, Cape Verde
Ananthakrishnan, S. – UN Habitat, Kenya/Norway
Battle, Stephen – World Monuments Fund, United Kingdom
Chae, Mie Oak – GDP Centre: Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, Korea
Gerlach-Hansen, Olaf – Culture Futures, Denmark
Khan, Masood – Independent consultant, United States
Larsen, Kari – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Lee, So Young – GDP Centre: Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, Korea
Muzzini, Elisa – World Bank, Washington/South Asia
Tung, Anthony Max – Independent author/architect, United States

Session 2

Acri, Marco – University of Nova Gorcia/Venice, Italy
Carbonaro, Gianni – European Investment Bank, Luxembourg
Greffé, Xavier – University of Paris 1, Sorbonne, France
Langøy, Anne Lise - Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Norway
Larsen, Hege M. – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Licciardi, Guido – World Bank, Washington D.C., United States
O'Brien, John – The Industrial Development Agency, Ireland
Rognevær, Bjørn – International Section KS, Norway
Rypkema, Donovan – Place Economics, United States
Van Oers, Ron – UNESCO, Paris, France
Vashakmadze, Ivane – National Agency for Heritage Preservation in Georgia, Georgia

Session 3

Archipovaite, Elena – NTNU, Norway
Berg, Erik – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
Islam, Taimur – Urban Study Group, Bangladesh
Juul- Petersen, Jens – Cross Cultures Project Organisation, Denmark
Khosla, Renu – CURE, India (absent)
Lafrentz Samuels, Kathryn – North Dakota State University, United States
Lindblom, Inge – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Millstein, Marianne – University of Oslo, Norway
Patel, Sheela – SPARC, India
Raftani, Kamal – UNESCO/Ader Fez, Morocco
Solberg, Jon-Andreas – UN Habitat, Kenya/Norway

Session 4

Carniel, Flavio – Norwegian Institute of Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Jahanabadian, Hadi – Naqsh Avaran Consulting Engineers Company, Iran
Kennedy, Thalia – Consultant/Art Historian, United Kingdom
Leslie, Jolyon – Global Heritage Fund, United Kingdom
Myrin, Malin – Cultural Heritage without Borders, Sweden
Paludan Muller, Carsten – Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Sahovic, Dzenan – University of Umeå, Sweden
Stig Sørensen, Marie Louise – University of Cambridge – United Kingdom
Touma, Fida – Riwaq, Palestine

