Re-shaping Cities

How global mobility transforms
architecture and urban form

Edited by
Michael Guggenheim and
Ola Söderström

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Cities are generally considered as expressions of the region in which they are situated. This book tells another story. It shows that cities are on the move, that they are produced by globally circulating architects, ideas and materials.

The fabric of contemporary cities is increasingly moulded by flows of capital, people, images and ideas. For example, Chinatowns and mosques spread in Western cities, while parliaments and office towers are erected in Asia. Types, like the skyscraper; styles, like postmodernism; or urban design models, like Barcelonesque public spaces, circulate across geographic space. Through the medium of professional journals, the practice of architectural and planning offices or through mass media, the result is that urban landscapes tend to resemble as well as differ from each other, according to locally specific acceptances and adaptations of these circulating features.

Studying cities in the present and in the past, in Asia, Europe and North America, the chapters examine the different ways these mobilities are integrated into existing forms and spaces: how local building codes affect the adoption or rejection of certain architectural types, how new versions of building types are designed for specific social and cultural contexts or how certain urban models are simply cut and pasted from one place to another.

Written by scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds – anthropology, architecture, geography, linguistics, science studies and sociology – the book draws its inspiration from a series of different approaches, from actor-network-theory to cultural geography and offers both original theoretical reflection and carefully crafted case studies.

Michael Guggenheim is Research Fellow at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Zürich. He has done research on environmental experts and is currently completing a research project on the history of the concept of change in the use of buildings and conversion practices.

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Edited by Thomas A. Markus and Anthony D. King

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Re-shaping Cities
How global mobility transforms architecture and urban form
Edited by Michael Guggenheim and Ola Söderström

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and Ola Söderström**

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Part I

Travelling Cities

Chapter 1: Introduction

Mobility and the Transformation of Built Form

Michael Guggenheim and Ola Söderström

The social sciences deal with a variety of material or immaterial, fixed or moving, enduring or ephemeral phenomena.[1] Among these phenomena, buildings and urban form are intuitively and generally considered as material, fixed and enduring entities. They are also often seen as having been produced by local forces, materials and resources. The regional, the traditional and indigenous – the 'location' within these forms – have long been favoured compared to the seemingly anonymous processes of internationalisation and globalisation (Canizaro 2006).

This book proposes to look at buildings and urban form from a different perspective by investigating how they are, both today and in the past, constituted and shaped by different manifestations of mobility: the mobility of ideas and models regarding urban society and space, of building types and architects themselves, of migrants, images and materials. The different chapters examine the different ways these mobilities are locally accommodated and integrated into existing forms and spaces: how, for instance, national or regional building codes affect the adoption or rejection of certain building types, how specific versions of hospitals or asylums were designed for specific social and cultural contexts and not for others, or how certain urban models are simply cut and pasted from one place to another. In other words, this book deals with how the *here* in the built environment is always also an *elsewhere*.

In this introductory chapter, we first analyse the processes which the book addresses. We will therefore describe the circulating entities that are constitutive of buildings and urban form: people, models, ideas, types, journals and images. We then discuss the determinants of recent changes in the production of the built environment and identify some theoretical resources useful for the study of the circulatory dimensions of cities. We argue that these changes are determined by five main factors, each linked to one or more of the circulating entities: market liberalisation (capital), international migrations (people), cultural globalisation (ideas), urban entrepreneurialism (images), and changes within architecture and planning (the rise of global offices, 'starchitecture', intensified exchanges within the profession and new design technologies, journals, models, types). We then

move on to the third and last part of the introduction where we describe the organisation of the book and the different contributions. As these are written by authors from anthropology, architecture, geography, history, linguistics and sociology, this is an essentially transdisciplinary collection. While the theme is common, the different approaches to the question of how mobility shapes built form are therefore quite diverse. This diversity of approaches, as well as of space and time frames, has also been a central editorial goal.

A WORLD OF CIRCULATING ENTITIES

Different circulating entities shape buildings in different ways. The main forms of mobilities involved are the circulation of people, practices and ideas, the circulation of building types, the circulation of different kinds of media, such as images, words and texts, architectural models, the circulation of parts and materials, and finally the circulation of whole buildings.[2] In this section we discuss them and detail in what ways they are related to the transformation of built form.

Circulating People

The most likely starting point for the circulation of concepts and ideas about buildings is the circulation of people. The latter is a vector of the circulation of artefacts for two reasons. First, people travel, and travelling exposes them to new ideas which they might bring back home. Travelling may occur with or without the specific purpose to learn about and import new conceptions of built form. In Anthony King's study of the bungalow, for instance, the introduction and reinvention of that building type did not result from a plan to research the idea in India and bring it back to England (King 1984). Rather, the notion of the bungalow, conveyed by the circulation of the term, textual descriptions and images between the two countries became sufficiently familiar in England for it to be reinvented there as a new type of building by people who, as far as is known, had no previous experience of India. But travelling may also have the specific purpose to study and learn about objects and building types.[3] As reported in Topp's contribution to this volume, in the early twentieth century, architects of psychiatric institutions undertook study trips to learn about psychiatric institutions in other countries.

Moreover, people migrate, and through migration they bring specific cultural practices to other places. The travelling of these practices leads to the creation or reconfiguration of places in other locations. It is well known that migration flows are at the origin of transformations of urban landscapes at different scales: from shops and restaurants displaying signs and offering cuisines from other parts of the world to whole neighbourhoods, such as Chinatowns created through a complex interplay between migrant and local communities (Anderson 1991; Leeman and Modan, Chapter 9, this volume).

This process also includes the redefinition of actions and interactions in places, from the culturally variable management of distance in face-to-face

relations to spatially more extended social practices. For example, as discussed in the chapters by Kuppinger and Guggenheim, Muslims give new functions to spaces in West European cities by converting different kinds of rooms and buildings into places of prayer, without (or with minimal) architectural intervention.

Circulating Types

If we move away from people as vectors of the circulation of built form, we encounter the most abstract and probably most complex way to transport conceptions of buildings: that is, the adaptation of existing building types. The latter refer to terms, such as 'bank', 'villa', 'church' or 'prison', that classify buildings according to their uses. A type is related to a historical process: it emerges when a form crystallises to accommodate specific social practices such as, to put it into its simplest terms, 'managing savings and lending money', 'dwelling as a nuclear family', 'praying as Christians' or 'detaining people as a form of punishment'. The link between practice and form is a rather loose one however, and architectural theory struggles to define it. Already in its first codifications in architectural theory, the relation between types and actual buildings was considered flexible.[4]

For this very reason, ideas about building types are predestined as transport vehicles, since they are loose enough to convey only some essential features and be adapted to the specificities of new places. As Kenneth Frampton points out in his discussion of the distinction between typology and topography, the notion of a building type already presupposes transportability whereas the idea of topography highlights a 'place-form' adapted to local ecological, climatic or symbolic circumstances (Frampton 2006). Following this argument, a type is a classification that does not link buildings to their site or place of origin, but to other, usually social and functional classifications, devoid of local references. The notion of building type is thus opposed to the idea of 'regionalism'. It does not follow that types cannot or are not adjusted to local circumstances: rather the opposite. Exactly because types are classifications that do not refer to specific local qualities, buildings of a given type are adapted to local circumstances, while still belonging to the same typological classification. But such an adaptation automatically redefines the building type, since the type in question now encompasses new and different exemplars.

Schneekloth and Franck have coined the term 'type operations' to describe the ongoing to and fro between interactions, names, images and actual buildings that create types (Schneekloth and Franck 1994: 23). The mere existence of buildings that are used in a certain way does not constitute a building type. Types only *exist* through type operations. Such operations work in two directions: first through abstraction and then through exemplification (and back to abstraction, ad infinitum). They are abstractions both of built form and of human activities.

A building type is, first of all, formed by detaching given features from existing, locally rooted buildings and condensing them into a non-local type. By this process, formal features are identified and related to specific functions. The history of building types can then be written as a history of very specific local

circumstances that give rise to new building types that are abstracted and reduced to a description of essential features, to make them reproducible.[5] Today, in the age of high-tempo globalisation, social practices are transferred across space and with them building types, such as the office tower, to house them in new places.

Types are also abstractions in another sense: because they frame, schematise and reduce the potential complexity of social practices. Thus, for example, in Chang's contribution to this volume, we can see how the development of the pavilion hospital includes the standardisation of health- and hygiene-related behaviour through built form. As Chang shows, the transfer of these standards can become quite a difficult task.

The second operation, the exemplification of types, occurs when a building is built according to a particular type concept. Types have to be adapted to a new location because construction workers and architects use other building techniques and construction practices, because different sites provide different materials, and because of the existence of different cultural norms and legal frameworks. The circulation of types encounters, in certain circumstances, local differences that lead to a radical redefinition of the type. In the case of mosques, for instance, seemingly defining elements such as minarets cease to be attached (in all senses of the word) to mosques when they are created in European contexts where there is pressure for their invisibilisation (as is discussed here in the chapters by Kuppinger and Guggenheim). These cases are interesting 'border situations' where one can argue, depending on the exemplifications, that the type is adapted (for example, losing one of its distinctive features) or that social activities are performed without being hosted in their corresponding building type.

Circulating Media

Types, as we have seen, are abstract vehicles providing for the mobility of building forms. Other, more concrete media intervene in this process. First, symbolic ones, such as words and images, which encode buildings (and building types), each according to their distinct logic. Second, the means of transportation of these symbols: people of course, as mentioned previously, but also drawings, maps, photographs, journals, videos, CAD renderings and websites. All these different media are crucial in the circulation of built form at different scales: from details of interior design and street furniture to entire city layouts.

In visual disciplines such as architecture and urban planning, images are, of course, much more efficient than words. Visual media have historically been constitutive elements of these disciplines. When, in early fifteenth-century Florence, Filippo Brunelleschi uses drawings as spaces of simulation for architectural conception, he establishes architecture as a *cosa mentale*, an intellectual activity, and moves architecture up from the mechanical arts to the liberal arts (Santillana 1959). When, a few years later, Leon Battista Alberti precisely maps the city of Rome in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae*, he creates one of the conditions of possibility

of modern urban planning by providing a totalising image of the city and thus a space for its (re)conception (Söderström 2000).

Drawings and plans are efficient intellectual technologies not only because they allow simulation and conceptual thinking, but because they preserve a representation of a realised or potential building across space. They are what Bruno Latour calls 'immutable mobiles' (Latour 1987: 226–227). These different advantages of visual media have been magnified by innovations in information technologies in the past decades. Globalisation is not only planetary interconnectedness but, as Castells insists (Castells 1996), *real-time* planetary interconnectedness. As a consequence, architectural and urban forms can be immediately shared across the globe, between practitioners belonging or not belonging to the same firm. Borrowings, inspirations, 'cut-and-paste' operations (see Söderström, Chapter 10, this volume) have become easy to perform and are therefore very widespread.

A yet unwritten history of the media of architecture would show the ever-increasing speed and ever-increasing numbers and diversity of images used to 'circulate buildings'.[6] The invention of the printing press made the widespread availability of architectural tracts possible. The invention and dissemination of architectural journals made the global exchange of styles, forms and plans much faster. The internet and all its derived technologies have in recent years added another layer of speed and global accessibility. Stock photography and internet-based picture databases are other related and powerful visual media, as Grubbauer (Chapter 4, this volume) shows, participating in the same process and leading, notably, to the visual standardisation of building types.

Linguistic signs, used to give places names and sometimes to exoticise them, can be circulating entities, as shown by Leeman and Modan in their analysis of Washington's Chinatown (Chapter 9, this volume). Accompanying the presence of the Chinese community and later the ethnic-packaging of the area (when most people of Chinese origin were gone), these signs go hand in hand with the import of 'Chinese' built form or have an autonomous function in the production of the area's different meanings through time.

Circulating Building Parts and Whole Buildings

The above-mentioned circulating entities all hint at the fact that ease of transportation is inverse to size and weight of an object. For this reason, buildings are themselves only rarely moved, and very rarely over long distances. Examples to the contrary show how extraordinary such a movement is. It mainly occurs at both ends of the value spectrum of the building stock. At the cheap end are temporary houses, such as tents, caravans or mobile homes, all left out by architectural history, precisely because they are in between movable objects and immovable buildings.[7] At the other extreme we have buildings that are moved because they are very valuable. They are moved to save the buildings from destruction or to become part of a museum and are then turned into works of art. Typical examples are buildings transferred to open-air museums, such as that

at Skansen in Sweden (Crang 1999), where they are displayed as representatives of regional styles and constitutive parts of national identities. Hancock (Chapter 6, this volume) discusses similar processes, but where the open-air museum itself is also seen as a travelling type, in a non-European context, namely southern India. The 'Cloisters', the medieval gallery of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, built in its entirety from medieval building parts that were shipped to the US from their original sites in Europe, is another example of rare travels of buildings or building parts as such (Barnet *et al.* 2005).

These examples show that buildings are usually not moved at all. Buildings are however dependent on the flow of materials towards the building site. Thus the materials in the vicinity of a building site often influence or determine the appearance of a building, as the distance the materials have to travel directly influences the cost of a building. Tim Edensor shows (Chapter 11, this volume) that locally available sorts of stone heavily influenced the appearance and form of Manchester for a long time. In recent years, the networks of supply have diversified, also covering longer distances. As a result, Manchester's 'stony fabric', like that of many other cities, has become more cosmopolitan and less rooted in its local and regional geology.

These are the main constitutive elements of the mobility of built form. They combine in multiple ways – people convey types through images, for instance – to produce changes in urban landscapes. Where, when and how they combine is only understandable by considering the structural processes through which built form is shaped.

DETERMINANTS OF CHANGE

Trying to get a heuristic gain by looking at the interplay between different forms of mobility, as we propose in this book, is the central tenet of the so-called mobilities' paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006). The natural bias of such an attempt is to consider that 'everything and anything flows', when we know that some things don't. In other words, focusing on circulatory features, one might end up overseeing phenomena of fixity on the one hand and producing a blurry, indiscriminate picture of social change and organisation on the other. It is therefore important to consider in general that mobility and fixity are dialectically related (Urry 2007) and, as we will show below in the more particular case of this volume, that there are structural determinants of urban change.

The same may be said about another way of framing the processes analysed in this book: the cosmopolitical approach to social phenomena.[8] In its most programmatic version (Beck 2006) this approach is an encouragement to move away from theories, concepts and data sources forged within strictly national contexts. It says little however about the forces at work creating a cosmopolitan world.[9]

We will therefore try to identify hereafter not a single determinant of change, but a series of general processes which frame the different local or

regional phenomena described and analysed in the chapters of the book. The following is thus a preliminary and cautious attempt to delineate some historical processes that are at play.

There are, in our view, as a precondition to the mobility of built form, three structural processes: first, economic processes and more specifically the global reach of building firms; second, the reach of global cultural flows, and third, the migration of the highly skilled. We will then briefly address, on a lower level of generality, two shifts related to these processes: the rise of urban entrepreneurialism and the emergence of the global architectural and planning firms.

The contributions to this volume cover quite a long time-span and, of course, a large geographical space: from mid-nineteenth century Singapore to present-day Stuttgart. It would be beyond the possibilities of this introduction to try to account for such wide-ranging processes in all these different temporal and spatial contexts. The following section will therefore restrict itself to give some indications concerning a longer *durée*, but will then focus on recent decades.

Economic Networks and Mobile Built Forms

According to Peter Taylor, industrial modernity was organised by a 'centripetal metageography'[10] where a global periphery supplied the needs of an industrial core (Taylor 2004: 183). Basic raw materials were brought to Northwestern Europe from distant regions, which often were, or became, colonies. Colonial economic networks in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were important channels for the worldwide dissemination of built form (King, 1990). The main orientation of the flows was that of the export of building types and styles from the centre to the colony, but flows went also, to a certain extent, the other way, as an analysis of the landscape of imperial London clearly shows (Driver and Gilbert 1999). Specific solutions were also derived from the local adaptation of building types in the periphery first elaborated in the core (see Topp (Chapter 8) and Chang (Chapter 7), this volume).

Cities like Cairo have, for instance, gone through different periods during which the direction and importance of foreign influences have clearly changed: a period of French influence during the domination of the Ottomans in the 1860s and 1870s, followed by a period of British influence (1882–1922) and a period of re-Arabisation and re-nationalisation under Nasser. More recently, Cairo has entered a period of Americanisation of its built forms which is related to a deregulation of the national economy and to the fact that Egypt has become a pivotal ally of the US in the Near East (Abaza 2001; Volait 2003).

In comparison to the preceding and successive periods, the early postcolonial era, during the 1960s and 1970s, with the rise of nationalist economic strategies in the global South, was less favourable for the forms of circulation this book is interested in. The Keynesian compromise of that period – combining redistributive politics, controls over the free mobility of capital and capital accumulation (Harvey 2006) – may be seen in retrospect as a period of relatively

closed borders.[11] The most notable development was probably the global success and adaptation of the international style and of the building technologies that made it possible, especially the widespread use of concrete as the main building material. Typical examples are the new mega-plannings of capitals, such as Brasilia, Chandigarh and Ankara (Epstein 1973; Prakash 2002; Sagar 2002). This in turn has also led to a rediscovery and often import and then re-export from the periphery to the centre of those building technologies and types that were displaced by the rise of concrete.[12]

The worldwide development of neo-liberal politics since the early 1980s has altered the role of the states: creating a good 'business climate' has become more important than improving the well-being of all citizens (Harvey 2006: 25). Free mobility of capital as a means to favour capital accumulation has, in this context, become a major target of governments in most countries (with the help of international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank). The implementation of policies aiming at such a target has implied the removal of a series of barriers to the free flow of investments and access to labour markets at national and local scale. As a consequence, access to formerly protected national markets in the building and planning sector has been opened to foreign firms and practitioners and planning, and building regulations in cities have been made more flexible.[13] These structural developments are preconditions for the increase in the circulation of architects, planners and built forms we have witnessed in recent years. They have facilitated the rise of global architecture firms (McNeill 2009) and its correlates such as the development of a global market of symbolic architectural capital.

The shift in the technological organisation of the economic sector accompanying and sustaining market liberalisation in the same period is a second structural precondition of this process. Described as an informational economy by Manuel Castells, this form of organisation is based on the intensity and speed of information flows connecting economic actors: 'it is the historical linkage between the knowledge information base of the economy, its global reach, and the Information Technology Revolution that gives birth to a new, distinctive economic system' (Castells 1996: 66). The basic unit of this economy is the 'network enterprise' (Castells 1996: 171). Interconnectedness is a means to identify new business opportunities on a wide geographic scale and to be able to react rapidly to changes in the market. Information technologies are here, of course, crucial tools, bringing ever-increasing speed and capacities (in terms of quantity and quality) to the exchange of information.

Firms in planning and architecture have thus become network enterprises: part of their success depends on their capacity to successfully link with partner firms and subcontractors locally and globally (interfirm linkages) and in some cases to create an internationally organised system of offices belonging to the same firm (intrafirm linkages). The rise of networked architectural and planning firms in the past two decades has thus provided an important material support for the mobility of built form, as we will see below.

Transnational Cultural Flows

The idea that cultures are localised and that we have witnessed a recent shift from a situation where the world was characterised by a mosaic of neatly distributed 'cultures' to a situation where it is criss-crossed by a dense web of cultural exchanges is historically inconsistent. Such a theory is oriented by a Herderian nationalist conception of culture (Wimmer 1996) more than by anything else. As Gupta and Ferguson put it, 'spaces have always been interconnected, instead of naturally disconnected' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 8). Colonialism, they argue, should therefore be seen as the 'displacement of one form of interconnection by another' (ibid.), instead of the opening up of what were previously closed and autonomous societies.

This being said, the colonial context, in which some of the contributions of this book are set, corresponds to an intensification of transnational cultural connections linked to routes of economic exchange.[14] But the story of economic and cultural connections, if closely related, is not completely parallel. While the period between 1945 and 1980 is an era of economic statism and relative closure, it corresponds to a huge development in cultural flows related to the development of mass media and telecommunications. This development radically changed societies' relations to information and especially its geographical distribution (Meyrowitz 1986). It changed in particular the access to visual information concerning built form in regions that were not easy to reach through travel. The circulation of images through the development of television and the facilitated access to geographically distant places through the use of jet airplanes during this period enormously enhanced what we could call the visual exposure of the world to itself.

The globalisation of culture related to the rise of real-time technologies added another feature to what Appadurai calls 'imagescape', which is the possibility to access and retrieve images from an ever-growing worldwide visual data bank (see Grubbauer, Chapter 4, this volume). What is meant by cultural globalisation should be unpacked however, since it is a multifaceted process which is approached differently in the literature. To put it briefly, one can say that four related processes constitute it.[15]

The first is the growing awareness that the world as a totality is an arena of exchange, cooperation and conflict. This view has been elaborated and discussed in particular in the work of Roland Robertson (Robertson 1992). The second refers to the symbolic struggles related to the dynamics of global capitalism, characterised by tensions between increasingly hegemonic cultural practices (in the realm of consumption for instance) and resistant ones. These mechanisms have been highlighted notably by world-systems theory (Wallerstein 1974). The third consists of the standardised international norms and regulations at a global scale in the domain of public policies. Education policies (including the curricula of architectural schools), as studied by Schofer and Meyer (Schofer and Meyer 2005), are good examples of such globalised political cultures. The fourth process is the increasingly dense and interconnected flow of ideas, values, images and

lifestyles across the globe. The effects of these connections in terms of identity positionings, cultural creolisation, transnationalism or cosmopolitanism have been described by authors such as Appadurai (1996), Hannerz (1996) and many others in cultural theory and the social sciences in recent years.

The transformation of built form is part and parcel of these different phenomena. The defence, by certain sectors of society, of a 'national architectural style' in the context of the Westernisation of the urban landscape of Beijing (Ferrari 2006), as well as debates around mosques in European cities (Kuppinger (Chapter 5) and Guggenheim (Chapter 3), this volume) or the debate about (critical) regionalism (Canizaro 2006; Lefaivre and Tzonis 2003) are related to the fact that the world has become a relevant arena for identity politics. The literature on gentrification (Lees *et al.* 2008), in particular work dealing with the role of transnational elites (Rofe 2003), stresses the tensions between globally diffused urban ways of life and local urban cultures. As Massey and Escobar argue however, these debates tend to stage too easily the local as the resistant victim and the global as an omnivorous footloose force (Escobar 2001; Massey 2005, 2007).

Unfortunately there is barely any research on the third of these processes: the standardisation of norms regulating the exercise of professions in the building sector. Rules concerning public markets in the European Union during the 1990s, for instance, as well as the generalisation of open international architectural competitions, have widely opened the access to public contracts for foreign professionals. Finally, the mobility of built form has been largely intensified by the spectacular increase in global cultural flows through mass media and different other types of images and texts.[16] These flows result in the creolisation of built forms described by different contributors in this volume. In brief, cultural globalisation, as a set of connected processes partly autonomous from economic globalisation, is another structural dimension of the process that this volume addresses.

The International Mobility of the Highly Skilled: The Architect as a Travelling Professional

The mobility of built form also rests, as we have seen, on bodily movement. Architecture, as a professional activity, has never been purely local. The architect may be seen as the archetypical cosmopolitan, bringing his or her expertise to places where they can find work and adapting their skills to local circumstances. What changes over time are the geographical reach and the reasons behind their mobility. Initially, the reasons for the travels of architects seem to be colonial in the sense that architects travelled as representatives of the central power to the periphery. French professionals, like their British counterparts (see Chang, Chapter 7, this volume), actively participated in the building of colonial cities, notably in Morocco during the first decades of the twentieth century, where figures like the planner and architect Henri Prost was the brilliant executor of Maréchal Lyautey's governing programme and experimented with new solutions that were later imported back to the centre (Rabinow 1995). The other reasons

for the travels of architects were economic or political hardship in their original place of residence.

The emigration of many of modernism's key representatives from Europe to countries such as the US, the USSR and Israel, is, for instance, at the heart of its internationalisation. Neither White Tel Aviv nor the rise of modern architecture in the US would have come into existence without the forced migration of many of Germany's and Austria's best architects. The belief in architecture as a universal language has been another motivation for architects and planners to travel. It is true to a certain extent of the Italian Renaissance *trattatisti* (Choay 1980). It is clearly the case with the modern and functionalist movement in architecture from the late 1920s onward, where internationalism was related to the project of bringing rational and context-independent solutions to the art of building.

In more recent years, such mobilities, formerly related to individual career paths or professional networks like the CIAM (Mumford 2000), are also to be inscribed in the general context of the transformation of international migrations. The structure of migratory patterns after World War II indeed changes after the 1973 oil crisis (Castles and Miller 1998: 67). As a consequence of the recession and economic restructuring of the 1970s (deindustrialisation, new international division of labour, development of the service sector) the needs of the labour markets of developed countries mutate. The search for highly qualified personnel is one of the consequences of this economic restructuring and, hence, the increase of their mobility. Many OECD countries during that period changed their migration policies to favour the immigration of skilled and highly skilled workers.

These changes in the needs of the labour market and in migration policies have acted as powerful 'pull factors' in the mobility of professionals in planning and architecture. These factors are reinforced by a widespread discourse on the virtues and necessities of geographic mobility in different milieux: in the media and in higher education (with the strong development of mobility programmes in the past decade) in particular. The result is a cosmopolitisation of architectural and planning firms and a renewal of architectural and planning styles or trends in national contexts. The recent shift in Italian architecture has, for instance, been attributed to the so-called 'Erasmus generation': in other words, to the first generation of students having benefited from the European mobility programmes at university level (Prestinenza Puglisi 2007). As Söderström shows for the city of Palermo (Chapter 10, this volume), these effects are also observable at a local level, when recent changes in urban forms are related to their authors: young architects with experience as students in cities like Berlin and Barcelona.

These three macro-level transformations are connected to a series of meso-level processes that frame the contemporary mobility of built form. Two of them are of particular importance: the first, regarding forms of urban governance, is the development of urban entrepreneurialism, the second, regarding the organisation of architectural and planning firms, is the rise of the global architecture and planning offices.

Urban entrepreneurialism is related to a dramatic increase in interurban competition within and across national borders (Brenner 2004; Hall and Hubbard 1998; Harvey 1989). Such a competition involves, among other things, the creation of an exciting urban landscape with a series of landmark buildings produced by 'starchitects', with the hope that a 'Bilbao effect' can be reproduced (Cronin and Hetherington 2008). But it also means producing an image where more banal urban forms (certain styles of condominium, street furniture) and generic types of interventions (waterfront, brownfield rehabilitation) are 'imported' to create what is conceived as an up-to-date attractive environment.

Since the 1990s there has been an important increase in the average size and geographical reach of architectural firms. A new layer of firms – providing services in architecture, planning, engineering or landscape architecture – has emerged for which the playground is, if not global, at least very international. These practices function as network enterprises, taking advantage of international outsourcing for tasks that can be performed by skilled and (most importantly) inexpensive personnel in another country (interfirm network). They are also constituted as a web of offices in different (usually global) cities on different continents (Knox and Taylor 2005: 24).

What the rare publications on these issues show is that there are privileged routes for the activity of these global practices (Knox and Taylor 2005; Knox 2007). The mobility of built form through these firms, which is but one of its vehicles, is therefore geographically uneven, or better there is a set of circuits in which firms of different sizes and with different reaches operate to import and export built form. The different chapters of this book, to which we now move, tell different stories about built form. Each of them stages some of the above described 'circulating entities' and discusses some of the structural determinants of urban change.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

The book is organised in four parts. Part I is devoted to theoretical considerations regarding the theme of the book. This introduction has tried to identify the elements and mechanisms involved in the mobility of built form. In Chapter 2, Anthony King spells out some preliminary ideas for a historical sociology of building types in the light of global mobility and thereby responds to a neglect of the significance of built form in globalisation theory. He focuses on the importance of imperialism, colonialism and postcolonialism to insist on the role of power in the worldwide circulation of built form. These two chapters prepare the ground for a series of theoretically informed case studies that examine various forms of circulation in different contexts. The chapters cover diverse historical settings and a wide geographical spectrum (including India, Italy, the UK, Germany, China, the USA, Switzerland and Singapore). The reader may take the lack of studies that predate the nineteenth century or that look at African or Latin American examples or that integrate other media, such as films, or other building types, such as

parliaments, courts or shopping centres as encouragement to expand our first venture into other times and spaces.

Part II focuses on the media of circulation. Instead of looking primarily at buildings, it examines some of the factors that help (or prevent) buildings circulate. In Chapter 3, Michael Guggenheim focuses on the law as a powerful but often neglected mediator to regulate the circulation of building types at a national scale, in this case, Switzerland. His analysis of caravans, mosques and homes for assisted suicide shows that the law is a powerful mediator that shapes the import of building types by enforcing adaptations and controlling changes to building form. The legal realm serves as an arena where conflicts about the circulation of building types become explicit.

Chapter 4 looks at media in the more common sense of the term. Monika Grubbauer shows how the practice of stock photography firms serves to globally standardise the type of the office building. She maintains that it is not so much the office tower itself which is standardised. It is rather the global diffusion and endless reproduction of a limited number of pictures representing *the* office tower that standardises our image of it. These images in turn act as vectors in the production of actual office towers.

Part III focuses on the circulation of specific building types. Each chapter addresses a building type circulating in a part of the world other than that of its origin. Chapter 5 by Petra Kuppinger analyses the history of mosques and their use in the city of Stuttgart, Germany. She shows how these mosques, located in converted buildings and in marginalised parts of the city, and also often unrecognisable as such from the outside, express the uneasy 'place' of Islam in Germany.

The following three chapters share a common interest in travelling architects as the central actors in the circulation of building types. Mary Hancock's ethnography in Chapter 6 shows how the open-air museum, DakshinaChitra, located close to Chennai in India, borrows from European and US precursors to represent a memory of the pre-modern vernacular space and architecture just at the time when this space is vanishing. She shows how such places are both nostalgic reactions to and functional elements of contemporary global mobility. In Chapter 7, Jiat-Hwee Chang tracks the circulation of the pavilion hospital from the colonial metropolis of London to its colony, Singapore, in the early twentieth century. He shows how this specific built form is part and parcel of colonial governmentality through the use of both environmental technologies, such as the adaptation to its 'tropical' setting and the control of ventilation, and social technologies, most notably racial segregation. Leslie Topp's chapter (Chapter 8) on psychiatric institutions is in many ways complementary to Chang's. She also deals with the travels of notions about hospitals at around the same point in time but in the Habsburg Empire. Here, it is not colonialists who export a building type, but government officials, architects and psychiatrists who undertake study trips in order to determine the most 'clinically effective' building type to import from Germany. Topp shows how these study trips resulted in the adoption of different building models to match the different requirements of the Italian and Austrian context, respectively.

Part IV deals more specifically with the buildings themselves, their exterior facades and the materials they are made of. The chapters in this part therefore focus much more on the actual appearance of buildings and on the constraints in actually changing them. First, using tools stemming from sociolinguistics, urban geography and anthropology, Jennifer Leeman and Gabriella Modan (Chapter 9) analyse the linguistic landscape of Washington's Chinatown. They show how the signs that partially comprise this landscape were first related to the initial installation of the Chinese community in the area and were used for orientation. Later, with the gentrification of Chinatown, the signs became touristic indicators of the supposedly Chinese character of the area, which was reinforced by building codes. In Chapter 10 on Palermo's city centre, Ola Söderström opens up a broader discussion of how cities are transformed by different types of flows. He first analyses the central mediating role of local government in the relation between global flows and local forms and then considers five urban types, such as the reuse of waterfronts, as indicators of a recent reconnection of Palermo to global flows of people, capital and ideas. These imported and adapted forms not only reconfigure the landscape of the city but also, he shows, generate new urban practices such as 'waterfront jogging'.

In Chapter 11, Tim Edensor looks at the circulation of building materials, specifically different types of stone, and how they shape the building of cities. Taking three buildings in Manchester as case studies he shows how the supply of stone not only shapes the appearance and forms of the city but also the places from where it is taken. The quarries are connected to the city according to a complex cultural history of extraction and building techniques. With Edensor's piece on stones we reach the point where the seemingly most durable and stable part of a city, stone, becomes part of the network of endlessly circulating things. In her conclusion, Lynda Schneekloth (Chapter 12) does much more than give her comments on the previous contributions. She offers, first, a reflection on the typological mechanisms enabling the circulation of ideas and material forms of buildings. She concludes her chapter and the volume by looking at how the production of built form at a global scale is as much about the making than about the unmaking of environments, reminding us that those transformed environments are the habitat of more-than-human (and often vulnerable) entities, such as animals and plants.

NOTES

1   The authors would like to thank Monika Grubbauer, Lynda Schneekloth, Anthony D. King and Thomas Markus for their insightful comments on this Introduction.
2   The distinctions drawn here are for analytic reasons. It goes without saying that in most processes dealt with in this book, several of these modes of mobility occur together.
3   For examples related to the history of planning, see Ward (1999: 55).
4   Quatremère de Quincy, in his classic definition, distinguished the 'more or less vague' type from the 'precise and given' model (Quincy 1788–1828: 544).

5 In the aftermath of the French Revolution, a plethora of new building types thus emerged (see Markus 1993).

6 For a history of architectural journals see, for example, Leniaud (2001) or Crysler (2003). For a history of architectural models see Smith (2004) and Moon (2005), and for a history of architectural drawings see Johnston (2008).

7 Although see Kronenburg (2002) and Schwartz-Clauss (2002). See also Guggenheim (Chapter 3 this volume) for an account of how caravans produce legal conflicts.

8 In the burgeoning literature on cosmopolitics and cosmopolitanism, let us quote only one publication, which is, in our view, the most useful for an orientation in the field: Vertovec and Cohen (2002).

9 As well as those creating anti-cosmopolitan reactions (Graham 2006).

10 A metageography is here the 'geographical structures through which people order their knowledge of the world' (Taylor 2004: 180).

11 'Relatively closed borders', because the impact of USSR and US architecture and modes of planning during the Cold War in their respective spheres of influence should not be underrated.

12 See, for example, Christopher Alexander's attempt at a universal language for architecture that incorporates the knowledge of local traditions (Alexander 1979). Or see more specifically Hassan Fathy's attempt to reintroduce natural mud plaster-coated mud brick buildings into the US (Steele 1996).

13 This is a tendency and not a completed process: many national restrictions remain and are likely to persist because of (or thanks to) the non-finalisation of the WTO treaty concerning the liberalisation of professional services (GATS).

14 For interesting contributions on the reception side of the process regarding planning models during and after the colonial period see Nasr and Volait (2003).

15 The following list of approaches is inspired by a typology suggested by Lechner and Boli (2005).

16 For a (certainly incomplete) list see the section above on media of circulation.

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Chapter 2: Notes Towards a Global Historical Sociology of Building Types

Anthony D. King

INTRODUCTION

I start this chapter with a definition of two concepts. By globalisation I refer to 'a speeding up in worldwide connectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (Held *et al*. 1999: 2). By globality, following Roland Robertson who invented the term, I refer to 'the consciousness of the (problem of the) world as a single place' or 'the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992: 132).

A common and often implicit assumption that encapsulates these two ideas, the notion of 'worldwide connectedness' and the 'consciousness of the world as a single place', is that globalisation is predominantly an urban phenomenon and that cities worldwide are becoming increasingly alike. Taken to its extremes, the assumption is that, as the world population is now over 50 per cent urbanised, we are steadily moving to a situation where, ultimately, most of the world's population will be living in one big interconnected city, or at least, urban conglomeration, real and virtual, spread spatially over different parts of the globe. Is this the 'single place' that Robertson envisaged as 'the world'?

Why do people make this assumption? I suggest it is because they believe that similar types of building, architecture and urban form are present in cities worldwide. How true is this? If we ignore for a moment the different political, economic or cultural histories that might be used to refute this argument, or the development of worldwide functional differentiation and an international division of labour (which I address below), we could say that some of these building types simply result from the adoption of similar technological developments in transport worldwide: airports, with their terminal buildings, runways and hangars; railway stations, with their track systems and adjoining bus terminals; container ports, with their huge boxes and animal-like cranes; or, with the global ubiquity of the automobile, everywhere similar gas stations, single and multi-storey parking facilities.

How else is urban worldwide interconnectedness manifest? On New Delhi's outskirts, anglophone Indian graduates in multi-storey call centres type out dictated medical notes for doctors in Pittsburgh hospitals. In huge hangars in Seattle, Boeing 777 body parts, manufactured in Chinese factories, are assembled into aircraft sold to South Africa. In cities worldwide, massive stadiums accommodate World Cup football or the Olympics.

'Global cities' around the world accommodate, as well as symbolise, in their high-rise office towers and signature architecture, not only 'global control capability' (Sassen 2001) but the essence of worldwide interconnectedness: international banks and hotels, high-tech conference centres. 'Mega-projects', designed by architectural 'megapractices' (McNeill 2009: 22), are built by aspiring Asian cities striving to join the 'global club' (Marshall 2002). Types reproduced are not just single buildings but much larger spatial units. Most obvious is the cluster of high-rise office buildings, essential – according to the Chinese developer of Shanghai's new centre of Pudong – to create an authentic image of a 'financial district' (see Grubbauer, Chapter 4, this volume). At an even larger scale, the urban type reproduced is the idea of a global city itself, as in (pre-credit crisis) Dubai, with its proposed kilometre-high tower ('the tallest in the world') and 200 skyscrapers, thrust into the sky from a desert rapidly depleted of oil (Black 2008) (Figure 2.1).

How do these comments on the built environments of global interconnectedness relate to my title? In the following pages my aim is not only to focus on the role of the mobility of building and urban form in re-shaping cities but also to examine the spaces and channels across and along which this mobility occurs. In asking how our current interconnected urban world came about, I also want to

Figure 2.1
Dubai: planned development. Photograph of display board, March 2008. Photograph by author.

explore some key issues which would need to be addressed in writing 'A global historical sociology of building types'. Or more briefly, *Buildings and Society: A Global History*. The chapter comprises two main sections. The first addresses theoretical questions of building type and language; the second examines, with some illustrative case studies, the times and spaces across which ideas about architecture and building types move.

I view this primarily as a sociological investigation. Like others, I see the built environment, in the first instance, as socially produced, but once existent, having agency to affect subsequent social developments. Various scholars in the past have approached the study and meaning of the built environment (not least, the study of building types) along similar lines – among others, Markus' *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (1993), Foucault's studies of the prison and clinic (1973, 1979), Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), and my own edited volume on *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (King 1980, 1984). Apart from their differing theoretical approaches, however, they all have one thing in common; namely, they were written prior to the now generally accepted recognition of the global economic, political and cultural space in which the built environment is both produced and consumed and the ways different scholars have tried to theorise this. On the other hand, as I spell out below, we now have theorizing about a global social world yet without any reference to the social agency, social function and social meaning of the built environment in constructing and maintaining that social world.

TYPES, BUILDINGS AND LANGUAGE

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a type is 'a characteristic specimen of a thing or a class of things'. On the assumption that nothing is completely unique, we can say that everything in the world is representative of a type – whether a leaf, a pencil, or cloud in the sky. As with all other types, buildings are classified by name. Language is the way in which we put order into the world. As buildings are classified by name, telling us what a building does in society (as a hotel, theatre or factory) it follows that buildings themselves are also socially classifying devices.

The editors have suggested that building types result from a historical process, 'emerging when a form crystallises to accommodate specific social practices'. However, '[T]he mere existence of buildings that are used in a certain way does not constitute a building type. [Such] types exist only when buildings are named and used according to their names' (Introduction). This is why, in tracing the transplantation of a particular type from one cultural and linguistic area to another, unless the name itself accompanies the type there is no guarantee that a transfer has actually taken place (King 1984: Preface). A building in one part of the world may appear to

be the same as another elsewhere, even performing a similar function, but unless it carries the same name, it is likely to have developed independently.

In this context, therefore, the mere existence of a term (though not the existence of a building) may be taken as evidence of a building type – though we also know that the uses signified by a term can change over time. In the four-teenth century, 'hospital', as its connection to 'hospitality' implies, referred to a 'hospice' for pilgrims and travellers; only in the following century did it become a place for the care and treatment of the sick (Crawford, 1990; *Oxford English Dictionary* 1980)

BUILDING 'FIRSTS'

Building 'firsts' (i.e. the first example of a building named for a particular use, and, especially, designed specifically for that purpose) is a topic on which little has been written from an international, as opposed to a national, perspective (e.g. Crawford 1990). Yet 'firsts' are important markers of global economic, social and political change and, for this reason, deserve more substantial research. They not only symbolise changes but help to accelerate them. They become repeatable models, the mobility of which extends the geographical reach of those changes and, because of local adaptation, their nature and consequences. The introduction of new building types changes people's consciousness, affecting the formation of the subject. Think of the impact of the latest (or even first) shopping mall in any particular location (Abaza 2001), sharpening subjects' identities and competences as consumers and (possibly) increasing consumption.

In his study of the development of modern capitalism, Henri Sée refers to the invention of the Antwerp Bourse in 1531 (the entrance inscribed, 'Open to the merchants of all nations'), as 'destined to become of worldwide importance . . . an event of great significance in the history of capitalism' (Sée 1968: 29, 30). Although earlier types of exchange had existed in Europe (Markus 1993: 310), in spatially concentrating commercial and financial transactions, and providing shel-tered space and offices for its users, the Bourse was to become a model for the building of similar exchanges around the world, including London's Royal Exchange in 1568, 'the first specialised commercial building in Britain' (Crawford 1990: 169). Exchanges for coal, corn, sugar, stocks, commodity futures and others were to follow (Markus 1993). In the following, I draw on examples from England, though only those of notable importance for the development of a world economy and the built spaces that played a critical role in that develop-ment.

The earliest purpose-built offices in Britain were, significantly, the London headquarters of the East India Company in 1729 (Crawford 1990: 103), a strik-ing demonstration of the specifically colonial basis of the extent of economic surplus necessary for the further differentiation and specialisation of building form. Of like significance for the global growth of industrial capitalism (and its buildings) is the early eighteenth-century development of the factory in Bengal

prior to its appearance in England, replacing spatially dispersed production in workers' individual homes by the collective assembly of textile workers and machinery in one factory building (Barr 1991; Crawford 1990). As a building type designed to accelerate consumption as well as production, the world's first International Exhibition Building in London in 1851 (Markus 1993: 219–221) was to be a functional model which, over the next half century or more, was to move, via Europe, the Americas and Asia, to other countries worldwide (Greenhalgh 1989). More important for the 'speeding up of worldwide connectedness' was the establishment of the world's 'first purpose-built international airport', at Croydon, London, in 1928 (Crawford 1990: 9). This accommodated 'the world's first regular scheduled international air service', initiated in 1919 (ibid.). However, its name, Imperial Airways. and its equally imperial routes 'connecting the motherland with her colonies overseas' (Voigt 1996: 40), though 'international', were clearly sub-global.

WORDS AND BUILDINGS

As Markus (1993) discusses at length, concepts about a building and what it is meant to do, expressed in language and usually spelt out in various written texts (as plans, briefs, regulations, legislation), precede any actual building.

While the name of a building may tell us its function (bank, museum, police station), it does not necessarily tell us about its form or its spatial structure. On the other hand, lexical terms that describe a building's form (skyscraper, terrace, tower) do not tell us about its function. We also know that, in a semiotic sense, the relationship between any particular term, as a signifier, and the object signified, is – as Saussure argued – entirely arbitrary. The fact that a term (e.g. stadium, hospital), when spoken about between two members of a given speech community, summons up in the imagination of each a similar image and meaning is not due to any essential meaning in the term as such but rather to the shared linguistic and cultural experience between both parties. For example, we can say that, in Britain, a generally accepted shared meaning has developed over time regarding commonly experienced types of dwelling such as a detached or semi-detached house. Similar forms in the USA would be known as a single family home and a duplex.

We might therefore argue that the steady globalisation of English, both as a first and second language, together with the ever-increasing access to and circulation of visual media (television, film, photography, newsprint, internet) worldwide in the past half century, has, with the increased urbanisation of the world's population, reduced, for many of them, the gap in meaning between word and image for many phenomena in the contemporary world. Quite apart from the neo-liberal political agendas in many different polities, these are some of the conditions enabling the terms, concepts and realities of various urban and building types, from skyscraper to supermarket, gated community to theme park, to become familiarised and travel worldwide.

I have suggested that, for our purposes, building types might be identified in two principal ways, by names signifying their form and by their use. (For different purposes, they can also be classified according to an infinite number of other criteria – size, construction materials, location, spatial structure, age, architectural style). We also know that the meaning of terms is not stable. Within any particular speech community, meanings can change over time. The only thing that kiosks – an anglicised Turkish term found in many countries around the world (and first documented in English in 1866) – have in common is often just their name and function. Their form – from a one-person telephone kiosk to an entire floor of a multi-storey building – is quite arbitrary.

Looking lexically at names tells us how particular terms for building types are socially 'loaded'. To speak of convents is to reference gender, religion and nuns. To speak of churches is, depending on the geocultural frame in which they are mentioned, to reference Christians (for others it might be Catholics, Lutherans). To speak of synagogues is to reference Jews, and mosques, to reference Muslims. In any one speech community, the social meaning of a particular term (as with all terms) depends on context and possibly (like 'estate' in Britain) on the social class status of the speaker. Naming here is being considered in a rather literal and etic (i.e. outsider's) rather than emic (insider's) fashion. The question of what a building is called, how it is imagined, and how invested with a unique, culture-specific meaning and spoken of in the local setting, belongs to the realm of ethnosemantics.

In the media, buildings, and building types, are perennial subjects of synecdoche. We refer to 'the White House', 'the Kremlin', 'Buckingham Palace', 'the Elysée'. Buildings stand for people. 'Branding' is a different practice. 'Branding' buildings helps sell the corporate or state interests of those that own or use them. Particular building types, like Bilbao's museum, Sydney's opera house, Frankfurt's 'financial centre' skyscrapers, invested with significant architectural and cultural capital, are used – in *autobahn* signs – to brand the city itself (Figure 2.2).

In examining the circulation around the world of concepts of and terms for describing building types, at least three assumptions might be considered. First, whenever the concept travels it never remains the same. It is invariably adapted, remodelled, placed in a different context. Moreover, even if arriving in apparently similar forms and given a similar name, the building-as-concept is invested with different social, cultural or ideological meanings. Finally, the varied and different meanings which building types and forms acquire also depend on the varied local environments – whether historical, natural, social, political or spatial – in which they are introduced and embedded.

How do the two nouns 'building' and 'architecture' differ from each other? At the simplest level, where architecture is making buildings with the help of architects and the ideology of architecture, buildings are concrete materialities. With European imperialism as the handmaid of global capitalism, the ideological construct of architecture-as-art ('big sculpture'), and technology used to serve this goal, has spread from the West, especially from the eighteenth century,

Figure 2.2
A sign of Frankfurt (at
100 km per hour).
Photograph by author.

around most of the world. With the development of architecture as a 'profession' distinct from other professions (such as civil engineering) and also from 'vernacular building', a discourse became possible that did not exist before, one that has initiated a long and complex history between the two. In this context, the ways in which 'building' and 'architecture' have become globally transportable are fundamentally different and any history or analysis of the process would require two different methodologies, a task beyond the scope of this chapter.[1]

INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS TERMS

That terms as well as concepts for building types travel between different places and speech communities may be illustrated by reference to the existence, in many languages, of exogenous terms for building types. Mostly, these are likely to result from conditions of propinquity brought about by travel, trade and tourism. In Britain, for example, abattoir (1866), bistro (1959), boutique (1957), café (1880s), chalet (1900), garage (1902), hotel (1817), maisonette (1923), pavilion (1766), restaurant (1861) have been imported at varying times from neighbouring France. Other terms and types defy the rule of propinquity and result from Britain's imperial past, such as bazaar (1807) and bungalow (1869), from colonial India. Like bungalow, villa (1711), from Italy, arrived under the particular economic and social conditions I address in the following section.[2] The entry of the terms and material presence of mosques, Hindu temples and Sikh gurdwaras I discuss below. Of course, other, much older terms which might naively be regarded as 'native' or 'indigenous' to Britain, such as castle, cottage or factory, depend on earlier instances of linguistic mobility, whether of Latin, and the Roman colonisation of Britain, or Anglo-Saxon, with the invasion of their successors.

BUILT FORMS AND SOCIAL FORMS

Why particular terms, the building types they describe and the social practices they embody are introduced in particular societies at particular times and under particular social conditions is central to my argument. For example, Archer has made interesting and suggestive comments about the term and notion of the villa which entered the English language from Italy in the seventeenth century and the urban and architectural vocabulary during the early years of the industrial revolution and expansion of the bourgeois classes in the early eighteenth century. The villa, in various local transformations, later appeared in other countries in Europe, the United States and, through colonialism, in India, China, Latin America and elsewhere (Archer 1997, 2005; King 2004) (Figure 2.3).

According to Archer (1997: 41; 2005) the appearance of the villa marked a critical change in English modes of consciousness, 'a consciousness that began to identify primarily in the autonomous *self* rather than in a social hierarchy or collective'. The villa was instrumental in 'spatially differentiating private from public, by establishing the suburban plot as a site for cultivation of the self (e.g. through leisure pursuits) instead of commerce and politics'. Its broader significance was
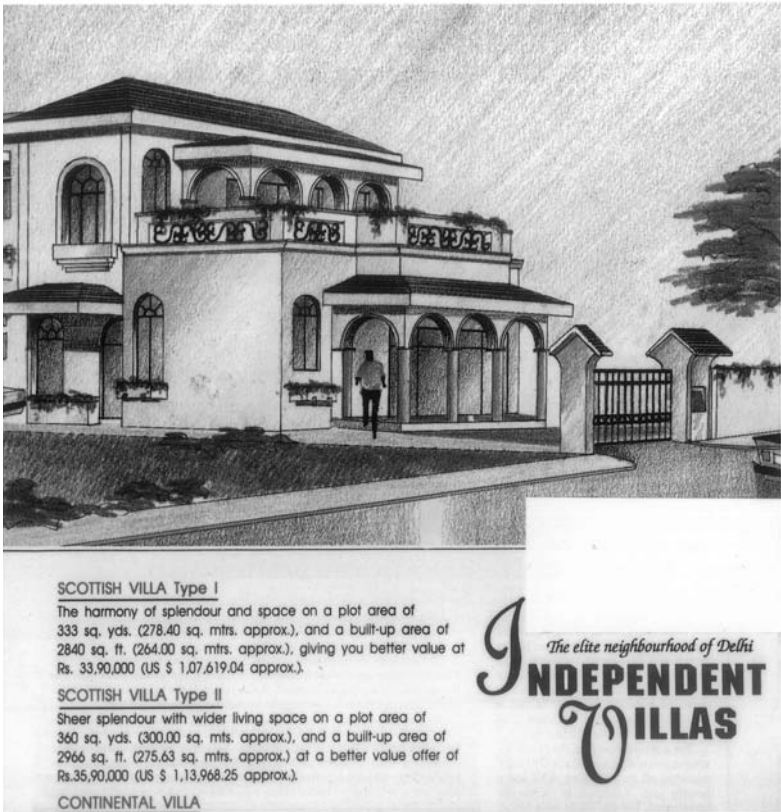

Figure 2.3
India. Advert for a
'Scottish villa' in 'the elite
neighbourhood of Delhi'.
Advertising flyer, *c.*1995.

the contribution it made to the creation of bourgeois consciousness (ibid. also King 2004: ch. 7).

As socially classifying devices, providing us with insights into how social formations are organised, both spatially and temporally, and with reference to institutions and social relationships such as kinship, nation, ethnicity or religion, and transformative flows between them, we can look at building types from a variety of different perspectives. At the level of the nation-state we can distinguish, for example, between public and private sector provision in housing, education or health care; in the public sphere, between different state-related activities of governance and social control in civil society as represented by the presence of courts, prisons and governance buildings.

Building types are used as symbols of modernity. In the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire introduced into some of the leading cities of its Arab provinces 'buildings that represented a modern way of life' and that offered 'a new urban lifestyle': hotel, casinos, theatres, banks, cafés, municipal offices, public gardens, government palaces, and especially the urban square, 'a metaphor for modern order', frequently with its clock tower, secularising the time and 'dissociating it from the religious realm, . . . the call to prayer' (Çelik 2008: 129–131, 150). In the twentieth century, new nations adopted from older ones the notion of the capitol building, along with schools, museums and exhibitionary complexes, to project a modern, unified, national identity (Vale 2008). Today, Olympic stadiums, with spectacular pyrotechnic and terpsichoric displays, perform a similar function. For centuries, cities have competed with each other to build the tallest cathedral or the most capacious mosque. In today's rampant competition between global cities for capital investment and high- and low-cost labour, constructing the 'world's tallest building' has, for some, become the most spectacular symbol of modernity (King 2004; Black 2008).

Specific building types give specific places their own distinctive identity. Ever since their introduction, skyscrapers have meant New York, Chicago and America. The Taj Mahal means India. However, some culturally representative types, like the boulevard café in Paris, or the British pub, require significant social, cultural and environmental support. They adapt uncomfortably to their surroundings when transferred elsewhere.

BUILDINGS AND RELIGION

In writing about *Globalization and Culture* (2004) Pieterse has implicitly criticised the often ahistorical representations of globalisation, defining it as 'a long term historical process involving ancient population movements, long distance cross-cultural trade, the spread of world religions and the diffusion and development of technologies due to inter-cultural contacts' (Pieterse 2004: 24–25). Included among these technologies are some of the oldest building types which have accompanied the spread of world religions, for long a major force in accounting for the mobility of urban and building forms across continents.

In and on the edges of Europe, the Roman Empire first established temples to Mithras, Zeus, Jupiter and other Roman gods. After 313 CE when Christianity became the Empire's official religion, churches were founded at existing Roman centres including, in Britain, at Colchester, possibly the oldest church in England (320 CE) and probably converted from a Roman temple. Following the fifth-century collapse of the Roman Empire in Britain, later Christian revivals were to result in some 500 parish churches being built under Anglo-Saxon patronage (Crawford 1990: 117). In 2007, there were some 47,000 Christian churches of different denominations (Gledhill 2007).

Examining the relation of buildings to religion (or belief systems in general) serves to demonstrate how different social functions and the building types they generate move over time not only across geographical space (as suggested above) but between different social institutions, whether church, state, kin group or other social entity. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century, monasteries established in Britain and Ireland moved to the European continent just as other monastic orders arrived in Britain from there. Monasteries provided a space for contemplation but also became central to the medieval economy. Monks ran farms, provided accommodation for travellers, tended the sick, set up schools and created the earliest libraries. When manufacturing was still a domestic activity, monasteries also established some of the earliest factories (Crawford 1990: 54). Similarly, in the Spanish conquest of Central and South America, church institutions and buildings fulfilled a multitude of social, economic and political functions. Elsewhere, mosques built for collective prayer also included madrasas for education and courts from which to exercise Islamic law. Models for these buildings move between continents.

Religious buildings act as markers of population movements, cross-cultural trade and social transformation. The oldest British synagogue opened in the City of London in 1701, almost five decades after the re-establishment of the Jewish community under Cromwell (1656, and following their earlier expulsion in 1290). Britain's first mosque was founded in Cardiff by Yemini Muslim seamen in 1860 and, like others at Liverpool (1887), and London (1924), were based in port cities.[3] The more recent spectacular growth of mosques, Hindu mandirs (temples) and Sikh gurdwaras in Britain (many converted from redundant churches and workplaces) is an outcome of postcolonial South Asian migration from the 1960s, especially for Muslims from Pakistan and Kashmir (Nasser 2006). Registered mosques in Britain have grown from seven in 1961 and 400 in 1990 to almost 1,700 in 2007 (Crawford 1990; Gledhill 2007). The earliest Hindu mandirs are believed to have opened in Liverpool and Newcastle in 1958; in 2008, some 150 were registered in Britain. Possibly the earliest gurdwara was opened in Putney, London in 1911 (www.bhatra.co.uk), though others appeared in Liverpool and Newcastle in 1958 (Nasser 2006: 378). As Nasser writes, 'The mélange of BrAsian communities in Britain, of diverse ethnic, national and religious origins, creates a complex geography of identities which are activated within particular conditions and circumstances and for particular purposes' (2006: 375). In this case, the

'large-scale conversion of space for religious and cultural use has depended on the settlement of women and children and the sudden increase in size of congregations' (ibid.: 379).

While we can accept that the built environment represents a particular social order, it is in fact *more* than a mere *representation* of it. Rather than merely reflecting that order, physical and spatial urban forms (including specific building types) help to constitute much of social and cultural existence. Much of modern social life would be impossible without the existence of specialised, purpose-built buildings, whether power stations, operating theatres, scientific laboratories or schools. The highly evolved levels of the built environments of contemporary civilisation have become essential for human and social reproduction. Social formations at whatever scale, including the global, are to a large extent constituted through the buildings and spaces they create. And to state the obvious, in a world of grossly uneven development, disparities between rich and poor are both represented and constituted in the physical and spatial built environments of the richer nations and the poorer, as also between richer and poorer classes within them.

THEORIZING THE SPACE OF THE GLOBE

A basic problem in attempting to investigate how ideas about building types, generated in particular societies, subsequently circulate around the world is that, for many years, the notion of 'society' was equated with that of the nation-state and this provided the social and territorial boundaries within which most research and scholarship was undertaken. In their (2007) textbook *Global Sociology*, Cohen and Kennedy list 22 'Global Thinkers' who have taken a more global view of society. However, they do not distinguish between those who address the 'global' as an economic, geopolitical and social framework, such as Wallerstein or Marx, and others, like Foucault or Weber, whom they cite as 'world-class' sociologists in terms of intellectual stature. Common to all is their rejection of the nation-state as an adequate unit of analysis for theorising the development of the contemporary global condition. Yet what they also have in common – with two exceptions – is a lack of reference to the agency and meaning of the spatial and built environment in the construction and maintenance of social life.[4]

Useful ways to think about the process of globalisation historically have been suggested by sociologist Roland Robertson (1992), its principal theorist, and historian Anthony Hopkins (2002). Where Hopkins emphasises the non-Western dimensions of globalisation and explores its historical forms and sequences, Robertson concentrates more on the intellectual development of institutions, concepts and ideas. Like Hopkins, he traces the historical path of globalisation as going through various phases, each with particular features which he describes in somewhat telegraphic fashion,[5] i.e. The *Germinal Phase*. In Europe, from the early fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. The incipient growth of national communities. The accentuation of concepts of the individual and ideas about

humanity. The heliocentric theory of the world and beginning of modern geography. Spread of Gregorian calendar. The second, *Incipient Phase*. In Europe, from the mid-eighteenth century to the 1870s. Sharp shift towards the idea of the homogeneous, unitary state; crystallisation of conceptions of formalised international relations. Increases in legal conventions and agencies concerned with international regulation and communication. The third, *Take-Off Phase*, the 1870s to the mid-1920s. Global conceptions as to the correct idea of 'national society'; thematization of national and personal identities; inclusion of some non-European societies in 'international society'; sharp increase in number and speed of global forms of communication; development of global competitions – Olympics, Nobel prizes, implementation of World Time and near-global adoption of the Gregorian calendar. The fourth *Struggle for Hegemony Phase*. The mid-1920s to the 1960s. Establishment of League of Nations, then United Nations. Principle of national independence established. Conflicting concepts of modernity (Allies vs. Axis). Nature of and prospects for humanity sharply focused by the Holocaust and use of the atomic bomb. Crystallisation of (notion of) Third World. The fifth, *Uncertainty Phase*. The 1960s to 1990s. Inclusion of Third World and heightening of global consciousness in the late 1960s. Moon landing. Number of global institutions increases. End of Cold War. Societies face problems of multiculturality and polyethnicity. Conceptions of individuals made more complex by gender, ethnic and racial considerations. Concern with humankind as a species community. Interest in world civil society, world citizenship (Robertson 1992: 58–59).

As representations of global history differ according to their geocultural origins, Chinese, African or Indian social theorists would doubtless offer different interpretations of such a schema.[6] None the less, we can see how these ideas could be drawn on to construct a more spatially global, urban and built environment history: the development of the national state with its apparatus of physical boundaries, administrative and government buildings; networks of regional and national services materialised in accommodation for the police and postal services; the notion of global time institutionalised by railways, airline timetables and airports; massive stadia around the world engendered by the Olympic Games and, today, the insatiable appetites of neo-liberal consumerism met by the new global types of giant shopping malls, leisure resorts, theme parks and gated enclaves. Notions of multiculturality and polyethnicity materialised in the West by Chinatowns, Londonistans, mosques and mandirs. Or Robertson's 'world as a single place', represented not only by an interlinked system of real and virtual cities sharing a vast quantum of urban knowledge, but also specific *single* institutional buildings, such as the United Nations Building in New York, or, as a global system of capitalism, the World Bank in Washington.

Yet among these 'global thinkers' not only is insufficient attention given to the historical structures of imperialism and colonialism but also to the role played by these two global forces in establishing the basic physical and spatial infrastructures of present-day globalisation.

IMPERIALISM AND GLOBALISATION

Included in these imperial and colonial infrastructures are the cities, the urban and transportation networks, the cultures, legal systems and institutions, the languages and built environments (including the urban forms and building types), and also forms of knowledge. This is an essential framework for examining both the rationale and the routes by which specific building types have spread, not everywhere indiscriminately, but selectively and across very specific spaces around the world.

As the terms *imperialism* and *colonialism* are often used interchangeably, by imperialism I refer to the imposition of the power of one state over the people and territories of another, frequently by military force. Where imperialism originates in the metropole, what happens in the colonies, resulting from economic, political and cultural control, is colonialism, or neo-colonialism (Loomba 1998: 6).

The reason for this lack of attention to the importance of historic empires is the ahistorical focus, in many accounts, on the dominance of the nation-state as a form of polity, and not least as a generator of national forms of knowledge. The dominance of the nation-state as a form of polity is relatively recent. Currently, the United Nations recognises some 208 independent nation-states. Yet, at the end of the eighteenth century, there were only fourteen of what today would be accepted as independent nation-states. The increase has occurred mainly in the nineteenth and, especially, the late twentieth centuries. Between 1959 and 1989, for example, the number of independent states almost doubled, from 84 to 156, following the collapse of European imperial regimes, especially in Asia and Africa. The leap to 208 resulted largely from the dissolution of the USSR (Cohen and Kennedy 2007: 127). As recently as the late nineteenth century, the world was dominated by some 16 empires, each with its own capital and other major cities. The six official languages of the United Nations are those of what were historically once the world's largest empires (British, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, Qing Chinese, French) – sufficient comment on the past and continuing importance of previous empires, and their principal administrations and cities in disseminating their languages, forms of law, systems of governance, building and land control regulations, religions and cultures and – not least – the various urban and building forms and types in which all these institutions are housed.

Many scholars (including myself) have argued that the principal European empires of modern times (French, British, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, Austro-Hungary, Belgian), energised by capitalism, new technologies and ideologies, created vast intercontinental networks, in the process laying the foundations for today's globalised world. There is plenty of material evidence, in the built environment, to support this view. It was through these networks, linked together by a web of port cities and inland capitals, that many urban artefacts from the metropole were both transplanted and also adapted (King 2006). Although Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) tends to ignore the material

dimensions in and through which imperial cultures were created (the physical and spatial settings of the literary cultures he addresses), it certainly demonstrates, from the realm of European literature and music, a world of 'overlapping territories, intertwined histories'.

Yet as historian John Darwin argues in his book *The Rise and Fall of Global Empires 1400–2000* (2007), it is not just the European experiences of empire that helped to make the modern world. The histories of the Mughals, Manchus, Russians, Japanese, Ottomans (Çelik 2008)[7] and others are equally significant. A global economy was not only created by the merchants from Europe but by the maritime commerce of Asians linking Japan, India, the Persian Gulf and East Africa. China and India are today's new players, re-establishing old patterns of trade and power. In brief, empires are the rule, not the exception, in laying the foundations of today's globalised world. It was none the less 'the ability of Europeans to penetrate the economies of Asia, Africa, South America and the Pacific … and to draw the commerce of the world into one vast network centred on the port cities of the West … (that) was the main dynamic behind the gradual formation between the 1860s and 1880s of a "world economy" – a single system of trade' (Darwin 2007: 237) and eventually 'a single global market' (ibid.: 7).

CONTEXTUALISING URBAN AND BUILDING FORMS: THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In Europe, Rome, one of the ancient world's first superpowers, and its empire, proves the significance of Darwin's arguments. Extending from the Mediterranean into Northern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa between 27 BCE and 330 CE, new cities were founded from which the new provinces were governed. Along with the characteristically straight roads, the principal urban form of this colonising power was the grid plan itself, along with the forum as the centre of public activity. Other public building types included barracks for the soldiers, and occasionally a circus or race track to keep them occupied. An amphitheatre provided the setting for gladiatorial displays. Imposing gateways, such as the Porta Nigra at Trier, often marked the entrance to the town. Other distinctively Roman building types included baths, theatres and gymnasia to keep the army fit and occupied; temples and basilicas were dedicated to different deities, cemeteries and stiles marked the burial sites of important figures. Everywhere, columns and arches marked victories. In addition to the roads, vast aqueducts were constructed, bringing water to the cities, as at Nimes in France and Segovia in Spain. Above all, the idea of the Roman villa, in its various appearances, became the basic dwelling unit for members of the privileged military and civil class (Scarre 1995).

The essence of imperial space is its reciprocal nature. It is always produced by processes that are both centrifugal and centripetal. Where institutions, forms and concepts (as well as people) move outward, often to be reproduced in hybridised forms, other notions, peoples and ideas are brought back to the metropolitan centre (or indeed, to other nodes in the network).

The matter of adapting these various Roman building types to local geo-

graphical, social/tribal and climatic conditions is too large a topic for this chapter except to say that it inevitably results in hybridisation (AlSayyad 2000; Pieterse 2004). Of more relevance is the immense importance, impossible to exaggerate, in the persistence, over two millennia, of Roman (incorporating Greek) models of architecture, construction and urban design. Revived by the Renaissance, innumerable models of building typologies, architectural styles and elements, constructional techniques, have been circulated, not only around the Roman Empire but, spread by European colonialism all over the world, from the Americas to Africa, the Antarctic to Asia. As Markus points out (1993: 8), the key factors here were 'the rules which formed the core of the architectural texts'. 'Stylistic prescriptions were a major export to the colonies of European empires, whether from imperial Rome to north Africa, or Palladian England to South Carolina' (ibid.). Without these, contemporary postmodernist villas in Beijing or Shanghai would not exist.

CONTEXTUALISING BUILDING AND URBAN FORMS: THE BUNGALOW

Embedded in the notion of empire is a spatial division of labour (King 2006). Marx's international division of labour assumed a developing world economy. However, a spatial division of labour also has a cultural dimension and this is manifest, among other spheres (as Said shows in relation to literature), in architecture and the built environment. This can be demonstrated in relation to a particular case study.

For every building type with a beginning in a particular location and which then 'circulates around the world', there is a unique and very particular history explaining its transplantation. In considering the very first instance of a new species of building with a particular name and social function, one previously not present in some national territorial space, this history is important. Identifying just when, where, and under what conditions a new building type or form appears can provide a benchmark for understanding significant economic, social and cultural change.

As a completely new, specialised dwelling type, distinguished by name, social use and form, the bungalow (from *bangla*, meaning of, or belonging to Bengal) was introduced into Europe from India at a particular place and a particular time. Not in France, Spain or Germany in the eighteenth or twentieth century, but in England, especially between 1870 and 1910, the height of British imperial power. Let us look at the international division of labour at this time. In the late nineteenth century, the industrial predominance of Britain was part of an emerging global system of production. Another part of this system was the colonial restructuring of what were once self-sufficient peasant economies of Africa and Asia. Here, domestic cultivation was being transformed into cash crop production (of tea, coffee, jute, indigo, rice, among others) and monoculture plantation economies were being created.

In Britain, the development of industrial urbanisation was accompanied by, and linked to, intensive agricultural development in other parts of the empire,

Canada, the West Indies, India, and also in the 'informal empire' of Latin America. Within this increasingly sophisticated world division of labour, international competition meant that agriculture and agricultural land values in Britain began to decline. At the same time, London's increasingly specialised function as a world financial centre, with its steady accumulation of capital, meant that, by the end of the century, it was the world's largest city. Its wealth and commercial, service-oriented upper classes, together with their often colonially derived capital, were behind the boom in the building of vast country houses in areas which were losing their value as agricultural land. They were also behind the introduction of the first middle-class 'country bungalows' at this time.

There is incontrovertible evidence that the main introduction of the country bungalow, in name and form, occurs in England between about 1890 and 1910. Prior to the mid-1880s, the bungalow form and idea were virtually unknown in Britain. Where it was known was in colonial Asia – in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Over a period of more than 200 years, the Anglo-Indian idea of the bungalow had been developed from an indigenous, vernacular form (King 1984). By the mid- to later nineteenth century it had become familiar in Britain in the image of a planter's bungalow, the hill station bungalow, or as the typical residence of British military and civilian officials (Figure 2.4). In short, it was part of a very distinctive landscape and built environment, created by the political and also space economy of colonialism.

The idea of the country bungalow took off in England in the late 1880s, not simply because of 'diffusion' from India through the obvious Anglo-Indian social network at this time but because of specific economic, political and socio-spatial conditions. Between 1880 and 1900, significant changes were taking place in the social organisation of both space and time (Kern 1983). The new,

Figure 2.4
The Anglo-Indian bungalow as typical residence of senior British administrative officials in northern India. India Office Library/British Museum.
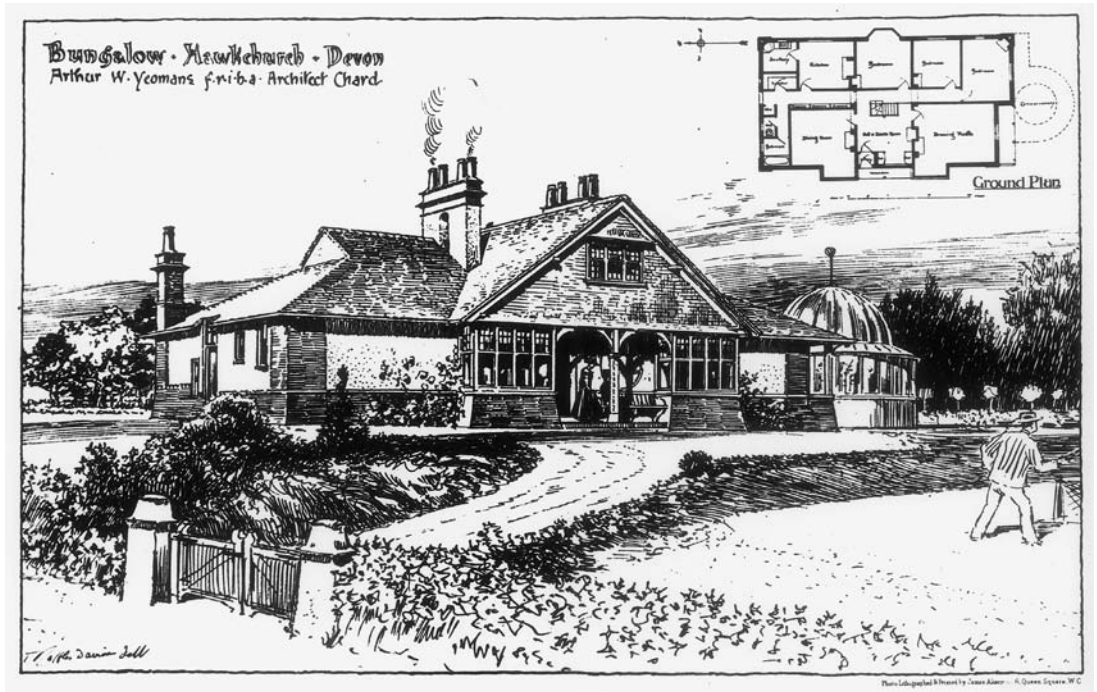
Figure 2.5
Indian image transferred.
The bungalow as
bourgeois weekend
retreat, England.
Building News 22 April
1904.

temporal concept of the 'weekend' (first receiving lexical recognition in Britain in 1879), namely one or two free days at the end of the week, was, with the help of railways, being steadily transformed into a spatial form in the idea of the 'weekend cottage'. The bungalow, introduced around the same time, was also first designed for weekend or summertime use. The first book published on the bungalow as a modern architectural form in the industrialised West, R. A. Briggs' *Bungalows and Country Residences* in 1891, indicates, in its title, the combined social and spatial aspirations of its newly emergent middle-class patrons (King 1990: 116–120). The form quickly caught on (Figure 2.5). The further circulation of the bungalow around the world at this time – in South and West Africa, Latin America and elsewhere – depended not just on the industrialised reproduction of the idea in Britain, but equally on the global division of labour at this time (Figure 2.6). It was a house made for European colonials in the tropics – supervising plantations, extracting a surplus for the metropolitan core.

POSTCOLONIALISM, POSTIMPERIALISM, NEO-IMPERIALISM

In mentioning ancient Rome I do not wish to detract attention from more recent empires, especially those of France, Britain, and not least, the USA. Much of the contemporary circulation of building types and urban forms can be explained by looking at the world through postcolonial, postimperial and neo-imperial frameworks. For the postimperial aspirations in France, we can cite Paris' revamped

Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (aka the 1931 colonial museum) now reconstructed at the Musée du Quai Branly as the Museum of the Arts and Civilisations of Africa, Asia, Oceana and the Americas. Or for America's neo-imperial agenda, the supposedly 'bomb-proof $600 million fortress embassy' in Baghdad, covering 42 hectares (about the size of the Vatican), the biggest and most expensive American embassy in the world (Pilkington 2007).

I   This and many of the other 766 permanent overseas sites, housing some 800,000 soldiers, civilians and family members that the United States maintains in 140 countries around the world at an annual cost of US $12.4 billion is discussed in Mark Gillem's *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire* (2007). How else to understand this without a neo-imperial lens and America's dependence on overseas oil?

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to show how various urban and building types acquire their global dimensions through their relation to power. Central to this process is the question of agency: Who produces, consumes and contests the building type, and for what purpose? We could begin, in my examples, by looking at the producers and consumers: for the early country bungalows, the expanding English middle class; for the mosques, mandirs and gurdwaras, the new postcolonial, transnational communities; and for the neo-imperial embassy and bases, the politico-military complex of the United States.

I   I have focused, perhaps too exclusively, on imperialism, colonialism and postcolonialism as instrumental factors in the mobility of building types. This is partly owing to its neglect in many studies of globalisation but also because, in addressing another important stream by which concepts of buildings travel, namely labour migration, colonial and postcolonial influences have, in one-time

metropoles such as France, Britain, the Netherlands or Portugal, continued to play a major role. Colonial slavery, as the most violent form of forced labour migration, between Europe, Africa and the Americas, created the built forms of the plantation and many of the buildings that followed, not least in the American South. In more recent times, other migratory streams from South Asia, or from North Africa, have brought mosques and other buildings of worship to Britain or France. While these 'periphery centre' movements to one-time imperial metropoles by no means account for all migration they can be distinguished from movements of labour that take place between countries, such as Germany (Kuppinger, Chapter 5, this volume) or those of Scandinavia, where migration is from Eastern Europe, Turkey, or other parts of the world.

Other types of forced migration, stemming from religious or ethnic persecution and also economic necessity, have long been significant in history, accounting not only for the arrival in the United States of 'modern' architecture but for innumerable ethnic forms of building (Upton 1986). While there is also the diffusion, between different countries of the world, of ideas about forms of local and national government (democracy, with its need for city halls and parliaments), or social and cultural policies (universal education, with its need for schools, universities or concert halls) much of the recent overseas expansion of Western 'global' architectural firms and their megaprojects is intimately linked to the expansion of transnational companies (McNeill 2009).

Space here does not permit examination of the urban types and spaces of contemporary globalisation – the shanty town, gated community, ethnoburb, and the renewed use of the oldest socially dividing building type of all, the wall. But irrespective of the type what always needs to be understood are the precise economic, social, political and cultural conditions of its introduction, and of its subsequent consumption and circulation around the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1   My thanks to Tom Markus for his insights here. He writes,

> The idea that architecture is a type of large scale sculpture, that its meaning is permanent, the same across cultures, over time, and to all linguistic communities – an idea that is deeply rooted in German idealism, and, later, essentialism – is so powerful, so universal across space and time and across class, and so false, that it is right to label it a myth. And its universality enables it to travel into all corners of the world – through education, professional ethos, the media, scholarly publication, and popular discourse. Thus it explains a great deal about what is built, which otherwise is inexplicable.

(personal correspondence, May 2009)

2   Dates in brackets are for earliest documented use in the UK from the *Oxford English Dictionary* online (2009).

3   Yemeni Muslim sailors working on steamships came from British-colonised Aden in the nineteenth century and settled in various British ports (see Islam and Britain before the twenthieth century (www.paklinks.com/gs.religion-scripture/189302-first mosque-built-uk).

4   The primary exception is Michel Foucault whose work on the genealogy of the prison and clinic has been particularly influential. For a succinct overview see Rabinow (1991: 3–27). Foucault died before the debates on globalisation and postcolonialism got under way. The second exception is geographer David Harvey (1989), whose conceptualisation of space and the urban, grounded in political economy, is invaluable within a particular Marxist paradigm, though the socio-cultural questions around building form and types are not encompassed in this.

5   I have greatly abbreviated the original list of features in the following phases.

6   It is worth noting that only one of Cohen and Kennedy's 'global thinkers' comes from outside Europe or North America.

7   Çelik's valuable comparative study provides an exemplary account of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century impact of French and Ottoman imperialism on, respectively, the cities of Algeria and Tunisia in the Maghrib and those of the Arab provinces in the Middle East, placing the introduction of infrastructure (roads and railways) and 'modern' building types and their potential for transforming the nature of urban life at the centre of her analysis. An 1840s plan for French settlement in Algeria 'harbored a repertoire of public buildings essential for any European settlement of considerable size: town hall, law courts, prison, market, church, theatre, and hospital' (Celik 2008: 109).

Çelik's liberal use of contemporary picture postcard images (circulating widely from the first decade of the twentieth century) underlines the importance of this modest medium of communication in conveying urban imagery around the world with its potential to influence urban and architectural design.

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Part II

Mediations and Mediators

Chapter 3: Travelling Types and the Law

Minarets, Caravans and Suicide Hospices

Michael Guggenheim

This chapter analyses how the law influences the circulation of building types in Switzerland.[1] It builds on three case studies involving conflicts about travelling building types and zoning law. The cases concern the erection of minarets on mosques, the right of gypsies to park their caravans and the practice of assisted suicide in flats and industrial buildings. Each highlights different aspects of how building types and zoning law interact with each other.

Buildings do not travel. It is the very essence of buildings that they are stable. If we talk about building types as travelling, we refer to abstractions that travel with the help of media, such as images or textual descriptions. How then do we know that a new or a changed building represents a travelling building type? The notion depends on the fact that some person has to observe these types as travelling. This is not a trivial fact, since buildings constantly change form, style and materials, and it is often difficult to know, socially, geographically, or in other ways, just 'where' a change comes from. The new is often new for a specific place; it is an import, and conversely, what is labelled an import is often the new.

Many of the contributions in this volume attribute the defining power to note changes in building types to the academic observer who sees, and often documents, the circulation of architects, plans, images and materials. The notion of a building type is taken as a given and then the circulation of the type can be observed. However, this methodology pays little attention to the often very contested processes of constituting classes of buildings as types and subsequently as types that are familiar and other, unfamiliar types as 'foreign', by which I mean that they are not seen as normally belonging to a particular locality or culture.

One way to observe such contested processes is by analysing debates about zoning law. Zoning laws are the legal instruments used to define building types as 'not belonging', and therefore foreign. Since there are no border controls, immigration laws or customs duties for buildings (as there are for people), states do not have any legal means to prevent new building types from entering their territories. Using the case studies mentioned above, in this chapter I examine

how Swiss law identifies building types as 'foreign' and how conflicts about 'foreign' building types are, or are not, resolved.

Before moving to the main argument, a note on Switzerland as the empirical focus of the chapter is necessary: on a basic level, conflicts regarding zoning law follow very similar lines in different countries, since these conflicts depend, as we will see, on the ambiguous notion of 'zones'. As regards the case studies presented here, conflicts surrounding mosques and the travellers' caravans are not specific to Switzerland, though the solutions to these conflicts obviously are. In the case of assisted suicide, however, this is unique to Switzerland because no other country permits this form of 'death tourism'. However, the aim of the chapter is not to highlight the specificity of these conflicts to Switzerland but rather to show how the law mediates conflicts about travelling building types.

The chapter starts by elucidating the relationship between building types and the law in general. I then give a very brief overview of Swiss building law. This is followed by three different case studies and, finally, by a comparison between them.

BUILDING TYPES AS QUASI-TECHNOLOGIES: HOW TRAVELLING TYPES POSE A PROBLEM FOR ZONING LAW

Why do travelling building types become a problem for the law? A building type refers to a concept and a term that classifies a group of buildings according to their material form and their use. For example, the building type bank identifies the word 'bank' with the material form of a building comprised, in most Swiss cities, of tellers' windows, reflecting glass facades, offices and the use, mainly, of lending and borrowing money. The classification of a building as a bank performs the two operations of identifying the building with the use and with the appropriate material form at the same time. We assume that the material form, the tellers' windows, the offices and the glass facades are needed to make the lending and borrowing possible. If there were no glass facades, tellers' windows and offices, there would be no lending and borrowing and we would not classify the building as a bank.

Following Francescato, we can differentiate between form-type and use-type (Francescato 1994). I use the term form-type to designate typified building forms and use-type to designate typified uses. As I have illustrated above, in most of the cases these two coincide, because forms are identified with uses. Indeed, our perception of buildings and our orientation in a city routinely depends on this identification. But there are also instances where they do not coincide. This occurs most notably in building conversion. Thus there are buildings whose form-type we might classify as a bank but which are used as a court of law. Depending on whether we call such a building a bank or a court, it either shows that a form-type bank does not enforce its use as a bank or that the use-type court does not depend on a typological material structure identified with a court.

This leads to the question of what functions buildings can perform; that is, whether they are technologies or mere objects. Following Niklas Luhmann and

Bruno Latour, I define technology as an assemblage of objects and practices that produces with the same input the same output and thus makes processes predictable (Latour 1991; Luhmann 2000). There is a commonsense belief, shared by many assumptions in architectural theory and architectural sociology, that the material form of a building in this sense is a technology that enables, structures and enforces certain uses. This is specifically true about the notion of building types that are supposed to make their uses predictable, and architects sometimes seek actively to turn building types into technologies. But this belief is in many cases empirically not justified. Sometimes buildings are indeed technologies that structure, enable or even enforce practices, but sometimes they are not. Because of this feature I call buildings quasi-technologies, thereby indicating that buildings in some instances work as technologies and in others they do not (Guggenheim 2009, forthcoming).

The fact that buildings are quasi-technologies is important in understanding legal conflicts about zoning. This is so because the legal definition of a zone relates areas of land classified as a specific zone to a use taking place on this land and the buildings situated on it. Thus, for example, a zone reserved for industry means that buildings in that zone can only be used for industrial uses, but not for housing. In theory, the definitions of specific zones in zoning law only relate to uses and not to building forms. But those uses are often attributed to the form of the buildings, as we will see in the case studies.[2] For example, a zone reserved for industry results in conflicts about whether the buildings in those zones are industrial *buildings*, because it is assumed that the buildings define the uses. Thus in legal conflicts about zoning law we see the consequences of the peculiar properties of buildings as quasi-technologies. This problem of quasi-technology linked to zoning is central to understanding why and how travelling use-types and form-types pose such intricate problems for both society in general and the law in particular.

The following case studies demonstrate these intricacies with examples where forms of buildings and others where building uses provide the starting point. They are all objects of my study because they have become law cases, demonstrating that zoning law does not focus strictly on either use or form. In addition, neither society nor zoning law provides a method to identify new or foreign use- or form-types.[3] Indeed, there is not even a method to identify a type at all. The disputes discussed below thus show how the law in action produces foreign types by accepting them as the subject of disputes.

In each case I thus focus on how building types are contested owing to their quasi-technological character. We are faced with a contested object that is either changed in its use or material form and then these changes become the subject of lawsuits. In each case, the use or the building is defined as being 'foreign'. The courts have to decide whether or not the uses and changes conform to the existing classifications of zoning. By doing so, they also have to take decisions about whether a specific imported use or material form can be accommodated to existing laws.

I pose the following questions for each example:

- What is the travelling element?
- Which law does the travelling element break?
- What makes the element foreign?
- How does the law categorise the travelling element (as being a use or a form)?
- What are the legal claims of the opponents to show that their use, practices or changes of building form conforms to the law? Or, if they do not, how do they argue that their case cannot fit the existing laws and how do they legitimate the need to change the law?
- What results from the legal case? Are the laws, the objects or the practices changed?

The argument I wish to make here is not that (Swiss) zoning law is ill-suited to deal with travelling building types or that foreign building types pose a problem for the spatial order of society. Rather, I want to show that because travelling building types are quasi-technologies, they result in difficult legal conflicts where buildings and uses are sometimes identified with each other and sometimes kept apart. Furthermore, I wish to show that those processes of identification or keeping apart are not stable across cases.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO SWISS ZONING LAW

Before introducing the four case studies, some minimal information on the Swiss legal and political system is necessary. The Swiss government is organised on three different levels: the municipalities (called 'Gemeinde'), the 26 Cantons and the federal state. Each of these levels has different courts. Switzerland is a very federalist country, and this is clearly visible in its building and zoning laws. The federal planning law structures only the most basic legal aspects of building. The planning law from 1979 asks the state, the Cantons and the political communities to coordinate their planning. The different levels of the state have different roles, whereby the state level defines the broadest categories; the Cantons create basic zoning plans based on these categories and can create further categories if they wish; the municipalities create a final detailed zoning plan. The state level only differentiates between four different zones: building sites, agricultural land, protected land (neither building nor agriculture), and others. For building zones most Cantons have established at least the following zones: business (usually divided into industry and offices), habitation and public buildings, usually comprised of government offices, courts, schools, and churches. The municipalities then detail a zoning plan based on these categories.

Switzerland also has a strong tradition of direct democracy. Every decision by an executive body on any of the three levels can be overthrown by asking for a referendum. A referendum is initiated by collecting a certain number of signatures in a predefined time. Furthermore, a so-called initiative can be triggered on

any subject with the same procedures but requiring usually twice the number of signatures as a referendum. In case of conflict in a municipality, local courts decide on the issue. After such a decision, the cases can be taken to the Cantonal courts and then, as a last step, to the federal court. On any level, an initiative can also be organised to deal with the issue.

TYPES AND BUILDING PARTS: MINARETS AND MOSQUES

The discussion of architectural types usually follows a trajectory where new practices are accommodated in material form. For example, the invention of the modern prison, as Michel Foucault has shown, is a function of the invention of new modes of punishment (Foucault 1975). However, in many ways, the circulation of building types follows widely established practices, as is the case with mosques in Western countries. The mosque provides a case to look at the problem of identifying and defining use-types. The migration of Muslims to Western Europe has resulted in the fact that they find places to come together and to pray very often without having the built form to do so at hand. A mosque, in this sense, is less a building form than simply a place where Muslims gather to pray, literally, a house of prayer. Gradually, the building is converted into 'a mosque'. The circulation of the building type 'mosque' is in most cases not related to a knowledge of the community that gradually converts a building step by step into a mosque, by indicating the direction of Mecca with carpets or by hanging notes of prayer times on the walls (see also Kuppinger, Chapter 5). For the law, the question arises: When is a building a mosque? When it looks like a mosque, or when it is used to pray?

In Switzerland, the case of the community of Wangen has created a nationwide public controversy, since the local Muslim community wanted to add a minaret to a factory building that it used as a cultural centre and prayer space. The local administration opposed the minaret. In a meeting of the local town council, Roland Kissling, the vice-president of the right-wing party SVP, argued, 'a minaret is a mosque-tower. Thus with the minaret, the building […] is turned into a mosque. And a mosque is something different than the existing building which is a cultural centre with a prayer space in the basement' (Wildi 2005: 9). He further explained that the minaret is a 'dominant testimonial' that 'constantly tells something that the neighbours do not want to hear' (Wildi 2005: 9). He went on to argue that the erection of the minaret would be the last straw that would turn the Swiss inhabitants against the Muslims and undermine all efforts at integration.

The building authorities subsequently denied the building permit for the minaret, arguing that the addition of a minaret constitutes a 'relevant change of use' (Bau- und Planungskommission Wangen bei Olten 2006). According to the authorities the minaret is a „constitutive part of a mosque' turning the building into a „sacred building' (Bau- und Planungskommission Wangen bei Olten 2006). They explained that the Christian churches in the town are in 'zones for public

Figure 3.1
The mosque of Wangen
with the new Minaret,
added in January 2009.
© Public domain.

buildings' and thus the mosque, which is in a zone for commercial buildings,
could not be allowed. The Muslim community argued that the minaret is just a
'symbolic minaret' 'like a small chimney' that they do not use to call for prayers
(Bleicher 2006). The Muslim community appealed to the Canton, which allowed
the minaret. It argued that the municipality already allowed the conversion of the
factory building into a prayer space and – echoing the Muslim community –
called the minaret an 'exterior symbol' of this transformation (Staatskanzlei des
Kanton Solothurn 2006). The Canton saw proof of these merely symbolic qualit-
ies in the fact that the minaret could not be used for prayer calls either by unam-
plified human voice or loudspeaker.

　　After the further courts confirmed this judgment, a committee composed
of right-wing politicians started a nation-wide initiative. The initiative would add
the sentence 'the building of minarets is prohibited' to Article 72 of the Swiss
constitution that deals with religious freedom (Gegen den Bau von Minaretten
2007). The logo of the committee's webpage shows a minaret that cuts like a
spear through a Swiss flag in the shape of Switzerland. It also shows a sequence
of pictures, the first depicting the building in Wangen, the second a group of
dark minarets against a glowing sky, and the third a group of veiled women seen
from behind. The authors of the initiative write in the accompanying text, 'we
have to stop the spread of Islam. A ban of minarets is necessary.' But they also
add: 'The minaret as a building has no religious character. It is not mentioned in
the Koran or in other holy scripture of Islam' (Gegen den Bau von Minaretten
2007). Thus, the ban on minarets would not contradict the freedom of religion in
Switzerland. Rather, they argue that the minaret is a sign of a 'religious-political

claim to power', using religious freedom to fight the equality of citizens and thus contradicting the equality of humankind granted by the law. On 8 July 2008 the initiative was submitted with 114,895 signatures to the federal office and the Swiss population will vote on it in 2009.

The case shows the difficulty of defining and identifying a building type. Throughout the conflict a constant shift between use-type and form-type is at play as well as changes in identifying these types by reference to different parts of a building. Roland Kissling and the town authorities first assume that the use of the factory building as a prayer space does not constitute a change of use, since they explicitly allowed it, when they allowed the use of the factory building to be used as a cultural centre. Only the addition of a minaret turns a factory used as a cultural centre with a prayer space into a mosque, thus changing the building type.

For the Muslim community and also for the Cantonal court, the building type is defined by its use. The factory building is already a mosque even before a minaret is added. The minaret itself is only 'symbolic' because it cannot be used to call for prayer. The minaret does not define the building type. The campaign to ban minarets agrees that the minaret is only symbolic and does not define the building type, which is exactly the reason why the initiative supposedly does not violate religious freedom. For the committee, the minaret has been represented as a political symbol for the anti-democratic tendencies of Islam, and is not necessary for the exercise of Islamic religion. The initiative, if passed, would not stop the building of mosques defined as prayer spaces but without minarets. But then the webpage also states that the spread of Islam should be stopped with the help of the initiative. This implicitly assumes that if mosques did not have minarets they would be less useful in spreading the message of Islam.

If we ask whether the law prohibits the immigration of building types an irritating answer emerges: if the initiative succeeds, Switzerland will most likely not prevent the immigration of the mosque as a building type, if it is defined as a use-type. Rather, a new form of mosque without minarets will emerge and become stabilised. The banning of minarets might probably also trigger new legal battles about which building forms count as minarets, since they are not defined in the initiative. If a church were to be turned into a mosque – which has never happened thus far in Switzerland – the question would arise whether the church tower is now a minaret and would have to be taken down. As the debate about the 'symbolic' minaret in Wangen shows, a 'chimney' can be a symbolic minaret, even if it is not used as a minaret. This again poses the question whether a minaret is a use-type or a form-type and leads to the question: How can a chimney be a sign of Muslim domination?

MOVING TYPES: OF TRAVELLERS AND CARAVANS

As I write in the introduction, buildings do not move, but representations of buildings do. Building law is thus created to deal primarily with immovable objects in mind. However, there is the special case of actually moving buildings

and this creates massive problems for building law. Buildings that do move are usually trailer homes or caravans. This case study thus looks at the very foundation of zoning ex-negativo, namely through the lens of travellers who have problems finding a place to stop with their caravans. For this reason, travellers are a challenge for the law, because they expose the extent to which building law is based on the assumption that buildings are immobile.

Travellers are a minority who have a very difficult relationship with the authorities and the law. In the 1850s the growing nation state forced many travellers to become sedentary citizens of random municipalities. From the 1920s until 1972, the private organisation *Pro Juventute* ('for the youth') pursued a program *Kinder der Landstrasse* (children of the country road), taking away children of travellers with the support of the authorities. *Pro Juventute* claimed that what it assumed was a backward lifestyle of the travellers could be improved by making them sedentary (Siegfried 1963). It sent the children of travellers to psychiatrists who testified that they were retarded. The medical opinion gave *Pro Juventute* the legal right to take the children away from their parents and home them with sedentary families or orphanages. There, they supposedly would have a better childhood and become 'proper citizens'. Many of the children were sterilised and treated badly by their step-parents (Leimgruber *et al.* 1998).

Kinder der Landstrasse was only the worst proof of the difficult relationship between sedentary citizens and travellers. An empirical study from 1983 shows how travellers, authorities and the sedentary population still viewed each other with distrust (Rattaggi 1983). The travellers had difficulties in finding places to stay, mostly because they violated zoning laws. One interviewee in the research summarised their feelings towards the majority: 'You sedentary people take away our living space' (Rattaggi 1983: 35). The authorities complained that the travellers did not ask where they could camp, that they arrived in large groups and that towns did not have enough space or sanitary installations to cater for them; also that the travellers left the spaces dirty, that the authorities could not trust them, and that, if they were allowed to stay, they always stayed longer than agreed, or they camped outside the building zones (Rattaggi 1983: 47–50).

Apart from mistrust and prejudices the conflict is based on the increasing strictness of building codes that leaves no space for travellers to stay. Traditionally, travellers would ask farmers in a village to be allowed to stop with their carriage or later their car and to stay on their premises. The new federal planning law of 1979 introduced a strict separation of building and non-building zones (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft 1979: Art. 14–18). Most of the land in the building zones where one could once park caravans is now built over. Furthermore, farm land was considered to be a non-building zone and only the farmers' buildings were allowed as structures to prevent further building on scarce land. Otherwise, there remained camp sites or parking spaces. The cantonal laws usually regulate camping sites and only allow staying on these sites for short periods for recreation. In any case, it is forbidden to stay on a camp site and work, which is what the travellers routinely do.

In the wake of the scandal that *Kinder der Landstrasse* provoked, the legal problems of the travellers became prominent in the 1990s. In 2001 the government-backed organisation *Stiftung Zukunft für Schweizer Fahrende* (Foundation for the Future of Swiss Travellers) asked a law firm to provide a report on 'travellers and land use planning' (Eigenmann Rey Rietmann BSP/FSU 2001). The report surveyed the possibilities of travellers staying in the different Cantons and concluded that among the 48 spaces used by travellers only one was designated as good. The other 47 were either too expensive for travellers, not available at the right time, lacked infrastructure or were only partly legal. The latter two categories applied to all 47 spaces.

The Cantons and municipalities greatly differed in how they dealt with the problems. At the time, only the Cantons Lucerne, Berne and Schwyz granted the towns the right to allow travellers outside camping facilities. The Cantons also had differing views on which were the zones where travellers could stop. They proposed or already allowed stops in the following zones: 'zone for habitation and commerce', 'zone for commerce', 'zone for public buildings', 'zone for camping', 'intensive zone for recreation', 'isolated zone for small buildings', among others (Eigenmann Rey Rietmann BSP/FSU 2001: 26). Only Graubünden defined a specific 'zone for travellers' in which 'only operationally necessary buildings and facilities, such as sanitary facilities and facilities for working' are allowed (Eigenmann Rey Rietmann BSP/FSU 2001: 26, FN 21).

Basel-Land tried to establish a space for travellers, but the affected municipalities resisted the plans until they were dropped. All the other Cantons did not even attempt to provide spaces for travellers. The case of Basel-Land also hints at the problem of a federalist state: local authorities and the local population have a lot of power and possibilities to resist the Cantons, and have no incentive to look after the travellers. Furthermore, since travellers are a minority and they are travelling, it is very difficult for them to exercise their rights. The direct democracy of Switzerland asserts the right to vote on petitions and initiatives according to the place of habitation. Even if travellers were a sizeable number, they could never vote for their rights in a specific municipality or Canton, since their place of habitation is not concentrated.[4] Furthermore, legal disputes and political fights are place-based, since they take place in courts that are again immovable buildings subject to zoning law.[5] Travellers would have to stay for a long time or return repeatedly to the same place to deal with lawyers and courts.

None-the-less, in 2003, the problem finally made it to the federal court (Schweizerisches Bundesgericht 2003): the traveller 'Michel B.' had bought 7,000 m² of land in the agricultural zone in Céligny, Canton of Geneva. He subsequently built a 'new church of Céligny', made from a few containers and some caravans, to live there with his family and make it a meeting place for other travellers. On eight occasions, the Geneva Canton authorities sent a decree to stop him violating the building laws. Michel B. took the case to the federal court. The federal court ruled that Michel B. had indeed violated all different kinds of building codes. But it also noted that the federal building law states that 'the zones

reserved for habitation and commerce should be used according to the needs of the population' and that the travellers are part of the population (Schweizerisches Bundesgericht 2003: 327, 3.2).

According to the court, the zoning plans have to provide for 'appropriate zones' that 'conform to the traditions' of the travellers (Schweizerisches Bundes-gericht 2003: 327, 3.2). As a reaction to this fundamental ruling, the federal government issued a report to alleviate the situation (Eidgenössisches Departement des Inneren & Bundesamt für Kultur 2006). It proposes that the Cantons establish zones for travellers and finance the places because the municipalities often turned places down because of costs. So far, this project has not been put in place.

The case of the travellers demonstrates how much building and zoning law assumes that buildings are immovable and how people circulate between buildings to pursue different tasks. At a given place, a zone is defined and the buildings that are located in this zone serve a predefined use. Furthermore, the idea of zoning assumes that the buildings themselves as building types are technologies to stabilise this use. The law conceives of persons as not being attached to buildings but rather to move from one immovable building to the other. By moving between buildings persons are assumed to change their practices according to the uses required by the specific building and zone.

But travellers do not live this way. Once buildings such as caravans literally move and allow for different tasks in these buildings, zoning law ceases to work. Zoning law helps to fix the uses of *stable* buildings. But travellers move their buildings and they perform everything they do – working, habitation, and religion – in the same building. Their buildings remain the same through all these changes and the *form* of their buildings is not specific for the different uses. If the travellers wanted to conform to zoning laws, they would have to move their caravans if they change their practices. They would have to work in their caravan in the industrial zone and move it to the zone of habitation to sleep and prepare food.

Zoning law cannot provide a conceptual apparatus to accommodate the lifestyle of travellers. The proposed solutions – to introduce specific zones for travellers – create legal exceptions for a certain group of people – travellers – by designating specific zones for them. These zones, however, differ from all other zones, because they do not identify a place with a use and a building type, but with a group of people. This then leads to the question of who counts as a traveller, thereby turning the problem away from zoning law to identifying groups with lifestyles and ethnicities. The question now is no more: Which kind of *building* or *use* on this land? But rather: W*ho* is allowed to do what on this land?

A webpage defending the rights of the travellers states:

> Even the travellers themselves do not want official places at all costs, because these are also used by passing Sinti and Roma, clans from the east, that often do not adhere to our customs. These clans come in large caravans that lead to a shortage of space on the existing places. The resulting problems are then attributed to all travellers.
>
> (Bolliger-Sahli and Grass, n.d.)

The Swiss travellers, now having the right to park their caravans by being defined as travellers, thus resort to the same kinds of arguments that were previously used against themselves to fence off foreign Sinti and Roma. And whereas before, according to the law, the logic of arguments referred to uses and buildings, it now changes accordingly and refers to the ethnicity of the other travellers. Whereas the law was not prepared to deal with travelling buildings, once it allows those travels for travellers, the Swiss travellers themselves seem not to be prepared to deal with other people travelling with their buildings.

TYPES AND PRACTICES: ASSISTED SUICIDE AS AN OBJECT OF BUILDING CODES

The last is an extreme case, since it shows how zoning laws can be used to ban social practices without any reference to the forms of buildings. Other than the examples discussed elsewhere in this book, the case of assisted suicide shows that the legal definition of types is in fact as much related to social practices as to buildings themselves, and that the circulation of persons, bodies and social practices can create new 'building types'.

Switzerland is one of the few countries that allow assisted suicide. Current law only prohibits active assisted suicide (Art. 114 of the criminal code), but it is silent about passive assisted suicide. If a helper does not act for selfish reasons, she is allowed to give deadly substances to people who are able to commit suicide by their own hands. Two organisations, 'Exit' and 'Dignitas', use this law to provide their members with the barbiturate Sodium-Pento-Barbital, which is only available on prescription. After checking the will to die repeated times, a doctor visits the person at home and prescribes the barbiturate. Only Dignitas practises assisted suicide with foreigners – mostly Germans – who come to Switzerland because they are not allowed to commit assisted suicide in their home countries. The practice is known as 'death tourism', which became the 'Swiss word of the year 2007' (ap. 2007b).

Since foreigners cannot be visited at home, they have to come to a specific place to commit suicide. Until September 2007 Dignitas assisted 670 suicides in a small flat in Zürich (Cajacob 2007). After protests by neighbours the landlord terminated the contract. Dignitas then moved to a flat in Stäfa, a small town on Lake Zürich, where neighbours immediately prevented suicidal candidates from entering the house. Finally, the police shut the flat down after Dignitas refused to apply for a building permit to change the flat into what the authorities called 'a death flat', arguing that assisted suicide is a business and therefore not allowed in a zone for habitation (Gemeinde Stäfa 2007). The administrative court of the Canton of Zürich later confirmed this decision (Verwaltungsgericht des Kantons Zürich 2007a). Meanwhile, Ludwig A. Minelli, the head of Dignitas, wrote in an article that a person should be granted the possibility to die in a flat, since this provides a 'familiar atmosphere', and not in an office building (Minelli 2007).

Deprived of a building, Dignitas next organised assisted suicides in a car on a parking lot and in hotels (ap. 2007a; Minor 2007) and reasoned that in the future people from Germany should arrive in their own caravans (Ley and Michel 2007). Both cases were legal as it turned out. Legally, it is neither possible to control what is happening in a parked car, nor is it possible to ban an organisation – only persons – from a hotel. A little later, Dignitas rented an industrial building in Schwerzenbach, where the authorities immediately prohibited further suicides, arguing that Dignitas would need a building permit for change of use (Rütsch 2007). The administrative court overturned this decision, claiming that the practice of Dignitas only 'marginally differs' from 'the activities allowed in an industrial and commercial zone' (Verwaltungsgericht des Kantons Zürich 2007b: 11). The court observed ironically that the suicides would rather not produce 'excessive immissions', as the municipality claimed, if the same municipality allowed the biggest brothel of Switzerland only 100 metres away (Baurekurskommission des Kantons Zürich 2008: 3, 4.1).

After this decision, at least in the Canton of Zürich, the situation implies that assisted suicide is legal in zones reserved for business and industry, but not in residential zones. The government of the Canton repeatedly asked the federal council of Switzerland to regulate the issue at federal level, but thus far the federal council has refused to deal with it. The issue has became so confusing that a law firm even issued a leaflet with the title 'Where is it possible to die without a permit?' (Rabenhaus Rechtsanwälte *et al.* n.d./2007).

Compared to the other cases where resistance to the immigration of building types and legal discussion was tied to different mixes of building forms and practices, in the case of assisted suicide, building *forms* are absent. In fact, the problem, as a problem for zoning law, emerges because of *both* the *lack* of a

Figure 3.2
Industrial building where
Dignitas conducts
assisted suicide in
Schwerzenbach, ZH.
© Michael Guggenheim.

legal category and a form. For the assisted suicide of people living in Switzerland, residential buildings provide adequate places and, since they happen in every case in a different place, they do not stir up the resistance of neighbours. Assisted suicides are thus not linked to a specific building type; they are simply an extension of habitation. Only the migration of foreigners without a building to die in produces the problem: the question of a zone for committing assisted suicide.

By requesting building permits in *any* zone, the opposing authorities show that they are *generally* opposed to the practice, rather than to the practice in specific zones. Their resistance amounts to a societal taboo, leading to assisted suicides in cars, and it denies the suicides of any buildings. Furthermore, dying is a practice that fits squarely into zoning categories that differentiate between habitation, business and industry. When the administrative court of the Canton of Zürich establishes assisted suicide as fitting into the industrial zones and compares this activity with what goes on in brothels, it moves it further into the shadows.

Assisted suicide has become a practice without buildings, because society cannot imagine an appropriate building or zone for a practice it does not want to see. At the height of the controversy, one architecture critic of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the most respected newspaper of the country, wrote a review of the newly built hospice 'St Martin' of the architects Aldinger & Aldinger, in the German city of Stuttgart. He put the review in the direct context of the controversy when he wrote: 'In the contemporary discussion about assisted suicide, we tend to forget that there are houses, in which the terminally ill are cared for until their death' (Hollenstein 2007). He noted that historically, the hospices were usually converted residential buildings or villas, and that the architects defined a 'new architectural typology' with their building. He also observed the 'almost transcendental hilariousness' of the architect and that the architecture is at pains to avoid any resemblance with a hospital (Hollenstein 2007). For the architecture critic, a new typology appeared, but this typology did not develop with the migrating candidates for assisted suicide; instead it emerged where they came from, as an answer to their problematic travels. However, for the architectural critic, the hospice may provide the most adequate architectural means to die but it is built for a slow death, exactly the death that those who create the problem try to flee from.

CONCLUSION: A COMPARISON

The three cases present a complex picture of how the law relates to travelling building types. As a summary, I compare the cases with respect to the results of the different controversies. Table 3.1 lists, for each of the cases, first, the travelling element initiating the controversy, second, the legal category invoked to stop or regulate the travelling element, third, the claims of the concerned groups why their object should be permitted, and finally, the result. As we can see, there is no rule as to which type of element creates which result.

Table 3.1 A comparison of the three cases with respect to the results of the different controversies

Case	Travelling element	Legal object	Claim of opponents	Result
Minarets	Forms (+practices) (minaret +practising Islam)	Zone/form (initiative)	Zones are OK, but we do fit existing zones	Fitting the practice to existing zones/ new form (mosque without minaret)
Travellers	Practices/ buildings (living as traveller/ caravan)	Zone	We don't fit zones/we need no zones/we need special zone	Special zones defined by lifestyle
Assisted Suicides	Practices (foreigners committing suicide)	Zone	Zones are OK, but we do fit existing zones	Fitting the practice to existing zones/ new form? (hospice)

In the case of minarets, the initiating element is a form, the minaret, but then the controversy relates the form in very complex ways to practices. The first result, the court decision to allow the minaret, is that minarets are fitted to already existing zones. By decision, minarets are considered to be mere towers that do not change the use of the building. The second result, the initiative, is eventually the banning of minarets – and not the use of buildings as mosques – as Muslim symbols to gain power in Switzerland. However, the result of the initiative, if it were accepted, would be the legal stabilisation of a new form of mosque, namely mosques without minarets.

In the case of travellers, the travelling object is a lifestyle plus a specified building, namely caravans. But the objects are not specific to the lifestyle, they are not technologies to enforce it. The result is a special zone for the lifestyle, not the object. Thus forms remain excluded from the whole case, because caravans are not considered to be technologies.

In the case of assisted suicides, as with the travellers, only practices cause the conflict. However, the result is more similar to the case of minarets. The first result, the court decisions that assisted suicide conforms to business zones, consists in a new fit between assisted suicides and already existing zones. The second result is the emergence of a new building type, namely hospices.

The different results are all related to the fact that buildings are quasi-technologies. The immigrating elements can be either practices or building forms: in case they meet local resistance, they become discussed in the light of building codes, where they inevitably start to move from being a practice to being a tech-

nology and back ad infinitum. Practices instantiate forms and forms instantiate practices. In this process the travelling element itself starts to blur. It is no longer clear whether the Muslims or the mosques, the travellers or the caravans, the death tourists or the death flats, are the problem. Both the proponents of the immigrating elements and their opponents can each resort to both stances: that it is practices that matter because buildings are only objects but not technologies, *and* that buildings matter because they are indeed technical.

Proponents of minarets argue that they need minarets *and* that the minaret they want is not really a minaret, but is merely symbolic. Opponents of minarets argue that minarets are symbols of Islam for conquering Europe *and* that they are not against Muslims, but care only about the height, size and colour of the proposed minaret. Proponents of assisted suicide argue that they need specific places for their clients to die, *and* at the same time they demonstrate that they do not need these by performing assisted suicides in the most unusual places. Their opponents decry the suicides in cars as inhuman, *and* produce these situations by not letting Dignitas use other buildings.

NOTES

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2   For other studies analysing the socio-cultural implications of zoning law see Perin (1977) and Schneekloth and Bruce (1989); with special reference to the gendering issues of zoning see Greed (2000) and Ritzdorf (1994). Apart from these sociological analyses that are often critical of the implied values in zoning, there are also attempts to use zoning as an explicit tool for social ordering, for example, to prevent obesity; see Ashe *et al.* (2003).
3   Often new and foreign types are identified and confused with each other. What is new is foreign and what is foreign is new. For example, at the very beginning of Swiss building codes in the 1920s there was a conflict in Ascona about the then novel flat-roofed buildings that opponents decried as a 'Nordic import' (Maurer 2001). The building codes in Ascona were introduced to ban flat roofs and enforce pitched-roofed, 'indigenous' building forms.
4   A webpage defending the rights of the travellers mentions that there are more travellers (approximately 35,000) in Switzerland than inhabitants in the smallest Cantons (Bolliger-Sahli and Grass n.d.).
5   Although many poor countries with bad infrastructure are aware of mobile courts (Donovan 2007).

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Chapter 4: The High-rise Office Tower as a Global 'Type'

Exploring the Architectural World of Getty Images and Co

Monika Grubbauer

INTRODUCTION

Stock agencies, or image banks as they are also called, play a crucial role in the production of visual information in contemporary mass media. They provide mass-produced, ready-made images for editorial purposes, advertising and design, and allow media professionals to save time and costs. With the evolution of digital image editing techniques and worldwide internet access, the stock photography market has rapidly expanded and largely moved online since the mid-1990s. Following a series of mergers and acquisitions it has been marked by the emergence of a few 'super-agencies' – Getty Images being currently the largest – as well as by the global expansion of these agencies' activities.

This chapter explores the role of this contemporary system of stock photography in the making of globally circulating types of buildings by taking the high-rise office tower as a case in point. The high-rise office tower has, in reference to its arguably high degree of standardization and uniformity in cities worldwide, become one of the most cited symbols of globalization and its alleged homogenizing effects. My argument is, however, that the high-rise office tower as a building type that is characterized above all by the notion of 'global uniformity' is decisively shaped by its visual mediation through stock agencies and image databases. What kind of logic this visual mediation follows and how it affects the representation of the office tower as a type will be examined.

After looking at the case of the office tower in more detail and laying out some theoretical foundations for the analysis, I will examine the logic of the contemporary system of stock photography as the centrepiece of today's 'visual content industry' (Frosh 2003). Drawing on a visual example, I will show how the generic high-rise office tower is constructed as a global type through practices of image production, classification and distribution particular to this system. In the remainder of the chapter I will discuss the implications of these findings for the contemporary production and perception of architecture.

THE HIGH-RISE OFFICE TOWER AS A SYMBOL OF GLOBALIZATION

The skyscraper as a symbol of corporate capitalism has a long history. From the late nineteenth century onward, when the first skyscrapers were built in the booming cities of Chicago and New York, the skyscraper has been referred to as the most visible embodiment of (US) corporate power and as a means of advertisement for their corporate builders (King 2004: 3–23).[1] Urban research has thereby tended to concentrate on the skyscraper as singular monument: outstanding buildings that have forever changed the image of the city, monuments paradigmatic of their place and time of making, pieces of architectural mastery that are widely recognized and associated with particular names (e.g. Tauranac 1995; Fenske 2008).[2] In recent years this interest has been renewed in connection with the debates about celebrity architects and the iconic building as their prime product (Jencks 2005). At the same time, the discussion of the unremarkable, speculative office tower as commercial product has largely been left to the building sciences and the field of real estate research.[3]

In the past two decades the development of these kinds of commercial office high-rises has been decisively fuelled by a number of factors. The growth of the service sector, technological change and the needs of expanding multinational company networks generated substantial new demand in office space in cities worldwide. This rising demand was further boosted by the internationalization of the real estate markets and the rise of institutional investment in real estate (Coakley 1994). Moreover, the worldwide shift towards entrepreneurial urban politics and the appropriation of the global city (Sassen 1991) as a role-model has also contributed to the spread of the high-rise office tower. The development of high-rise Central Business Districts has become a seemingly indispensable tool for cities striving to attract attention and to place themselves on the global map of international capital flows (e.g. Olds 2002).

The spread of the office tower was paralleled by its increasing standardization; on the one hand, this was due to the adoption of international building standards in order to meet the demands of international clients and investors (Lizieri 2003). On the other hand, increased institutional investment has raised profit expectations and made risk-minimizing strategies more important. As a result, the scope for architectural innovation has been reduced, very often resulting in objects of little architectural originality. This is matched by the observation of Kim Dovey (1999) who noticed how the dwindling fascination with the phenomenon of the skyscraper is also reflected in linguistic terms: 'We no longer use the term 'skyscraper' so much – the romance of distance has faded. They are now the common buildings of corporate culture, a kind of corporate vernacular' (ibid.: 107).

It is this ordinary and commonplace office tower that figures as one of the most cited symbols of processes of economic as well as cultural globalization. It provides powerful images when arguing in favour of economic integration, urban

competitiveness and a 'business-friendly' environment, as is done by entrepre-neurial urban policies (see e.g. Moulaert *et al.* 2003). At the same time, with regard to debates about the patterns of standardization as well as differentia-tion which simultaneously characterize these globalization processes, the office tower provides one of the most vivid arguments with which to highlight the increasing conformity of urban spaces and to illustrate what are often seen as globalization's homogenizing effects (e.g. Zukin 1991: 180ff.; Olds 2002: 149f. Kim and Short, 2008: 94). The point is that, both in affirmative and critical terms, the office tower acquires significance by drawing on the notion of a 'global uniformity'.

THE VISUAL MEDIATION OF THE HIGH-RISE TOWER: IMAGES AS CULTURAL PRODUCTS

Based on the above arguments, an increasing degree of standardization and seri-ality can arguably be attributed to many of the high-rise office towers of the past decades. Nevertheless, spatial and technical solutions still vary substantially, depending on local conditions and differing working cultures (see e.g. van Meel 2000), as do stylistic and formal attributes, details of construction, concepts of urbanism and ideological connotations.

My argument then is that the high-rise office tower as a building type that is, more than any other type, characterized above all by the notion of 'global uni-formity' is decisively shaped by visual media. It is the widespread sense that these buildings look alike wherever they are that makes them an apparently global phenomenon and accounts for their (affirmative and critical) use as a symbol of economic and cultural globalization. In fact, this perception of uniformity is necessarily based on a comparison. On a global scale this comparison has to rely in large part on a reference to images; few people have travelled so extensively as to be able to judge by their own experience. The majority of non-professionals will encounter these images of high-rise towers largely in the context of mass media and advertising, which makes them very likely to have been provided by image banks.[4]

However, these photographic images are no mirror of a pre-given 'true' reality and they do not present an objective copy of what reality looks like. Con-tributions within the broadening field of visual studies have been engaged in pointing out the constructed nature of visual communication. Images have to be studied 'not as evidence of the who, where and what of reality, but as evidence of how their maker or makers have (re-)constructed reality' (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001: 5).

At the same time, one needs to acknowledge the fundamental difference between the practices of everyday visual experience in the context of mass media and traditional institutionalized forms of art appreciation. As Mirzoeff (1999: 7) has pointed out, 'most of our visual experience takes place aside from the for-mally structured moments of looking'. Consequently, images in the mass media

are not meant to be 'looked at'. People will quickly glance at these images – rather than carefully study them – while scanning through papers or magazines. This kind of superficial and cursory visual perception is necessarily selective and tends to work through categorization. In spite of this, mass media images are certainly meant to communicate specific messages. Taken the short attention span and the multitude of simultaneously competing images, these messages, however, cannot be too complicated. Simplicity and a certain degree of schematism are required to put a message across.

Today's visual content industry has adapted to these requirements of visual communication in the context of mass media, and the photographic images of office towers in question here are produced within the structures and logic of this industry. Hence, my approach is to examine these photographs as cultural products, while paying attention to their conditions of making, rather than as autonomous objects of art. With this in mind, I will draw on recent studies within the area of cultural economy (e.g. du Gay and Pryke 2002; Frosh 2003). As regards methodology, this means that the analysis does not focus on the iconographic meaning of these images, but rather on how an *intended* or *potential* meaning is created through processes of image production, distribution and circulation within the system of stock photography.

As regards stock photography and the work of stock image agencies, they have rarely been an object of academic research (with the exceptions of Miller (1999), Machin (2004) and, especially, Frosh's (2003) extensive account). There are, however, a vast amount of blogs and internet forums dealing with stock photography, which do provide a valuable insight into the logic of the system and to which I will be referring in the next sections.

THE STOCK PHOTOGRAPHY BUSINESS: GETTY IMAGES AND CO

Stock photography is not a new invention as such; the first agencies were already operating in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, until the 1970s these were small, diverse agencies with a largely editorial orientation and confined to the reuse of images produced for commercial magazine assignments. With the establishment of the Image Bank in 1974 a number of paradigmatic changes were initiated. Institutional priority was now given to advertising clients. The production values changed, heightened emphasis was now put both on technical as well as aesthetic excellence, and top photographers were employed. At the same time, the agencies adopted professional marketing techniques and broadened their scope of activity (Frosh 2003: 35–48).

What followed in the 1980s was a massive expansion of the whole industry. With the rise of advertising, the growth of the publishing industry and ever more photo-centric media, the system of stock photography has proved mutually beneficial to all parties concerned. For the majority of applications in today's mass media, the commission of professional photographers is too costly, time consuming and overly complicated.[5] The agencies provide archives of ready-to-use

images which allow the clients economical and quick access to imagery covering a diverse range of topics. The basic principle is that the agencies acquire the licences to sell the production rights of selected photographic images from the photographers, while the photographers in return receive a share of the revenue generated when the images are sold.

Traditionally the photographs were duplicated, filed as well as cross-referenced, and then distributed to clients via catalogues and delivered by means of prints or slides. Again, since the mid-1990s this classical system of stock photography has seen fundamental technological and organizational-financial changes. The images are now stored digitally, the search and retrieval of the images takes place online and the internet provides global access to the archives. At the same time, the industry has, after a number of mergers and acquisitions, seen the emergence of a few 'super-agencies' based in the US and Europe. Getty Images is currently the market leader. Founded in 1995, in the early days of the internet boom, it was the first agency to serve the content online. Today, Getty describes itself as a 'global digital media company'. Its online archive contains at present about 70 million images; about ten times that amount is stored physically and is being successively digitalized. Apart from imagery, Getty also license video-footage as well as music clips.

Nevertheless, the revenue of the traditional stock agencies as well as per-image pricing have been on the decline in recent years due to the rise of so-called microstock sites. These photo-sharing platforms take advantage of user-generated content (widely discussed under the phenomenon of crowd-sourcing; see Brabham (2008) for an introduction) and the wide availability of high-resolution digital cameras to sell images at a fraction of the price of commercial agencies. Their images are mostly provided by communities of amateur photographers who tag them with keywords, comment on them and rate them according to their relevance and originality. The growing popularity of the microstock sites has certainly stirred up the business and raised questions as to the differences in quality between the images of commercial and microstock sites. So far though, professional media workers as well as major advertising and publishing companies have largely continued to source their images from the commercial agencies owing to the quality of the imagery, the extensive search options and the service provided.[6]

THE LOGIC OF THE GENERIC IMAGE AND THE HIGH-RISE TOWER

For all the transformations of the stock licensing industry described above, the principle of the business has remained the same – and with it the logic of the 'generic' image as the prime product of stock photography. The system has traditionally conveyed the reproduction of stereotypical images which appear ordinary, unexceptional and, as a consequence, tend to be routinely overlooked. This inherent conservatism derives from the structure of the underlying agency-photographer relationship (Frosh 2003: 49–90).

- First, stock images tend to be *repetitive*. Photographers make a profit only when their images are sold as often as possible.[7] Successful images – the ones sold the most – also tend to be imitated the most.
- Second, stock images have to be *polysemic*. They have to be open to a multiplicity of uses for various purposes and in different cultural contexts. This openness of meaning is therefore a question of planning and experience on the part of the photographers.
- Third, stock images are necessarily *schematic*. They are related to a pre-established classificatory system which guides photographers when shooting the images, agents when selecting and tagging the images for the archive, as well as clients when searching for images.

Certainly, there has been a diversification of the imagery available over the past decade. Stock images have become less obviously stereotyped and more diverse, and the classificatory systems more elaborate. However, apart from the inherent logic of the system based on the agency-photographer relationship, the requirements of visual communication as described above have put a limit on the artistic freedom and originality of commercial stock photography.

The high-rise tower or skyscraper enters this stage as one of the most popular motifs of the built environment that may be found in the online archives. A search on the Getty website[8] delivers a vast amount of photographs under the keywords of 'skyscraper' (around 26,000 results) or 'office tower' (around 34,000 results).[9] Among these, of course, there are photographs of the most famous skyscrapers in the world, with the Empire State Building being the most popular, followed by the World Trade Center and the Chrysler Building. The vast majority
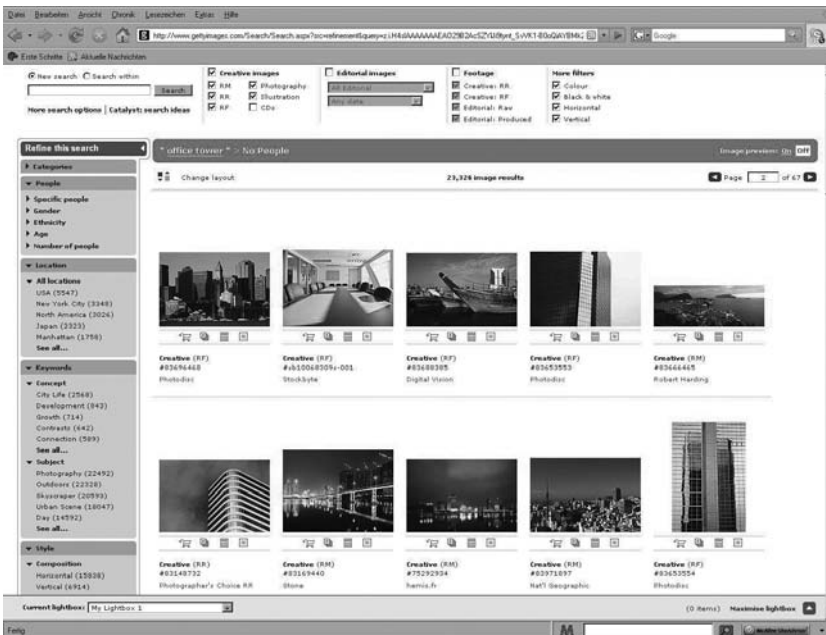
Figure 4.1
Search for 'office tower' on www.gettyimages.com. © Getty Images.

of images, though, depict buildings or urban scenes which are not instantly recognizable as specific landmarks unless one happens to personally know the city or the building[10] (Figure 4.1).

When comparing the office tower with other building types, the singular visual presence of the office tower in the Getty Image bank becomes even clearer. Under the keyword of architecture (around 117,000 photographs), the skyscraper figures as by far the most popular subject (around 14,000 images).[11] A significant point is that most of the images of skyscrapers or office towers don't include people,[12] whereas the images under the keywords of other building types such as school, hospital or church depict far more people and scenes of daily life. This hints at the different concepts behind these denominations (the latter categories figure much more as concepts for situations of everyday life involving people than as descriptions of the buildings themselves) and indicates the fundamental importance of the verbal classification system, a point I will come back to iin the next section.

A confirmation of how much the office tower is seemingly uniquely suited to serve as a visual stereotype may be found in the various blogs on the internet dedicated to stock photography. In a blog titled 'Top 7 Most Cliché Stock Images Used in Web Design', a young graphic designer, for instance, includes an image of skyscrapers (sourced from stock.xchng, a free stock photo site) as the only built structure or scenic element in his list of the most stereotyped stock images used by designers (Class 2008)[13] (Figures 4.2, 4.3).

All the commentators of the blog agree on how clichéd and common the stock images presented in the blog are. Whereas some reject the use of these kinds of images on principle because of their lack of originality, many others admit to having already used such images, partly because clients actually ask for them. Most interesting, though, are those comments arguing for the use of these images by pointing out the logic of using such images: as cliches they might be

Figure 4.2
© Class 2008.

Top 7 Most Cliché Stock Images Used in Web Design   http://justcreativedesign.com/2008/09/30/top-7-most-cliche-stock-ima...

Top 7 Most Cliché Stock Images Used in Web Design

Written by Jacob Cass on Tuesday, September 30, 2008 – 9:00 am

Sometimes clients ask us to implement 'not-so-unique' elements into our designs and sometimes it seems almost impossible to convince them otherwise, however, hopefully this post can suggest some reasons why not to use the old web design **stock imagery clichés**.

I will do this simply by showcasing the most generic and cliché stock images (still) used in web design today. Please also take note that there is nothing wrong with using any of these images *if used appropriately*.

well known and overused, but this could also be the reason for their effectiveness.

> Cliche remains cliche because it's popular. Why is it popular?? Because it's recognizable and because it's been done 1000 times before. If it's not broken, don't fix it.
>
> (Robert) (ibid.)

> Has anyone asked themselves why these images are a cliche? Why have they been used so much? My theory is that it's because they're to the point, safe (many people don't want to give their money to 'edgy' companies) and acceptable to a large general audience, much as some variation on the button interface is most easily understood by the general public as well.
>
> (Mario) (ibid.)

> This is also a question that doesn't take into account the type of industry – if you are designing a site for an art group – then yeah, free reign works – but design a site for a pharmaceutical company, I bet some of these photos are REQUIRED by the brand loyalty/marketing director. I put a million on it. And are they wrong? No – they know obvious, well-known photos like this will guide the user's mind in the direction they need.
>
> (CM) (ibid.)

The argument posed at the beginning of this chapter was that the high-rise office tower as a building type, that is characterized above all by the notion of 'global uniformity', is decisively shaped by its visual mediation. Having taken a closer look at the system of stock agencies and the logic of the generic image, the effect of this visual mediation can be described more precisely: within this

particular system of image production, archiving and distribution, the high-rise office tower is constructed as a type because its image is *produced, classified, sought after and used to represent a category rather than an individual object*.

This argument is consistent with the general definition of building types as classifications that abstract from the singular building within specific local circumstances to convey only some essential and transferable features (see Guggenheim and Söderström, Chapter 1, this volume). The interesting point, however, is that here this abstraction process is performed by photographic images which one would be inclined to see as necessarily rich in detail and truthful in their representation of the real building (in contrast to traditional means used to define

Figure 4.4
Advertisement of the London Business School 2005. © London Business School. Photograph Getty Images, Photodisc.

types such as drawings, sketches, classification systems or verbal descriptions which are more easily understood as facilitating this abstraction process). How, despite this apparent contradiction, stock photography as system of image production is nevertheless very effective in producing the office tower as a type will be further illustrated by drawing on an example.

PROCESSES OF IMAGE PRODUCTION, CLASSIFICATION AND CIRCULATION

The example which I would like to use to describe the processes of (1) image production, (2) classification and (3) circulation in more detail is a photograph of office towers from the Getty archive[14] which was used in an advertisement for the London Business School. The advert appeared as part of the School's 'London experience. World impact' campaign which had been running in selected British and international business-related newspapers and magazines in 2005 and 2006 (Figure 4.4). The subject is an advertisement for the EMBA-Global, a high-profile Executive MBA program that has been offered jointly by London and Columbia Business Schools since 2001.

Image production

The example is significant in that it is actually not remarkable at all. The photograph itself appears very banal; it shows a number of buildings, mostly modern office buildings, from a low-angle view. There are no readily identifiable landmark buildings or landscape elements, there is no street life to be seen and there are no people depicted that could indicate the region and the cultural context.

Certainly the image is familiar to us and the buildings depicted resemble countless other buildings we (as Western media consumers) have seen. The point is, however, that the architectural design of the office buildings as such is not the main reason for the typical and common appearance of the photograph (even though the glass façade surely stands out as the most important symbolic element). More importantly, this impression of identicalness and generality is achieved through typification as a technique of visual representation.

Typification with regard to images is basically the use of visual stereotypes. 'The more these stereotypes overshadow a person's individual features (or the individual features of an object or a landscape), the more that person (or object, or landscape) is represented as type' (van Leeuwen 2001: 95). In the case of people the statement seems obvious, and both Frosh (2003) and Machin (2004) demonstrate how stock images depicting people make excessive use of stereotypes. For buildings however, it gets more complicated. A building's individual features – aesthetic attributes, outstanding and non-conventional design solutions – mark its specific identity. But the 'pure' object of architectural design exists only on a conceptual level. The people who inhibit and use a building, the traces of living and working in a building, as well as its relation to the immediate urban surroundings, also, in fact, constitute individual features of a building.

The typification of the urban scene above purposely omits these sorts of individual features; typification is thus achieved most importantly through the decontextualization of the building (additional aspects that enhance typification include, for instance, the conventional lighting, the unrealistic depth of focus and the blue sky). And only through this lack of other individual features do the steel and glass façades gain symbolic capital as the most important signifying elements.

The picture was, in fact, shot in San Francisco in 1997/1998 as the inquiry with the photographer who took the photo revealed (he couldn't recall the exact date). The description he gave when asked about the idea behind the shot is significant of the logic of the generic image:

> It was just simply – just angling a skyline, just a designed image, just to show a big city, there was really no specific idea – you know, it's a pretty generic kind of shot for sort of any big city anywhere.
>
> (Mark Andersen, personal communication, 28 October 2008)

And when asked about the requirements for stock images of architecture or urban scenery he referred explicitly to the need to avoid excessive details:

> You just need to show more than one building – you need to show several buildings as a group, so they represent part of the city, so it's not really about a specific building (…) Just keep it simple, show as little as necessary, keep signs out, or that kind of thing, just keep it simple and graphic.
>
> (ibid.)

Figure 4.5
Search for rbrb_1293 on
www.gettyimages.com.
© Getty Images.
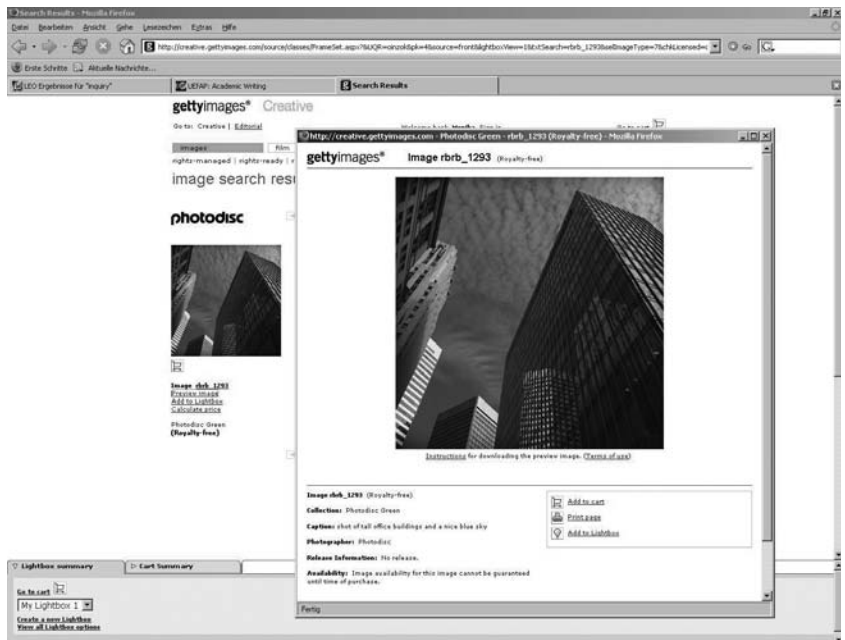
These descriptions reflect the logic of typification as described above quite well: the point is to show nothing unusual, nothing too specific and as few distracting details as necessary. This means that the buildings are not necessarily depicted to look like *any other building* (in terms of their aesthetic qualities) but rather to look like they could be in *any other place*.

Classification

The title of the image which may still be found in the Getty archive is 'Shot of tall office buildings and a nice blue sky' (Figure 4.5). At the time of the making of the advert the search options of the Getty website allowed refinement along three categories: subject, concept and style of an image. The image related to various keywords for subjects such as 'built structure' or 'office building' as well as 'sky' or 'reflection'. Keywords for style included, for instance, 'low-angle view' and 'nobody'. Significantly, the single keyword for concept was 'business'.

The crucial point about this kind of classification system is that it not only allows clients to search for images (when searching for a specific keyword, the images tagged with this specific keyword are shown in the results). The keywording also guides the client's interpretation and shapes viewing habits along established routines. The requirement to categorize a visual world by means of simple (the users have to be able to guess/think of the keywords themselves) and generalized verbal categories necessarily fails to live up to the complexity and multiplicity of meaning that the real world as well as the world of built structures poses (see Enser (2008) for an overview about practice and theory of content-based (i.e. verbal) visual information retrieval).

Thomas Markus (1993: 12) has noted that 'one of the most disorientating aspects of recent architecture is that some of its spatial and formal inventions are not nameable'. When thinking of the multiple functions of contemporary architecture or the complex processes of conversion and reuse of built structures in today's cities, the difficulty of finding unambiguous and widely comprehensible labels for these kinds of phenomena becomes clear. The probable effect with regard to the classification system is that images of architecture which are not easily related to established categories are either not included or subsumed under categories which make them unlikely to be found by users.

The motif above was jointly chosen by the EMBA marketing department and the advertisers to reflect the strap line 'world impact' and to 'suggest global impact through scale' (London Business School, personal communication, 16 October 2006). While it may have been found under any one of the keywords mentioned above, the photograph was definitely bought without knowledge of the specific place or the city depicted, as is clear since the image description doesn't reveal its location. Thus, the photograph was not only produced so as to represent a generic urban fragment of 'any big city anywhere', but was obviously also used with this intention; it was meant to represent a generic world city, since this was considered to be adequate to the message of the global reach and influence of the London Business School and its alumni.

Circulation

This example shows the multiple forms of circulation of images in the stock photo industry. The picture was taken by a photographer from RubberBall Productions, a Utah (USA)-based stock agency, in the late 1990s. In 2004 it was acquired by Getty Images as part of a larger collection, subsequently put online within their archive, sourced by the London-based advertising agency for the subject in question and finally published as part of the advert in an issue of *The Economist*.

The crucial point about this multi-stage process is that it is entirely inaccessible to clients and even more so to media consumers. Whereas some images on the websites of Getty or other stock agencies do reveal information about the photographer, location and, rarely, the exact time that a photo was taken, in other cases, as in the one above, none of this information is provided. Through successive acquisitions and the transfer of photographs from one archive to the next, this kind of information is filtered or gets lost (see e.g. Bruhn 2007). Beyond that, most non-professional media consumers have only limited knowledge about the stock industry at all. Thus, their relative institutional invisibility as compared to their far-reaching representational power is a central characteristic of stock agencies.

This becomes even more significant when we consider that the architectural world of Getty Images in terms of the geographical location of the depicted urban scenery is clearly limited. Even though Getty Images claims to be a 'truly global company' (Getty Images 2008) and the image distribution is, assuming internet access, global at least in theory, the image production is clearly not. The generic images of the high-rise office towers found on the Getty website mostly depict buildings in a limited range of world cities – a fact reflected in details of style, proportions or street profile which, despite decontextualization, in some cases allow for associations or conclusions about regional and cultural context (in the case above the visible fragments of historical architecture on the left which point to a North American rather than, for instance, an Asian city).

Within the images found under the keyword of skyscraper/office tower, by far the most frequent region or country under the subcategory of location is the USA, followed by North America, Japan, Asia and China, whereas considerably fewer images are assigned to Europe or Latin America and only a marginal number to Africa. When looking only at locations referring to cities, New York City is by far the most popular location, followed by Tokyo, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Chicago.[15] This assymetrical and selective geographical distribution of depicted locations certainly reflects the North American focus of the company, but it also points to the effect of media attention on selected countries and cities such as China and Shanghai in generating demand for related imagery.

THE CONSEQUENCES FOR ARCHITECTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF ARCHITECTURE

When discussing the consequences of the above findings for architecture, it is necessary to note some aspects that are certainly unique to the case of the office

tower. First of all, the cultural and technological history of the skyscraper, its connection to the rise of New York as a world city and the lasting fascination with the quest for height continue to make the office tower a preferred photographic motif. In addition, its formal attributes (reflecting glass façades, cubic form, regular structure) certainly allow for artistic experiments and interesting graphic effects.

However, these aspects alone don't explain the popularity of the generic office tower in the stock image business or its inclusion in blogs like the 'Top 7 Most Cliché Stock Images Used in Web Design'. It is the current discourse on urban competitiveness and the centrality that is, according to this discourse, attributed to 'global' or 'world' cities within the global economy (see e.g. Robinson (2006) for a critique) that accounts for the prominence of this motif in the image banks. Obviously, no other motif seems so perfectly suited to visually represent aspects of both *centrality* and *globality*[16] – at least with regard to the established global cities or those cities striving for this status, especially in Asian and Arabic countries (the situation in Europe is certainly more ambivalent, office high-rise towers also being symbols of threat with regard to historic urban centres as well as symbols of failed urban policies).

The notion of 'global uniformity', central to the use of the office tower within this discourse, is thereby a result of such visual mediation in two ways. First, the technique of decontextualization enhances the impression of uniform aesthetic standards in such a way as to shape routines of visual perception; it is a commonplace that office towers tend to look alike. And second, this visual decontextualization results in the impossibility of anchoring a building in a specific city. This, in a kind of reverse conclusion, then allows for the suggestion of its possible location in any city in the world and seemingly confirms the globality of the type.

This deduction is reminiscent of debates in cultural theory, where the significance of the 'global' remains, as Anthony King has remarked, unclear, and 'global culture often tends to mean what local culture is not' (King 2004: 31). The visual construction of the office tower as a global phenomenon should thus be understood as part of the social construction of *the global* per se. In the context of competitive urban policies and the expansive strategies of multinational companies, this construction of meaning then receives a particular discursive twist: here, the image of the generic office tower might also be effective in contributing to the construction of an interpretative framework that relates the internationalization of economic activity to the office tower and adds a narrative thread to what Cameron and Palan (2003) have described as 'imagined economies of globalization'.

The relevance of these clichéd images and the related interpretative framework for the design and the construction of office buildings lies, in my opinion, not so much in its influence on the architects themselves (architectural discourse tends to be highly autonomous), but rather on the clients. Their viewing habits and role-models are more likely to be influenced by the experience of these images as part of everyday mass media. This is apparent in the comments on the

blog mentioned above, which stress the insistence of clients when asking explicitly for the most common and stereotypical images, as they seem most appropriate and effective to them (see Class 2008).

Typified images of the office tower, however, do not necessarily advance an understanding of the complexities involved in architectural design. They tend to reduce architectural expression to its graphic impact, emphasize height and visual effectiveness and de-emphasize a building's relation with the surrounding urban life. This shapes the clients' understanding of architecture and presents a challenge for architects trying to convince clients of more subtle aspects of architectural quality – even more so as the traditional client, who commissions an office building for the purposes of his or her company's own needs and personally identifies with the project is increasingly replaced by the project manager, who is in charge of the building process on behalf of institutional investors.

The relevance of this system of stock photography and the generic image as its prime product for the public perception of architecture lies in the selective representation of the built environment that it provides. Taking the logic of visual typification and the verbal classification system into account, it is legitimate to suspect that built structures that are less prone to represent visual types and less easily named with keywords, will also be less represented (or they are found in categories which have nothing to do with architecture).[17]

The inherent selectivity of this system of visual representation might go unnoticed not only because of the institutional invisibility of the industry but also due to one of the most effective and lasting conventions of architectural photography: the deliberate focus on the pure architectural object and the disregard of anything that might cause distraction. This convention is rooted in the origin of architectural photography as a documentary device unaware of the 'mis-representation as well as representation' (Ackerman 2002: 28) involved in the practice and has further been invigorated by the visual codes of the Modern Movement. This means that stereotyping people as a technique of visual representation is something with which we are familiar. In the case of architecture we are less aware of this practice and/or less inclined to perceive it as a question of visual typification, even more so as it is the nature of photographic conventions to 'fall below the threshold of conscious attention' (Lister and Wells 2001: 75) and to appear 'as the way to do something' (ibid.).

In conclusion, I wish to argue that – despite their ever-growing numbers and the increasing speed of their circulation – the significance of images as vehicles for the mobility of building forms lies in their 'scarcity' with regard to what could potentially be depicted. The generic images of the office tower provide a very particular and selective representation of reality. This selectivity is grounded less on individual decisions by photographers or media professionals. Rather, it is the result of the interplay between an industrialized system of image production, text-based technologies of image retrieval, routines of visual design in mass media, conventions of architectural photography, as well as a dominant economic discourse. This visual mediation of the office tower may certainly be

understood as part of the abstraction which constitutes building types as the most complex way in which buildings circulate; it demonstrates how the identification of the formal features of a building type is always a question of interpretation and how the perception of its global presence depends on its discursive and visual mediation.

NOTES

1 For further references see Willis (1995: 146).

2 Apart from academic research, there is a substantial amount of more descriptive anthologies of the world's most famous skyscrapers, for instance, by Judith Dupre (2008).

3 A notable exception in this regard is the instructive study of architectural historian Carol Willis (1995) of the early history of the skyscraper in New York and Chicago.

4 When speaking of mass media in the following account, I will only refer to print media. See, however, Machin and Jaworski (2006) for a discussion of the use of video-footage in television news, a discussion which suggests that it follows a similar logic to that of stock images.

5 Quantifying the proportion of stock images used in mass media has proved to be impossible. An estimate from 1997 suggested that about 70 per cent of all images in advertising, marketing and design were provided by stock agencies (Frosh 2003: 2). Today, however, apart from commissioned work and images sourced from commercial stock agencies, a substantial part of the images used is also sourced directly from individual photographers and found through search engines, the photographers' individual websites or photo-sharing platforms. Nevertheless, a look at the image credits in newspapers and magazines as well as the blogs and internet forums of design professionals shows that professional media workers still largely source their images from commercial agencies.

6 For one of the best and most knowledgeable sources of information about the development of stock photography and various aspects of the industry such as the impact of microstock sites and crowd sourcing, see the US photographer and author Dan Heller's blog at www.danheller.com/blogs.html (accessed 25 October 2008).

7 Only 5 per cent of the images licensed from agencies are exclusive licence uses, meaning that these images are subsequently no longer allowed to be used by other customers (Dan Heller, personal communication).

8 www.gettyimages.com.

9 Search for all creative images under the category of Photography; accessed 25 October 2008.

10 The number of images in the Getty archive is growing every day and the results vary depending on the search configuration. The figures in this and the next paragraph are therefore only meant to give an impression of the archive's size and logic; a more detailed account is of little use for the purposes of this chapter.

11 Search results can be refined according to subcategories such as people, location, subject, concept or style which also allows the viewer to see the entries in every subcategory, as well as the number of corresponding images for each entry.

12   About four-fifths of the images under the keyword of skyscraper and two-thirds of the images under the keyword of office tower fall into the category of 'nobody', which implies that they show no people at all.

13   The full list is 'The Business Handshake', 'Group Of Business People', 'The Call Center Woman/Man', 'Tech Paraphernalia', 'The World/Globe', 'The Rising Finance Graph' and 'Skyscrapers'. In another similar blog titled '11 Images you might want to avoid in your designs', the skyscraper is also included as the only built structure (Mao 2007).

14   Image number *rbrb_1293*, accessed 25 October 2008.

15   Within the category of location there is no distinction between states, regions, cities or individual buildings. In most cases images are tagged with multiple references to locations (e.g. Manhattan, New York City, USA and North America). At the same time there is no definite system; an image tagged with Frankfurt/Main does not necessarily have to be tagged also with the keyword of Europe or Germany. The ranking of most popular regions and cities as provided here therefore certainly gives an indication of the preferences but the exact figures are of little significance.

16   This is also confirmed by the fact that the generic high-rise office tower, which is not intended to refer to any specific location, is also a favoured motif in high-profile advertising campaigns using commissioned photographs (see Grubbauer (2008) for examples).

17   A brief comparison of images of the office tower and other building types in the Getty archive suggests that even though the latter underlie the same logic of decontextualization they tend to include more people and represent a greater variety of settings and details. A more detailed analysis of these differences would need to take formal attributes of the architecture, linguistic aspects, relevant social practices and the related media discourse into account.

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Part III

Circulating Types

Chapter 5: Factories, Office Suites, Defunct and Marginal Spaces

Mosques in Stuttgart, Germany[1]

Petra Kuppinger

My friend Emine[2] knows that I am professionally interested, and personally enjoy all sorts of mosque occasions, in particular the ubiquitous *kermes* events that are a mix of an open house, community get-together and fundraiser. One Saturday afternoon in the fall of 2007, Emine told me that the small Takva Community was holding such an event in their premises on Stuttgart's eastern outskirts. Emine, her daughter, my daughters and I piled into Emine's car and headed east. Close to the river port facilities we turned into an industrial side street. Passing workshops, office buildings and smaller industrial facilities, we arrived at an inauspicious-looking middle-sized office/industrial complex. We parked in front of the building which looked rather deserted. We were puzzled, as we had expected parked cars, perhaps a few children playing or people chatting outside. Approaching the door, we saw that we had arrived at the correct facility: a poster (in Turkish) announced the *kermes* and beside the door was a small sign indicating that these premises housed a Turkish parents' association (not a mosque or religion association). We walked around the building into the industrial backyard that had production facilities extending more than 100 metres to the back including delivery facilities for trucks. We explored some more details and several doors of the complex. Ten minutes later we left. Emine later found out that the *kermes* had started shortly after we had left. However, we were not going to have our excursion spoiled by these circumstances. After all there were other mosques with plenty of features and attractions to keep ourselves busy on this afternoon. We headed back toward the Medina Mosque.

German cities have witnessed a considerable influx of Muslim populations for half a century. First thought to be 'guestworkers', many of these individuals, their families and children have long since turned into permanent residents and citizens. In the process they contributed spatial forms and social practices to cityscapes. Examining the case of Stuttgart, the German city with the largest percentage of residents with migrant backgrounds,[3] this chapter analyzes the context and development of local mosques, prayer spaces and Muslim community facilities. Despite its relatively large Muslim population (almost 10 per cent of

the population; Baden-Württemberg 2005:10) Stuttgart does not have a representative mosque, or any mosque that was built to be a mosque.[4] Instead, the city's mosques are located in current industrial facilities (see above) or more frequently they use defunct industrial structures which have outlived their functions as Stuttgart transitions toward a more post-industrial economy. Factories or parts of factories figure prominently among structures that have been converted to mosque spaces. Most of these buildings or complexes are situated in marginal, distant and largely non-residential areas. They bear witness to the urban transformations of a post-industrial city. Simultaneously they reveal much about the current social, cultural, political and economic situation of Muslim communities. Pushed to the margins, tucked away from public view, often situated at a distance from residential areas, local mosques symbolise the precarious nature of Islam in many German cities. Largely invisible to dominant society, most mosques spaces are hard-pressed to function as platforms from which pious Muslims and their communities can participate in urban issues and debates. Their hidden nature and non-representative spatial features serve indirectly to further disenfranchise Muslims and their activities.

Stuttgart's mosque-scape is best understood in its historical context. The economic, political and social circumstances of the city's first prayer facilities are important in this complex process. 'The mosque' as a very vaguely formulated architectural type initially played a lesser role with regard to the building types that were converted into prayer spaces and mosques. Styles and forms, however, do play a significant role in the renovation and design of interior spaces. Today there are different spatialities of Stuttgart mosques (there are over 20 mosques or Muslim associations) whose common feature is their marginal location and/or spatial character with regard to types of buildings. None of Stuttgart's mosques has remotely the exterior architecture of a mosque. While mosque architecture does not require many special features – indeed only a *mihrab* (niche to indicate the direction of prayer) and possibly a *minbar* (pulpit) are necessary (Serageldin 1996b: 9) – mosques in the Muslim world and the Muslim diaspora tend to use a certain architectural grammar that makes mosques recognisable as such. Holod and Khan noted that mosques in the West often become symbolic statements that bespeak 'the Muslim presence in non-Muslim countries' (1997: 227) and as such are distinct from their counterparts in the Muslim world. While prayer spaces can be arranged almost anywhere, mosques are none the less significant symbols of political contexts, history, community, and of money and power in the Muslim world and diasporic communities. Stuttgart's mosques, as older defunct structures, offer little in terms of external architectural beauty, representational nature or prestige. Situated in less than attractive quarters or industrial zones, these mosques are not even recognisable as such, and even less serve as markers of communal pride, or foster large-scale societal recognition.

This chapter first provides a brief overview of the history and spatiality of Stuttgart's mosques and prayer spaces. I examine the types of spaces that were and are available for communities to rent or buy (many associations today own

their premises) to be turned into mosques. I describe the types of spaces, and their previous uses, that house mosque communities. In the process I ask the following questions: How did the communities come to occupy their premises? What are the central spatial functions of mosques complexes (prayer room, spaces for religious instruction for children/youth, meeting spaces, commercial spaces)? How do mosque communities deal with changes like growing communities, shifts in programmes (e.g. increasing number of youth groups)? I argue that the mosques' relative spatial isolation and marginality are not the product of vague spatial or mere real estate issues. They do not symbolise a withdrawal of Muslim communities from mainstream society. Instead, I maintain that the topography of Stuttgart's mosques bears witness to the position of Islam in the city (and in Germany). Mosques stand to symbolise Islam and pious Muslims. As such, they are the material symbols of something that is largely unknown and indeed scary to many members of dominant society. Islam and Muslims, despite a half century of presence in Germany, have not yet been wholeheartedly invited to the middle of German society, where they could act and participate as full-fledged members of society, and consequently claim their right to construct representative facilities in appropriate (that is, visible) urban spaces. The hidden and makeshift nature of many mosques, which nevertheless have become full-fledged social institutions and actors in society, downplays the role of Islam and Muslims in the city. I argue that the vibrant nature of many mosque communities and their very active articulation with the cultural and social cityscape occur despite their spatial contexts and are the product of their own dynamics. Being forced to overcome adverse spatial conditions, some communities have developed alternative ways of engaging city and society.

SITUATING MOSQUES

The somewhat far-off, not easy to find location, the inauspicious building in an industrial area and even the naming of the Takva Community as a Turkish Parents' Association denote the complex social position of this community. Geographically isolated and distant, the community occupies a space where protests of neighbours are unlikely. Labelling themselves 'parents' association' bespeaks their fear of both the German authorities and to a certain extent also some of their Turkish compatriots and authorities.[5] To understand how a community like the Takva Community comes to inhabit its space, it is helpful to examine the context of Stuttgart's mosques and Muslim associations at large and how they reflect local, national and global dynamics.

Muslims have lived in Germany in very small numbers for over a century. The first formal mosque was constructed and opened in Berlin in 1925 (Abdullah 1981: 29). In the 1950s increasing numbers of Muslim students from the Arab world, Iran and some African countries came to attend German universities. Plans for the first post-World War II mosque in Germany, the Islamic Centre in Hamburg (Imam Ali Mosque, a predominantly Iranian Shia mosque), date back to this era.

The cornerstone for this mosque (with dome and two minarets) was laid in February 1961. The first prayers were held in 1963 (Kraft 2002: 91). Muslim students were soon joined by Muslim workers who were recruited from Turkey, and later from Morocco and Tunisia. After Germany signed a labour treaty with Turkey in 1961, thousands of Turkish men and some women came to Germany. Planning to stay for only a few years, most men left their wives and children back home. By the mid- to late 1960s as some men had already been in Germany for some years and their initial dreams of a speedy return were increasingly put on hold, groups of men in different cities organised themselves to accommodate their religious needs. Talking to older individuals in different contexts, these 'founding' stories were surprisingly similar. Planning for a short stay, and for only male use, these groups rented premises that were first and foremost affordable and somehow within the geographical reach of many men. Initially, layout, quality of rooms, public visibility or access to a larger public were of little concern to these men (see Schmitt 2003: 18).[6] They invariably ended up in backyards, small defunct workshops or in the attics of workers' dormitories – out of sight of mainstream society. In places that came to be referred to as *Hinterhofmoschee* (backyard mosque), men met for daily prayers, more formal Friday prayers and holiday prayers (see Mandel 1996). Internal political or religious differences were not really an issue. Not very much in touch with their larger urban and social environment, and considering their presence transitory, these men were concerned not to attract too much attention (Schmitt 2003: 18). Interaction with dominant society and political or social participation were not on their agenda (see Ceylan 2006: 126; Schiffauer 2000: 246).

Regardless of their attempts to keep a low profile, smaller controversies emerged in some of these original prayer rooms. If there were neighbours, they were prone to complain about the noise and traffic that resulted from crowds of men coming for Friday or even larger numbers for holiday prayers. 'The neighbours complained and then we moved' is almost a standard element of narratives about these early facilities. But these tensions remained local, limited to particular facilities. In the political climate of the late 1960s and early 1970s, a few 'guestworkers' performing Muslim prayers were seen as politically irrelevant, if they were perceived at all by dominant society. The men themselves harboured few concerns about the quality and location of their prayer spaces, as they were deemed transitory spaces. If pressured, the groups moved to other similar locations.

The halt in recruitment of foreign labour in 1973 dramatically remade the social, cultural and religious landscape of Turkish and other migrant workers. Afraid not to be allowed back in after their summer vacations back home, and still far away from their ambitious goals of saving large sums of money, a growing number of migrants decided to bring their families to Germany. With some men having already spent a decade in Germany and the growing number of women and children, demands on religious spaces and services were transformed. Whereas small, simple and largely nondescript prayer spaces had been

sufficient in the men's first decade in Germany, more were needed now. Ergun Can,[7] a member of the Stuttgart city council (*Gemeinderat*) and keen observer of the local mosque-scape, argues that this early period indeed constituted a missed chance where authorities could have facilitated the construction of a larger representative mosque, which would have possibly avoided some of the subsequent segmentation into numerous smaller communities, and the spatially hidden nature of many mosques.[8]

By the late 1970s and certainly by the 1980s most of the original Muslim associations had undergone fundamental changes. They had grown in size and now served families instead of men. In the process of the articulation of the emerging mosque-scape, smaller groups had fused with others, while other groups had split. Individual disgruntled members left their associations for those better suited to their religious and political preferences. As communities settled into more permanent configurations and membership, and increasingly clearly formulated their agendas within the German, Turkish and increasingly also global Islamic religious and political universes, their local voices and plans took concrete shape. The recognition of individuals and families – many of which had already entered the second generation in Germany – that they were here to stay further influenced their plans (see Ceylan 2006: 140). Simultaneously, the once informal prayer room associations which had often originated in shared work or living spaces had entered a complex process of religio-political formalisation, which in the case of Turkish associations closely reflected the outlines and conflicts of Turkey's political and religious landscape. In, at times tumultuous, debates and struggles, the local mosque-scape slowly articulated into a number of larger associations that reflected the fault lines of Turkish religious and political groups.[9] Some older individuals related stories of veritable political 'take-overs' or minor 'mosque-wars' in this period of political and religious articulation.[10] Under the new umbrella of national organisations (in Germany, but with ties to Turkish contexts) that were largely in place by the mid-1980s, local groups started to search for larger and more appropriate facilities (see Schmitt 2003: 18). Simple prayer rooms were no longer enough as the associations sought to address the growing spiritual, social and cultural needs of men, women and children. Mosques or individual members frequently also offered help with German bureaucratic issues, or children's homework. They increasingly recognised the material needs of their communities with regard to ethnic and religious merchandise, including *halal*[11] food products (Ceylan 2006: 137; Haenni 2005; Mandel 1996: 151).

Becoming more settled, growing in size, claiming a voice in public, and searching for better and larger spaces which would obviously be more visible, Muslim communities faced a series of problems. While mosque associations had caused few reactions from dominant society when they were disenfranchised and largely uneducated backyard dwellers, their attempts to rent, and (starting from the 1990s), to buy better and larger premises, were frequently met with surprise, opposition, prejudice and rejection. Like many cities, Stuttgart had its own *cause célèbre* with regard to mosque constructions: the 'Heslach' case which unfolded

between 1999 and 2003 and involved the predictable participation of local residents, activists, political parties and the administration. The case went through several courts and ended up with the city buying the factory complex in 2003 that a mosque community had bought in 1999 (see Osswald 2004; Osswald and Höfle 2002; Pazarkaya 2002; Schwarz 2001).

While in the 1970s conflicts over small mosques and prayer spaces had remained local (i.e. a matter between disgruntled neighbours), mosque controversies increasingly took on political tones. While overtly still using the stereotypical predictable arguments that mosques were too noisy and caused parking chaos, these were now accompanied by sometimes unspoken and other times overt fears and resentment of Islam and Muslim activities (see Ewing 2008).[12] By the 1990s the leaderships of some mosque associations included members of the second generation with professional training or university degrees who were no longer willing to gratefully take hand-outs from the dominant society. Instead, as educated German citizens they were socially and legally savvy and claimed what was their legitimate right: an appropriate space to worship, but also an appropriate space from which to join a larger public sphere. These changes reflect larger national (indeed European) developments as younger Muslims increasingly turned away from their parents' countries of origin toward participation in the societies where they had lived for all or most of their lives (Ceylan 2006: 147). In the process new political and religious issues emerged, most prominently the formulation of the shape, role and future of diasporic communities and the role of Muslim individuals and communities in civil society, culture and politics. This coincided with the emergence of a new cultural and intellectual (pious) Muslim elite and their increasing visibility (Göle 2004: 11; Klausen 2005), and a new Muslim 'public sphere and market' (Göle 2004: 13, Haenni 2005).[13] In order to reach their goals and address the needs of growing communities, mosque associations needed larger and better facilities. These, however, were hard to find. Limited in part by the relative lack of funds, but much more hindered by the unwillingness of German landlords to rent or owners to sell, many associations were forced to embark on lengthy and tedious searches.[14] Others went through numerous moves as either their leases were not renewed or they kept outgrowing their facilities.

ON THE MOVE

After Emine, the girls and I left the Takva premises; we decided to stop for food, tea, some shopping and looking around at the Medina Mosque. On our way back into the city we stopped by this mosque, which is one of Stuttgart's larger mosque complexes, and, by the association's own account, the one with the largest registered membership. The Medina Mosque occupies a share in a complicated intertwined older industrial complex, now turned into smaller workshops and commercial facilities. There is only limited parking in front of the mosque facilities and in the yard between the various facilities of the complex. This leads

to parking chaos on busy days. The mosque complex contains a coffee shop downstairs and office, prayer and meeting facilities (for men and women) upstairs. The complex also houses the mosque umbrella organisation's regional headquarters and the (unrelated) regional headquarters of a largely Arab Islamic organisation.

On this quiet Saturday afternoon we were able to park immediately in front of the old factory that houses the mosque. A sizeable signboard on the building marks the mosque. Other than that there is nothing to remind the passer-by that this is a mosque. Looking at the building, Emine noted hesitantly that we should skip the food or tea part here as she felt insecure as a woman, even with a headscarf, to enter the very male-dominated coffee shop/restaurant of this mosque, which is run by a more conservative association. As the Stuttgart mosque-scape has more eateries, we decided there was no need to have tea here. Instead we turned away from the mosque building, and crossed over the central driveway to the obligatory grocery store. Climbing up the few stairs to the store, one has a good view over the rest of the complex by way of the central yard/driveway. There is a car workshop and a larger retail outlet for wood furniture and wood accessories. While not extremely busy, there was visible movement in and out of the stores, mosque and yard. A sign on the grocery store building also announced that there was a (Turkish) travel agent in the complex. We entered the store, passing crates of fresh fruits and vegetables. Inside the store there were assortments of dry goods, cans, and a fridge with dairy products and *halal* meat products. As one turned back toward the cash register about half of the store's southern wall consisted of shelves with religious books, CDs and DVDs. I was hard-pressed to find anything in German. Of the two theological books in German, I bought one. Emine was neither pleased with the ware, nor with the prizes. She swears by a (non-mosque) store elsewhere which in her view has the city's best *halal* products. We bought a few things and moved on to the heart of Stuttgart's Muslim commercial landscape: the Salam Mosque.

ROOTED

To get to the Salam Mosque from the Medina Mosque we had to cross to the other side of the city. When we arrived at the mosque compound there was no parking anywhere on the street, so we continued to the parking lot on the southern outskirts of this extensive complex which includes a mosque, community facilities, restaurants and stores. Individuals and entire families were busy shopping. Some pushed shopping carts filled to overflowing with groceries. Car and human traffic in this otherwise industrial street were impressive. Barely out of the car, Emine ran into an acquaintance and had to briefly chat. The girls headed straight to the two furniture showrooms that have dozens of children's and teenager's room sets on display. Eventually we headed east toward the supermarket ready to face the Saturday afternoon crowd.

Located at the eastern end of this extensive building complex, the mosque, while spatially not the core of the compound, is certainly its symbolic heart. To visit the mosque, one enters from the street through a large iron gate which looks much like a leftover of the old factory. The gate opens onto a tiled inner courtyard. Immediately to the left of the gate stands what was probably the factory's porter's lodge where through a large window-front one can overlook the traffic in and out of the enclosed yard. Today the lodge houses a barber shop. Inside the yard to the left of the barber shop is a set of stairs to the upstairs offices, meeting and communal rooms of the mosque community. Next, again to the left is a bookstore that sells religious and mundane literature in Turkish. Next to the bookstore is the entrance to the women's prayer room.

By the middle of the yard, also on the left side, is the entrance to the men's prayer room that seats several hundred worshippers. Through a small entrance room, with shelves on all walls to deposit one's shoes, one enters the long, rectangular prayer room which has high arched windows, carpeting suitable for prayer (with the obligatory stripes that align those who pray), and on its eastern wall a nicely decorated *minbar*. Several chandeliers, hung up by strings of crystal beads, provide soft light in the evenings. The *mihrab* and *minbar* indicate this as a prayer space. The green carpeting, the arched windows and the chandeliers draw on the grammar of mosque design and recreate this former production site as a space of worship.

Next to the prayer room, at the eastern end of the yard – opposite the entrance – is a family restaurant (*Aili Lokandasi*) which consists of a large male front room, used for drinking tea and socialising, and very importantly to watch

Figure 5.2
The men's prayer room.

TV, in particular Turkish soccer. To the back is the smaller family dining-room. To the right (the southern side of the courtyard) is a café with billiard tables: another male meeting place, in particular for male youth. Next to it is a smaller 'club' room where men meet for tea and talk. In addition to the mosque, the stores and restaurants around this courtyard, the mosque complex includes several other buildings that take up about half of this irregularly shaped street block.

In 1992 the Salam community bought this extensive building complex that had formerly housed a metal-processing factory.[15] This factory complex is an assortment of several buildings of various shapes and sizes that are internally connected by inner yards and a number of passages between buildings. The irregular spatial form of the complex tells a story of piecemeal construction and extension that seems to have taken place as the old factory grew over the years. For instance, the main façade along the street is not even; some building parts protrude further into the street while others are more set back. After some reno-vation and restructuring of the 8,500-square-metre factory complex, the eastern-most part of the compound became the Salam Mosque which opened in September 1993. Since the mosque association first started renting out premises to rather hesitant entrepreneurs who were not sure whether they would ever make a profit in this isolated location that has no through traffic, events have taken a dramatic turn. Overcoming initial obstacles and struggling for customers, the complex has since turned into a remarkable success story. In 2007 the mosque association rented out about 60 per cent of the complex to commercial tenants. Among its tenants (on the front street) are an undertaker, a travel agent, a jewellery store, an import household and carpet store, a women's fashion store,

a large bakery, a Döner kiosk and a supermarket. To the back of the complex, on a parallel street, are another women's fashion store and a second supermarket. In addition, companies have started to occupy premises next to the mosque complex, constructing a growing commercial landscape in the middle of this industrial area. Not belonging to the mosque complex, but either adjacent or close to it are several furniture showrooms, another import household and carpet store, a restaurant that includes the production facilities of a bakery on its premises, and an all-women's gym. All stores in the vicinity are Turkish and cater to a predominantly Turkish clientele, even though this is changing to include other Muslims, migrants and ethnic Germans.

We headed toward the supermarket, which being next to the bakery is one of the busiest places in the complex, especially on Saturdays. Its entrance is slightly set back from the street. To the left of the main entrance is a small fish stall. Immediately after the entrance there is the large fresh produce section. Going through the supermarket one moves, always turning right, through several large halls. Because of the size, high ceilings and type of building (industrial premises, bare concrete walls) the supermarket feels more like a wholesale market than a regular supermarket. Signs are predominantly in Turkish. In the second hall are long shelves with spices, dried goods, pasta, beans; then there is an entire fridge room with cold cuts, yoghurts and cheeses. In the next hall one finds soaps, detergents, tea and coffee. Finally one reaches the counters for olives, pickles and cheeses, and beyond that the *halal* meat counter. Close to the cashier, there are shelves with fresh bread. Most women cashiers and workers in the supermarket wear headscarves. At the exit, after all the right turns, one is back at the entrance. Here, opposite the fish stall is the Döner stand. The smells-cape of this area between the bakery, supermarket, fish stall and Döner place is intense, where different smells dominate according to the respective cooking, baking and sales activities.

After we finished shopping, we were sufficiently hungry to go to the family restaurant next to the prayer rooms. Catering to an insider crowd, the restaurant is tucked away in the inner yard of the complex. To add to the difficulty for the female clientele, one has to traverse the male space of the coffee shop. We quickly crossed this space – not looking left or right – to reach the family restau-rant where women and families are most welcome (there is a back entrance by way of a small alley). There is no menu in this restaurant; instead one can look at the food on display inside the counter and then assemble one's meal according to taste. As regulars we quickly decided, and ate our dinner in front of the large fish tanks along the wall that separates us from the male social space. The owner of the restaurant – as usual – came to chat, as he seems keen to enlarge its non-Turkish clientele. After dinner he served complementary tea, and while the girls watched the fish, Emine and her daughter performed their evening prayers in the women's prayer room.

Visitors come to this Salam Mosque complex to pray, to socialise, do grocery shopping, play pool (men), watch Turkish TV and especially matches of

the Turkish soccer league in the men's section of the family restaurant, eat a fast lunch during work hours (workers from the surrounding factories), have a family dinner in one of the restaurants, buy items to furnish the apartment of newly-weds, purchase affordable house wares, clothes, more specific items such as Turkish tea-makers, or modest Islamic women's clothes. Others come to drop off their children for Islamic instruction; yet others celebrate their wedding in the spacious upstairs communal rooms. Some come to attend social and cultural activities which include a broad range from events of the Christian–Muslim dialogue to drug-prevention lectures by the police for community members. On any regular day, one might encounter groups of chatting men at the gate or in the mosque's yard, or housewives finishing their shopping trip with a cup of coffee and chat in the bakery.

In only 15 years, the Salam Mosque complex has created – out of nothing – its genuine own religious, cultural, spatial and economic life. Complete with smellscape and soundscape (ever changing music from cars and lively conversations of visitors, and, depending on the time and place, the call to prayer), the complex, its owners, businesses, employees, customers and pious visitors have negotiated an urban spatiality that draws on a complex mix of Muslim, Turkish, German, local urban and globalised features. Today the complex is a unique urban space that neatly combines the demands, needs and circumstances of various constituencies with local, national and global aspects. The complex is the sum total of its community, urban environment and globalised context. Yet, the spatiality of the complex is far from complete or finished, which illustrates its very dynamic and creative nature (see Mandel 2008: 10). Spaces are added (stores in the vicinity) and other are upgraded (e.g. from a car workshop to a clothes store) as the complex and its constituencies are in search of their best local form and activities, and rents change accordingly. Much of these rapid and exciting changes are ignored or simply overseen by mainstream society and economy. Many (mainstream) Stuttgarters whom I talked to about my research vaguely knew about the area, but had never been there and had no idea how dynamic it was. I argue that this neglect in part fosters dynamic transformations and expansions of businesses in the mosque complex. The lack of modest Islamic fashion in mainstream stores, or *halal* food sections in supermarkets, among many other items, fosters the growth of shopping areas like the Salam Mosque. The relatively low overhead costs in the mosque's warehouse-style premises and the large assortment of very affordable consumer items and household ware has in recent years increasingly attracted non-Muslims, largely from lower class backgrounds, as they appreciate the prices and some of the products that are hard to find elsewhere.

The external aesthetics of the Salam Mosque complex remain rather grey and uninspiring. Yet its internal aesthetics (prayer rooms, community facilities, restaurants) tell a different story. Most impressive, however, are the social, cultural, religious and economic lives of the complex. These are lively, vibrant and create ever-new spaces, activities and social encounters. Having regularly visited

and carefully observed the Salam complex from 2006 to 2009 I was again and again amazed at the vibrant nature of the space and the ongoing spatial and other changes. Stores changed and expanded. Some enterprises (a rent-a-garage facility) were replaced with aesthetically much more pleasing ones (a women's fashion store). One of the import stores expanded its outdoor stalls ever further into its yard. Rarely do three months pass without one change or another in the complex. These changes are not just about the articulation of a commercial and also religious spatiality, but indicate the search for the best possible articulation in space and society at large. While the clientele remains predominantly Turkish, shopkeepers seem eager to attract others as well, much like the restaurant's owner, who never seems to fail to chat with non-Turkish guests.

While it has been an uphill battle, the Salam community, in complex efforts that combine spatial renovation, social and cultural activities and involvement, successful economic management and incredible individual voluntary work on the part of some of the board members, more than any other mosque, has managed to slowly insert itself into the larger social, cultural, political and religious cityscape.

OTHER SPACES

Stuttgart's mosque-scape is not limited to far-away or discarded industrial complexes. It includes spatialities like the Al-Nour Mosque, a predominantly Arab community that occupies three office suites on three different floors in an office building on a busy urban highway. This office building, which is located on the fault lines of a former industrial inner-city area that is currently in the process of rapid gentrification, seems to have been written off for mainstream use some time ago. Currently it houses in its suites – among others – a Hindu temple, an S&M studio, an import–export company only recently moved out, and at least one residential unit. This mix of odd and indeed offensive activities and neighbours denotes a rather sad position of both the Hindu and Muslim communities. In addition, the Muslim community, in particular, is engaged in a low-level conflict over rights of passage on a little pathway that connects the building with the parking lot behind the building (Kuppinger 2008). Only the tiniest of signs indicate the presence of the two religious communities in this building. While occupying a more central location than other mosques, the Al-Nour Mosque remains symbolically hidden in a building that is socially marginalised. Yet another mosque community occupies the upper floor (formerly two smaller apartments) of a car workshop on an industrial street, tucked away behind a huge industrial complex. Not surprisingly this small industrial street houses two different Muslim communities.

Probably 'luckiest' of Stuttgart's mosques is the Hussein Mosque, whose community was able to purchase the premises of a former Christian community that folded due to lack of members. Situated in a largely residential neighbourhood, the Hussein Mosque resembles a small apartment building, but neatly accommodates the needs of its community as it was constructed for similar pur-

poses. Not surprisingly, the Hussein community, based on its spatiality but also on the excellent work of the association's president, more than any other Stuttgart mosque, has increasingly become 'the' local mosque and its community actively participates in many local cultural and religious events. The Hussein Mosque and its community have become a recognised local feature and active social agent.

AT HOME

Mosque spaces and organisations reflect the positions and make-up of their communities as much as they reflect their position in society. While the Medina, Salam or Al-Nour mosques externally reflect their marginal positions in urban society, they none the less in their interiors reflect their permanence and well-established community lives. Like the Salam Mosque, the Al-Nour Mosque has a rather splendid prayer room for men, which has slowly been renovated over the last few years, when central elements of standard mosque features (carpeting, elaborate wooden *minbar*, delicately tiled *mihrab*, impressive chandelier) were installed that bespeak the community's sense of home. While hidden from the outside world, these communities have made themselves at home inside their spaces, where the transitory nature of their original groups has long since made room for permanence. Male prayer meetings form only one of many other events in larger mosques which today offer women's and children's groups, lectures by regionally or nationally renowned speakers, events of Christian–Muslim religious dialogue, or informational events about social issues (school, education, drugs, the internet). The Hussein Mosque recently participated in the long open cultural night in its city quarter. Only the fact that this mosque community is firmly spatially settled allows for such civic participation. As one representative of the Salam community so aptly said: 'First you have to get settled, renovate your house, then you can invite guests.' The Salam and Hussein Mosque communities in particular have come a long way and worked hard to occupy such positions in society today. Their premises are a prerequisite for this.

DYNAMIC SPACES

Stuttgart's mosque-scape is a dynamic spatiality where everyday realities, economic limitations but also possibilities, political considerations and a vaguely circumscribed but clear mistrust on the part of members of dominant society and the authorities all work to create an atmosphere of complicated encounters and negotiations. Spaces, events and transformations in mosque communities are discussed against the complex background of shifting demands by different constituencies. The municipality is both supportive and opposed to mosque associations' spatial projects, depending on these projects' interaction with other constituencies. For example, in the case of Stuttgart's lengthy mosque controversy mentioned above, after the city bought the old factory from the association, the city helped this association out by providing a large space in another industrial

complex. This transaction sparked no popular opposition. External aesthetics or specific building plans or layouts initially play a secondary role in such processes as the central objective is access to space – any space that works or can be adapted to serve the needs of communities. Faced with these industrial and other facilities, communities often spend years renovating and re-creating these spaces to fit their purposes and interior aesthetic sentiments, and to insert these spaces into a more globalised mosque-scape. While initially exterior and interior architectural features play only a minor role, this does not mean that communities would not like to have more fitting and representative structures that partake in the broader grammar of conventional mosque architecture. Yet recognising the considerable cost, and even more so the predictable controversies, struggles and possibilities of rejection, communities shy away from planning such ambitious projects. Even buying rather nondescript facilities comes with problems as the renovating owners are confronted with the intricacies of construction codes and regulations. One community recently bought a building with the intention of having the large men's prayer room on one of the higher floors, not taking into consideration that fire codes require considerable precautions, doors and escape routes for such high-occupancy facilities.

Stuttgart's mosque-scape in the early twenty-first century is not marked by a desire for exterior architectural perfection or beauty, but instead is focused on successful localisation, interior aesthetics, community service and increasingly (not yet recognised by dominant society) participation in the city. Individual spaces add up to or reflect what Jonker and Amiraux so aptly called larger 'urban trajectories' of Muslims and their communities (2006: 15). Yet, this is a long and tedious process. Spatially, many communities are in the middle of their material localisation phase. Across Stuttgart, mosques are engaged in renovation and reconstruction activities that take up considerable money, time and energy. Carpets are laid, mosaic walls are designed and completed, chandeliers are hung up, kitchens are taken are out or added, multi-function rooms and halls are created, classrooms are arranged – visiting Stuttgart's mosques at times feels like a veritable tour of home improvement. These material mosques spaces and their social communities are a 'work in progress' (ibid.: 18). Making themselves at home, mosques and their communities become local. Taking symbolic ownership of their less than perfect localities, community members transform these as best as they can, using the interior grammar of mosques.

VISIBILITY, VOICES AND PARTICIPATION

Examining the topography of Stuttgart's mosques as a reflection of the political, cultural and social position of Muslim communities in the city, it becomes clear how marginal they are with regard to urban politics and power. Hidden away from public view, Stuttgart's mosques are easily glossed over as urban actors and participants. It is not surprising then that, for instance, a recent book about Bad-Cannstatt, a multiethnic city quarter, dedicated less than two of its 242 pages to

'foreign fellow residents' (Hagel 2002). Bad-Cannstatt, with eight mosques, forms the heart of Stuttgart's mosque-scape, yet this book refers in only two sentences to its Muslim communities. This void is the result of the forced invisibility of mosques and the chosen blindness with regard to Muslim affairs in the city's dominant self-image (Kuppinger 2008). Stuttgart, like most of its German, European and global peers, has embarked on an ambitious journey toward re-creating itself as a high-tech, high culture and globally connected twenty-first century global metropolis. While cultural diversity and symbols of multiculturalism play a role in these efforts, the messy reality of immigrant quarters and more specifically backyard and other mosques and their communities do not appear in glitzy brochures that sing the praises of global Stuttgart and its magnificent potentials.

Operating out of view and beyond the interest of much of dominant society obviously does not translate into a lack of activities. On the contrary, mosque associations, and in recent years also other Muslim associations (Muslim women's sports clubs, Islamic discussion circles that meet in public spaces (*Bürgerhaus*)) have developed vibrant new Islamic platforms as extensions of Stuttgart's civil society. Much like the lively atmosphere around the Salam Mosque complex, these platforms and their participants strive to connect to other similar contexts and platforms. While representative buildings and more prestigious spatialities would certainly help foster these groups' full-fledged participation, a swift glance at their activities and involvements illustrates that they are in the process of achieving recognition despite their spatial positions.

The invisibility of mosques spaces makes it easy to overlook their social role and contributions to civil society. Without appropriate spaces, mosques disappear from public view and can conveniently be overlooked as urban participants and political actors. This marginalisation stands in stark contrast to the very dynamic and vibrant inner lives of communities, as they build and rebuild their spatialities and their religious, social, cultural and political positions, and increasingly also grassroots participation in the city. While many positive efforts are doubtlessly underway, Stuttgart's mosques still have to overcome obstacles to escape their spatial and political marginality. Representative mosque spaces are certainly no panacea, yet they are one step toward broader public recognition and subsequent equal participation. Visibility accommodates participation and acceptance. Schmitt (2003: 31) describes the case of the (representative) Gladbeck Mosque which allowed for different social, cultural and religious activities to take place in the new mosque that familiarised increasing numbers of non-Muslims with the mosque, its facilities and community. He points to the 'integrative power' (ibid.: 34) at work on all sides by way of this new spatiality.

NOTES

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assisted in many aspects of this project. I want to thank Michael Guggenheim and Ola Söderström for organising an inspiring conference in Neuchâtel and putting this volume together. Thanks to Michael for helping out with pictures.

2   Personal and community names – unless otherwise indicated – are pseudonyms. Translations from German are mine.

3   In 2006, 37.7 per cent of Stuttgarter had 'backgrounds of migration', i.e. they were born outside Germany or had at least one parent born outside Germany (Landes-hauptstadt Stuttgart 2006:16).

4   No count of 'real' mosques exists. Gerlach estimated in 2006 that there were about 70 'real' mosques (2006: 70). Bölsche reported in 2008 that there were 163 such mosques and another 184 were in planning or construction stages (2008: 74). There are over 2,000 mosques in Germany. Most are 'invisible'.

5   Sufi organisations have had a problematic relationship with the secular Turkish state.

6   Haider noted for an early makeshift arrangement in England that 'it was the practice that mattered' and not facilities (1996: 36).

7   (Not a pseudonym), interview 30 July 2007.

8   A visit to the large mosque in Dublin proves Mr Can right: on the *Eid el- Fitr* holiday I encountered thousands of multicultural worshippers at this mosque located in a middle-class residential neighbourhood.

9   There are also Arab, Bosnian and other communities.

10   I am grateful to Ayse Almila Akca for providing examples of this.

11   *Halal* refers to (non-pork) meat products that were ritually slaughtered. *Halal* foods include other products like yoghurts without gelatine (which contains pork or non-*halal* beef elements).

12   The most notorious recent mosque conflict was fought over several years about a mosque in Cologne (Landler 2007; James-Chakraborty 2008).

13   Ramadan (2004) is the most well-known representative of these transformations. There is a growing sphere of German Islamic debates (Hofmann 1995; Reidegeld 2005).

14   Occasionally when a mosque association finds a building, municipalities 'coinciden-tally' change the zoning around it (Höfle and Brand 2007). Korn noted: 'When factual arguments are lacking and prejudices remain unarticulated, paragraphs of building codes are often cited' (2008).

15   This section is based on an interview (2 June 2007) and informal conversations with a board member of the Salam Mosque.

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Chapter 6: DakshinaChitra

Translating the Open-air Museum in Southern India

Mary Hancock

> DakshinaChitra is an exciting cross cultural living museum of art, architecture, lifestyles, crafts and performing arts of South India. You can explore … heritage houses, amble along recreated streetscapes, explore contextual exhibitions, interact with typical village artisans and witness folk performances set in an authentic ambience.
>
> (www.dakshinachitra.net/scripts/experience.asp)

Conjunctures of urban and rural, local and global suffuse DakshinaChitra, an open-air museum just outside Chennai, the capital of the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu.[1] Nestled among villages now being transformed by the uneven penetration of urban infrastructure and services, the site comprises a montage made up of residues of other, more distant villages and towns. Insistently local, the site is none the less a fixed space of transnational culture. Its exhibitionary modes and spatial syntax are modelled on those of new, interactive museums and cultural centres across the globe and it is cosmopolitan elites, national and transnational, whose nostalgia it solicits.

DakshinaChitra is one among hundreds of open-air historical museums that now populate the globe. Such sites are found in most nation-states and, while varying widely in thematic content, their common goal is the depiction of the rural roots of modern nationhood. This orientation can be traced to Skansen, the world's first open-air museum, which embodied a nationalist imaginary rooted in rural folkways – language, vernacular architecture and artisanship (Crang 1999; Edenheim 1995). Skansen, founded outside Stockholm in 1891, represented the rural other within what Tony Bennett has dubbed the Victorian 'exhibitionary complex', a category that encompassed museums, galleries, expositions, department stores and arcades (Bennett 1995). Bennett, who did not specifically address Skansen, argued that the Victorian exhibitionary complex was a product of the spatial, political and economic formation of the modern state, and that it designated spaces in which a disciplined, national citizenry was to be shaped.

Following Bennett, I suggest that a new, *global* exhibitionary complex has come into being that encompasses the descendants of Skansen – interactive,

living museums like DakshinaChitra – as well as video arcades, cineplexes, malls, and the virtual worlds of cyber-space. This complex is tied to the neoliberal nation-state and arises through its constitutive mobilities, its political economy, its founding narratives and pedagogies. Not only are such sites products of and windows on the increasing mobility of people, money, commodities and images that marks late capitalism, their own templates have circulated translocally, following various geographic circuits: those connecting Eurowestern metropoles with colonized and formerly colonized regions, those linking industrial production centres with markets, and those that served as pathways among urban nodes and between those nodes and their rural and suburban hinterlands. Indeed, while embodying and exemplifying the forms of mobility that Guggenheim and Söderström (2009) argue are characteristics of capitalism's growth in the latter part of the twentieth century, this site, like many other open-air heritage sites, makes that mobility an object of scrutiny by offering a historical interpretation of its influence on a particular locality.

Prominent within today's global exhibitionary complex are heritage-themed environments like DakshinaChitra. Sometimes referred to as 'museum villages', this site type travelled within 50 years of its foundation from its European birthplace to North America, Asia, and subsequently to locales throughout the global South.[2] India itself boasts craft villages, historic homes and restored palaces, as well as a growing number of Disney-style theme parks (Greenough 1995; Ramusack 1995; Hardgrove 2003; Henderson and Weisgrau 2007; Hancock 2008). One, MGM Dizzee World, lies adjacent to DakshinaChitra, its thrill rides and pop music contrasting with DakshinaChitra's studied rusticity.

As destination attractions for tourists, domestic and international, as well as sites for transnational investments, the sites are products of the mobility that global capitalism both depends upon and furthers. They are, as well, instantiations of a cultural globalization that thrives on, even while dismantling, the contradictions of the 'local' and the 'global'. Their mobility, in other words, is a matter of both *travel* and *translation*; they are the products of both the circulation of templates, typically in the form of architectural plans, exhibition styles and forms of spatial syntax, and the cross-cultural translation of architectural vocabularies through the practices of design, building and exhibition. Using global technologies of memory, these newer sites also consciously assert the possibility of a local – a local tied to particular, culturally salient representations of and affective orientations toward the past – in a world of global consumer practice.

These conjunctions are especially apparent at DakshinaChitra. An enclaved space of fantasy, learning and leisure, DakshinaChitra creates a rural lifeworld to which urban Indians are nostalgically attached but from which they are increasingly distanced pragmatically, temporally and spatially. At the same time, as an economic institution within India's expanding services sector, it is an integral part of a suburban 'landscape of power' (after Zukin 1992) that has emerged with economic restructuring. In addition, besides being an outcome of the mobility that global capitalism has unleashed, DakshinaChitra is also a material product of

that mobility, since its exhibitionary spaces comprise the salvaged remains of regional vernacular architecture, principally homes whose upkeep had become prohibitively expensive or which were slated for demolition owing to industrial expansion.

In this chapter, I consider the affective and material claims on the local embodied by DakshinaChitra in the context of the mobile practices, bodies, commodities and ideas that are responsible for the site's existence. I begin by situating DakshinaChitra within the processes and spaces associated with neoliberal globalization of the 1990s. I then turn to the specific pasts that DakshinaChitra mediates – architecturally and through embodied labour – and to the forms of consumer-citizenship that underwrite those representations. DakshinaChitra, I argue, exists as a space of neoliberal nostalgia, understood as a mourning for that which is lost in the processes of neoliberal globalization.[3] Neoliberal nostalgia represents a reaction formation to the mobility that economic restructuring accelerates; at the same time, it is emblematic of the ways in which heritage sites, as part of an expanding services sector, depend upon and contribute to this restructuring.

GLOBAL APPETITES FOR LOCAL PASTS

DakshinaChitra's international notoriety has often eclipsed its local profile. Coverage in Chennai's English-language press has expanded since its 1996 opening, though visitation levels lag behind those at the city's other large museum, the Victorian-era Government Museum, with its collections of architectural remains, religious icons and court paintings, situated in Chennai's colonial core.[4] It has garnered international attention and accolades, however, with a sophisticated website, joint exhibitions at international venues, and international seminars.[5] It claims as international sister institutions such sites as urban arts and heritage districts, interactive museums and festivals and, like them, it was designed as an environment in which heritage preservation and commodity consumption could be tightly interwoven. Like them, too, its operations respond to the exigencies and challenges of a national economy characterized by increasing levels of consumption, expanding service and manufacturing sectors, and the deregulation of industry and trade, all of which followed India's adoption of neoliberal economic policies in the 1990s.

DakshinaChitra is privately operated and receives limited state support. Relative to open-air museums in Europe and North America, its entry fees are modest, although higher than other Indian museums.[6] Because ticket fees cannot cover operating costs, the centre secures funds for its operations, capital expenses and endowment through focused solicitation and grant-writing as well as advertising aimed at national and foreign elites, especially the wealthy stratum of Indian emigrés known officially as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs).[7] Indeed, although DakshinaChitra encourages and facilitates school group visitation, including by public schoolchildren, most of the museum's visitors and supporters

are part of a foreign or domestic elite and it is to their tastes that DakshinaChitra's exhibitions, sale items and performances correspond.

The centre's administration and managerial staff, like its donors and visitors, represent the stratum of mobile urban elites who have been most advantaged by India's liberalization. Deborah Thiagarajan, the centre's founder, is an American citizen. She has lived in Tamil Nadu since the early 1970s following her marriage into a prominent local family. Most other members of the museum's managerial and educational staff hail from one of the southern Indian states, and are members of the region's globally connected elite. Like educated, nationalist elites of the past century, and in some cases their actual descendants, most have lived, worked or been educated abroad or elsewhere in India. They are literate in both English and Tamil, and some speak other languages. Many are tied by kinship, occupation and educational experience to the museum's affluent base of visitors and donors.

With its mix of vernacular structures, exhibition galleries, and demonstration and performance spaces, DakshinaChitra is reminiscent of open-air museums in Europe, the United States, Japan and Southeast Asia, though its template and closest precursor is New Delhi's National Handicrafts and Handlooms Museum, popularly known as the Indian Crafts Museum (Greenough 1995). Deborah Thiagarajan acknowledged the imfluence of the Indian Crafts Museum on DakshinaChitra's design, but also identified other sites – Old Sturbridge Village and Plimoth Plantation (USA), as well as unidentified sites in Japan and Rumania – as having influenced the centre's emphasis on preindustrial technology and material culture (Thiagarajan n.d.). DakshinaChitra, however, borrows selectively from these models. In contrast to the Crafts Museum, which is weighted toward craft demonstration and display, with a relatively small exhibition of vernacular architecture, DakshinaChitra's exhibitions are predominantly architectural. As at Skansen, Greenfield Village (USA) and the Weald and Downland Museum (England), DakshinaChitra's exhibitions comprise relocated originals. Not all structures are reassembled originals, however; as seen at Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation, several structures are generic replicas of vernacular styles and others are exact re-creations of specific off-site structures. In addition, as at many museum villages, its exhibitions span a broad (and fuzzily bounded) temporal range. With its relocated originals and re-created copies, DakshinaChitra aims to represent the late-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, framing that vaguely bounded period of intensive British colonization as a 'before' for which the creative destruction (after Schumpeter 1962) of the present is the terminus *ante quem*.

As at these other sites, DakshinaChitra's immersive exhibitionary space has pedagogical aims: it represents a regional and historical whole by reordering and displaying fragments of that whole. At the same time, like its counterparts in India and abroad, it is a space of leisure and entertainment. Its original site plan (Figure 6.1) captures these amalgamated aims. The plan, by architect Laurie Baker, selectively incorporated features associated with well-known exemplars of

the museum village genre to create a space that combined pedagogy, cultural conservation and leisure. Although Baker's original plan was modified by site architect Benny Kuriakose, its principal spatial types and syntax were retained. The southern half of the site was designed to hold in-situ exhibitions – restored and re-created vernacular structures – grouped according to regional state (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu), with separate sections set aside to represent southern India's tribal communities and for craftspersons' residences and demonstration areas. Although the tribal area was never realized, the other elements were retained, albeit with modifications, in the final design. The north-eastern portion of the site was to feature a food pavilion and an amphitheatre, while its northwest quadrant included a library and galleries for the display of metal and textile collections, both near the main entry. These features, in modified forms, have been retained in the final plan although the layout has been changed, with paths from the main entry now placed to route visitor traffic through the reception areas (including library and galleries) to the amphitheatre and café, and then to outdoor exhibition regions.

Spatial and stylistic continuities between DakshinaChitra and other open-air museums make DakshinaChitra legible to global audiences. It is, for the most part, an English-mediated space, notwithstanding bilingual signage and labels

Figure 6.1
Laurie Baker's original site plan for DakshinaChitra. Reproduced with permission of Madras Craft Foundation.
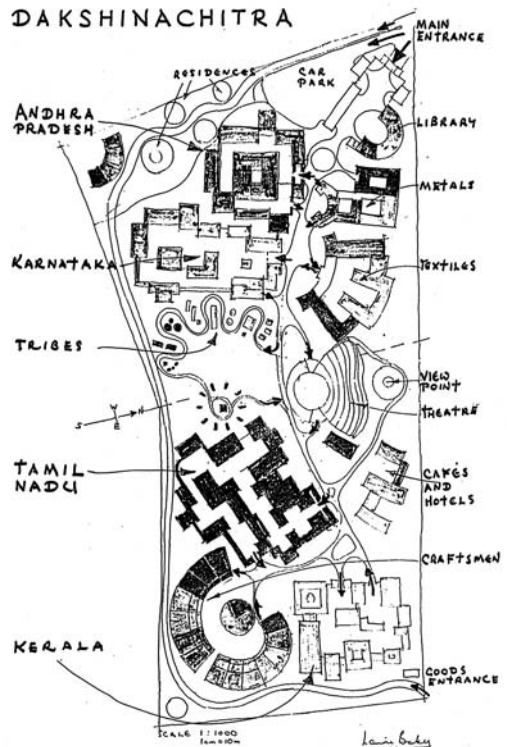
ORIGINAL SITE PLAN FOR DAKSHINACHITRA
LAURIE BAKER

and the large number of personnel – craftspersons, housekeepers, gardeners, and drivers – who speak only Tamil, the regional language. The site's spatial syntax, which corresponds to that found in contemporary open-air museums throughout the world, will also be familiar to its cosmopolitan visitors. To reach its open-air exhibition and performance spaces, visitors are routed by a gift shop and theatre, both placed near the main entrance, and then past the snack bar that lies in the threshold space between the entry regions and the outdoor exhibitions. The site's exhibition areas are, themselves, bifurcated, with artefact display cases and a rotating exhibition of contemporary art in the reception region. The outdoor exhibitions are organized in accordance with newer norms, as immersive spaces of interactive pedagogy and performance. Thus, like most other open-air museums, DakshinaChitra re-creates regional lifeworlds with a combination of in-situ representations of vernacular living spaces and in-context strategies, such as labels, audio-visual guides and catalogues (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). As also found in newer types of museal spaces, there exist continuities between DakshinaChitra's curatorial and commercial components: it has a well-stocked gift shop from which visitors can select handcrafted goods of the sorts displayed in the houses; cassettes of its orientation video programme are available for purchase; and the museum grounds can be hired by outside parties for benefits and other events, such as weddings and banquets.

DakshinaChitra's global template has earned both praise and derision, with some conservation architects and cultural tourism proponents describing it to me as a Disneyfied version of south India's past. Thiagarajan, herself, acknowledges the influences of foreign open-air museums on DakshinaChitra's formation but traces her commitment to the project to deeply felt concerns about the loss of vernacular architectural, performance and craft traditions with southern India's rapid industrialization.[8] She intends DakshinaChitra as a critique of the effects of neoliberal globalization, a force that she, like many, associates with the homogenization of place and the collapse of history. None the less, under her direction, the centre approaches conservation as an entrepreneurial activity, governed by competitive norms of private enterprise. Thiagarajan expects that the mix of leisure, consumption, pedagogy and performance that DakshinaChitra represents will ensure its financial stability and success, and so contribute to the sustenance and ongoing evolution of southern India's distinctive artisanal traditions.

The museum, in short, embodies the core contradiction that engenders neoliberal nostalgia: while mourning the loss of preindustrial lifeways and cultural products that neoliberalization hastens, it is premised on free-market economic practice and on the hope that participation in the 'new economy' of service and finance will revitalize local cultural production and conservation.

A (TRANS)NATIONAL LOCALITY

DakshinaChitra's very existence is indicative of the gentrification that has transformed Chennai's hinterland since India's independence, but particularly since

India's adoption of neoliberal economic policies. It is located in the village of Muttukadu, along an industrial corridor that connects Chennai with points south: the UNESCO World Heritage site of Mamallapuram, as well as ports, industrial estates, information technology campuses, fish farms and power facilities (Figure 6.2).

The corridor's development dates from the early 1970s, when India's central government established the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research in Kalpakkam, a village about 80 kilometres south of Chennai. The corridor's development accelerated in the mid-1980s, with a wave of residential and commercial

Figure 6.2
Southern India. Map by J. Craine.

construction, including the Madras Atomic Power Station. Within a decade, information and biotechnology campuses and gated communities appeared (Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority 2007; Government of Tamil Nadu 1999, 2004; Madras Metropolitan Development Authority 1995). Capitalizing on the success of new information technology ventures and on the pool of professional talent associated with the Chennai campus of the Indian Institute of Technology, the region is now aggressively promoted as India's Biotech Valley. Its name, a deliberate play on San Jose's Silicon Valley, where thousands of ambitious Indian professionals settled in the 1980s and 1990s, holds out the possibility of globalization in a nationalist key. By pressing forward with such ventures, Tamil Nadu's government and corporate sectors hope to retain those skilled workers who once travelled abroad for high-paying employment and to repatriate the resources, affective and financial, of India's diaspora.

DakshinaChitra's origins may be traced to the same forces that have been responsible for the transformation of the corridor between Chennai and Mamallapuram. Its planning commenced in the mid-1980s, contemporaneous with a cautious turn toward liberalization by the Indian state. Central and state governments lent token support to its development at this point, but the bulk of funding was solicited from private donors and from educational and philanthropic foundations. In 1996, when the site opened, the neoliberal policies inaugurated with 1991's 'New Industrial Policy' were firmly in place.[9] Since the mid-1990s, both private businesses and deregulated government agencies have sought investors from within the multinational corporate sector, from international foundations and philanthropies, and from India's own mobile, cosmopolitan elites, especially NRIs. DakshinaChitra has followed suit, successfully obtaining support funds from corporations such as Konica and American Express, but also tapping NRIs as underwriters and nostalgic consumers of India's territorial past.

The participation of NRIs in the development of both DakshinaChitra and the industrial corridor on which it is located merits attention. This pattern of urban and suburban development has been tied to the Indian state's recognition of the NRI as a type of offshore citizen and potential investor. This recognition has been institutionalized with policies, such as tax holidays, concession packages and the relaxation of foreign investment rules, by which the Indian state has sought to engage NRIs as political and economic actors (King 2004). As Anthony King (2004: 97–110, 132–136) notes, the real estate boom that followed the deregulation of the early 1990s especially cemented the link between NRI capital, consumer–citizenship and new geographies of neoliberalism. Notable in this context have been condominium developments, bearing names such as NRI Nest and NRI First City, which have multiplied in urban hinterlands, including the corridor on which DakshinaChitra is located ('Gated Communities Carnival' 2007; Shashidhar 2005). As found in other contexts, these sorts of new residential developments, like outposts of a new economy, invite NRI investors to bask in the nostalgia of 'home' without sacrificing the status or mobility they have acquired while living abroad (Dovey 1999: 149–151).

Together, the social spaces of DakshinaChitra and the peri-urban development to which it has contributed call attention to the ways in which neoliberal globalization has reorganized the relations between city and countryside in the postcolonial world. Just as global cities serve as command and control centres in the global economy, so have a variety of spaces in the urban periphery – gated communities, resorts, corporate campuses – been formed in the convergence of national and transnational cultural and economic flows. King (2004) defines such sites as 'postcolonial globurbs' to highlight their dependence on imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, and diasporic migratory cultures and capital flows. DakshinaChitra corresponds in form and function to the settlement models that typify the postcolonial globurb: It is enclaved and exclusive while still globally connected; and its spatial syntax and amenities are tailored to meet international standards of comfort and efficiency. On such sites, the global aspirations of both the state and corporate sector are inscribed within a national narrative articulated with neoliberal globalization. What distinguishes DakshinaChitra from its avowedly modernist neighbours, however, is its evocation of the nation through the material signs of southern India's rural past.

DakshinaChitra's use of the rural as national memory-scape has a genealogy that can be traced from Skansen up through its closest precursor, the Indian Crafts Museum in New Delhi. Like the Crafts Museum, DakshinaChitra is a material metaphor of the Gandhian keywords – village republic, *swadeshi* (self-sufficiency), *swaraj* (self-rule) – that continue to circulate within India's official nationalism. Through its on-site craftspersons and their products, the Crafts Museum embodies India as a mosaic of distinct regional cultures and languages, and it treats crafts and performing arts as the emblems of India's 'unity-in-diversity'.[10] DakshinaChitra is similarly committed to the official nationalist tropes of the nation-as-mosaic and the village as its wellspring, though, unlike the Crafts Museum which is a state enterprise, DakshinaChitra is privately administered, albeit with some state support.[11] Its relocated and re-created buildings provide the contexts for displaying craft products and activities while serving as the materializations of the craft practices that industrialization, and, more recently, neoliberal policies, threaten to obliterate. DakshinaChitra departs from the Indian Crafts Museum, as well, in its reliance on narratives rooted not in the national mosaic but in a *regional* context. By encapsulating the diversity and common threads of southern India, it claims a place for the south *within* the territorial bounds and official cultural narrative of the nation-state. More than that, it redeploys a regional stereotype – the traditionalism of southern India – to create an exemplar of a possible India in which tradition and modernity are seamlessly interwoven.

DakshinaChitra's mining of southern India's past for narratives of national possibility, however, omits reference to the Tamil exceptionalism, rationalism and non-Brahman populism that the state's ethno-linguistic ruling parties promulgate under the rubric of Dravidianism, an ideology that takes its name from the language family of peninsular India.[12] In contradistinction to Dravidianist political rhetoric and its spaces of public memory – statues, commemorative locality

names and neotraditionalist façades that recombine elements of pre-British palace and temple architecture – DakshinaChitra re-creates southern India as a space of artisanal lifeworlds, ethnic pluralism, Hindu religiosity and self-sustaining consumption (Hancock 2008: 56–81, 176; Srivathsan 1998). Its account updates the well-worn Gandhian idiom, the village republic, with a dose of cosmopolitanism.

A genealogy for a globally connected nation is thus fashioned at Dakshina-Chitra by appealing to craft, as embodied in vernacular architecture, as both sign of and modality for the imagined national community. India's turn to neoliberalism is rewritten within the centre's immersive specular order not as the latest chapter of colonially engineered loss of self but as the retrieval of an indigenous trajectory that encompassed but did not originate with European imperialism.

TECHNOLOGIES OF MEMORY AT DAKSHINACHITRA

Although ceremonially unveiled in December 1996, DakshinaChitra was only opened to visitors in early 1997. At that point the Kerala and Tamil Nadu sections were nearly complete. By 2008, the museum's outdoor exhibitions comprised 18 structures distributed among exhibition areas depicting each of the region's four states (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu) although the Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh sections remained incomplete. Each section's spatial organization, construction materials and design were chosen to be representative of regional ecology and social organization, and all exhibitions, with the exception of Karnataka's and a projected section of Andhra Pradesh, depicted rural settlement forms. Footpaths meandered within and between the regional exhibitions, with no explicit boundaries marked between states.

With its seven buildings, Tamil Nadu's is the densest exhibition; in addition to a small Hindu temple, residences of wealthy merchant and agriculturalist families, Brahmans, skilled craftspersons and labourers are represented (Figure 6.3). By contrast, Kerala is sparsely settled. It features three residences – a Syrian Christian house and two Hindu dwellings – and a separate granary and cowshed, together meant to depict the dispersed rural settlement pattern of that region's landowning class. The Karnataka section, unfinished as of 2009, consists of a domestic compound (two residences and a shrine), depicting the home of an extended family of weavers. To complete that exhibit, four additional structures continue to be sought, including a colonial bungalow. Finally, Andhra Pradesh is represented by a weaver's house and a cluster of two circular, mud-walled huts typical of the modest homes of coastal fishing communities. As of 2009 it too remains unfinished, with three more structures, including a Muslim house, sought to complete that exhibition.

Laurie Baker's original site design, commissioned by Thiagarajan, guided construction. Baker was India's foremost proponent of cost-effective architecture, an approach based on local materials, environmental adaptability and affordability, and inspired by a commitment to Gandhian nationalism, with its norms of self-sufficiency and limited consumption (Bhatia 1991; Lang *et al.* 1997).[13]

Figure 6.3
Tamil Nadu section,
DakshinaChitra.
Photograph by author.

Although committed to the provision of community architecture for the rural poor, understanding this work as both the delivery of a product and the generation of skills, the cultural conservation that Baker's work embodied and his distinctive designs (exposed brick exterior walls and perforated brick sun-screens, built-in interior shelving, curvilinear elements, central courtyards, tiled roofs) led to design commissions for elite residences and for institutional structures from a variety of public sector agencies and private organizations.

In her conversations with me and in her writings, Thiagarajan explained that she sought Baker's participation because she admired his design aesthetics, as well as his attention to local materials and to the retention of traditional construction knowledge and skills (Thiagarajan 1999: 6–7). She regarded Baker's approach as consistent with the cultural conservation aims of DakshinaChitra. The centre's endorsement of cost-effectiveness is evident in the decision to retain and reconstruct existing building stock, in the textual and visual references to the ecological sustainability of pre-modern lifestyles that are spread throughout the museum and in the museum's attention to artisanal modes of production. With its musealization of craft production and its consumerist orientation, however, DakshinaChitra departs from Baker's Gandhian vision of rural development and poverty alleviation.

Baker's sketches (Figures 6.1, 6.4) represent his translation of Thiagarajan's goals. He took particular account of both the local topography (the site's proximity to the coast and the gentle easterly slope of the plot) and the regional geography to create a conceptual plan (Figure 6.4). That plan reiterated, spatially, DakshinaChitra's identity as a microcosm of the region with a site layout that mirrored the geographic boundaries of southern India's states. Baker alluded, also, to the distinctive ecological systems of the regions with notes on landscaping.
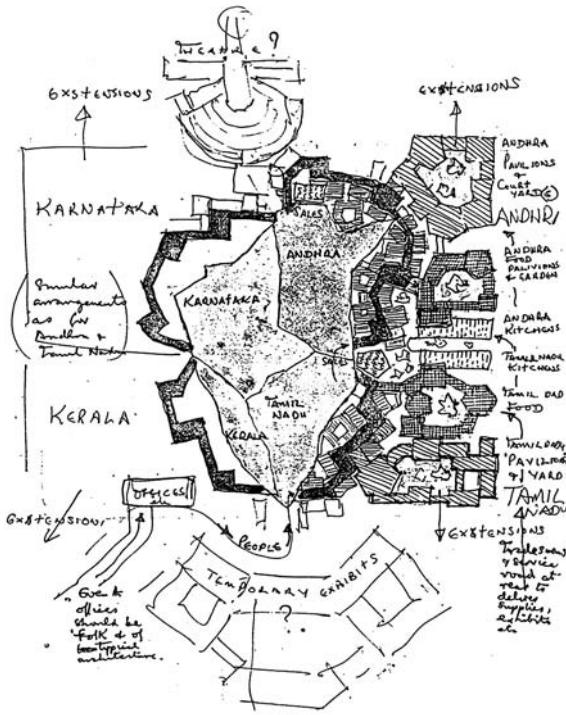
Figure 6.4
Laurie Baker's
conceptual design for
DakshinaChitra.
Reproduced with
permission of Madras
Craft Foundation.

MAP OF SOUTH INDIA IMPOSED ON DAKSHINACHITRA LANDS
Laurie Baker

Baker's direct contribution to DakshinaChitra ended with the original site plan sketches. He did not contribute further, more specific plans, nor did he supervise the actual construction. Baker's sketches were, instead, translated into operational plans by Benny Kuriakose, a civil engineer who had trained with Baker in the mid-1980s and later studied Conservation Architecture at York University, England. Kuriakose implemented the plan, introducing the modifications described above.[14]

Re-creating the real

Within DakshinaChitra's immersive order, several rhetorical strategies are deployed to produce the effect of the real. These strategies include the *mimesis* of the mirror image, the *metonymy* of the reassemblage, and the *typicality* of the statistically normative. Eight buildings referred metonymically to rural originals.[15] These structures had been reassembled on DakshinaChitra's grounds from materials culled from period structures dispersed across southern India. Five of these buildings had been disassembled at their original sites and reassembled on site; the others were recombinant structures, in which new structural elements were augmented by features, such as doors or windows, salvaged from one or more period buildings scheduled for demolition or in disrepair.[16] The remaining 11 structures were wholly new re-creations of vernacular structures. Some, like

Andhra's weavers' compound, were copies that claimed mimetic likeness with identical features, plans and dimensions. Others sought authenticity by virtue of statistical typicality, by re-creating vernacular styles deemed representative of particular regional or occupational communities.[17]

DakshinaChitra's authenticity, however, was not solely a matter of architectural style or materials but depended on the presence, in back and front regions, of labourers, mainly artisans and locally recruited maintenance staff. Just as the structures are metonymically and statistically 'of' particular regions, so also were many of the craftsmen recruited to demonstrate their skills and work as builders. In the front regions of the museum, visitors can see handicrafts, tools and raw materials exhibited in their contexts of production and use; they can also witness folk performances and craftspersons at work, try their hands at these activities and purchase handcrafted goods directly from their makers. With calculated expositions of back-region activities, the museum also communicates that crafts are conserved in the work of exhibition construction and maintenance that artisans and other, less skilled labourers perform.

Thiagarajan has emphasized, in conversation with me and in published texts, that the museum's immersive environment is both a window on the region's preindustrial artisanal economy and an incubator for maintaining those forms of knowledge and practice. Craft, she argues, is not rote reproduction but a corpus of knowledge and practice based on continuous adaptation and innovation. Like the eco-museum, DakshinaChitra treats cultural knowledge and artefacts as the means to cultivate and assert community identity (Davis 1999; Rivière 1985). Thus, among these labouring bodies were visitors, themselves, whose participation in hands-on craft and performance workshops is also framed as a means by which craft traditions are sustained.

The employment of regional artisans in exposed back regions conforms to architect Laurie Baker's emphasis on local materials and knowledge but recontextualizes it within museal space. As a case in point, one might consider the on-site construction activities. Encoded in the rubric of cost-effectiveness is the notion that construction is done by and for those who reside in and use the space. Baker advised that the architect generate a conceptual plan which he or she then brings to fruition as built form by working with builders and modifying as needed, making the end result a materialization of a series of interactions rather than an objectification of the architect's idea (Bhatia 1991: 25–29). At DakshinaChitra, Baker's design principles are retained, but the modes of work that he advocates are not. Uneven skill levels are partially responsible. For example, Thiagarajan told me that workers from Kerala had been able to reconstruct that state's exhibition area in its entirety but that Tamil workers had shown less skill in the execution of vernacular design. She ascribed the difference to the more extensive use of industrialized methods of construction in Tamil Nadu. Besides uneven skill levels, the centre's administrators also cite reasons of efficiency and cost control, since the dialogic relation between architect and builders advocated by Baker usually results in longer construction times than are typical in conventional work.

Although the built environment of DakshinaChitra creates an architectural shell in which the past can be evoked, the immediacy of the past rests on the distribution of bodies at work throughout the exhibitionary complex and on strategic merging of front and back regions that labour reveals. In frankly acknowledging its mix of period originals with recently fabricated copies, DakshinaChitra asserts authenticity not in spite of these recombinant forms but because of them, especially the labour of research, teaching and construction they represent and the participation in the neoliberal order that they make possible. The persons hired as front-region performers make obvious contributions to this project, but those brought on site as construction and maintenance workers are also enrolled, as are visitors themselves through activities such as workshops.

EMBODIED PASTS, EMBEDDED LABOUR

Since its opening, DakshinaChitra has catered to urban tastes for handicrafts and to what the global consumer market glosses as 'indigenous' styles of architecture and design with information about craft production and with retail sales of handicrafts. It does this in an organizational context that, under the monitoring and evaluation of international foundations and corporate funders, has become more professionalized. By-laws have been drafted and all employees receive written contracts; salary and benefits scales have been standardized according to job title; a general manager has been hired to run day-to-day operations. With this, DakshinaChitra's own corporate identity has gained a sharper profile, including the introduction of the DaCh brandname for some of the goods produced by contracted artisans. Most artisans who participate in public programmes are hired on a temporary basis, in connection with special projects or sales. A few artisans are members of the museum's permanent staff and they are expected to engage in regular on-site craft production. Home-based production and the work of rural cooperatives are also represented in the commodities available in the gift shop and at the craft bazaars that the museum sponsors.

The museum, however, is not merely a sales venue, but intervenes more actively in the production and marketing phases. Museum staff members occasionally assist craft cooperatives with financial planning and marketing. As part of its professional recruitment and training, DakshinaChitra launched an arts management internship programme in 2004; in collaboration with the Madras Craft Foundation's Institute for Arts Management, the centre offers professional certification for future curators, educators and managers. Back-region activities also focus on training for artisans, who are coached in rationalized forms of production. This assistance includes advice about designs favoured by the museum's clientele as well as the museum's marketing of some products under its DaCh brandname. Thus, even as it anticipates the cosmopolitan gaze of the consumer citizen, it is also space in which rural subalterns, mainly craftspersons and a variety of unskilled labourers, encounter and comment upon the consumer citizen that the neoliberal Indian state now recognizes as an ideal national subject (Fernandes 2007).

Although successful in enlarging the urban market for craft, DakshinaChitra has faced greater challenges in sustaining traditional modes of craft production. The centre was initially envisioned as a living craft community; there were plans to house families of craftspersons on the site, as well as to exhibit and sell their work. The museum's administration, however, was able to recruit only one family to live on-site, a difficulty that reveals the contradictions of the museum's craft conservation mission. Some criticisms came from regional craftspersons who resisted the museum's efforts at conservation because it would have isolated them geographically from their extended families and communities. Some were wary of the objectifying experience of being on display. As a result of these difficulties, the museum's administration abandoned the idea of re-creating an entire community as part of its exhibition. It prominently advertises the fact that some craftsmen and their families reside on its grounds in well-made, spacious quarters that include both individual units and dormitory-style accommodations. Master artisans on staff are permanent residents, but most, such as visiting craftspersons and performers, reside temporarily in these quarters.

Despite its inability to recruit a permanent craft community, the centre has remained optimistic about the beneficial effects of marketing crafts within India's neoliberal order. Prior to liberalization, craftspersons' participation in the market economy was organized by various rural development and handicrafts promotion agencies associated with central and state governments. The rural development programmes that characterized the welfare state of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s continue to operate. These programmes, which fuse Gandhian self-sufficiency with state developmentalism, include central government projects dedicated to training and employing rural craftspersons, who constitute a significant segment of India's rural population. However, they do so now under the banner of 'empowerment' and with the mediation of a growing number of NGOs and private distribution and marketing concerns (Wilkinson-Weber 2004).

DakshinaChitra's operations have benefited from the support for crafts marketing afforded by such programmes. The central government subvenes the costs that craftspersons incur travelling to the museum's 'Craft Melas' (exhibition sales) and has assisted in some costs of reconstruction and curation. DakshinaChitra's marketing of craft, therefore, has not radically departed from the relations of exchange in which craftspersons were already embedded. It is apparent, though, that the museum, like the Indian state, has sought to gain access to and sustain craft products – which can complement and Indianize modernity – but is more ambivalent about sustaining the socially embedded ways of producing those objects. With its various interventions in production and marketing, DakshinaChitra aims to enlarge rural artisans' participation in the neoliberal economic order, both as producers and as consumers. While the site's specular order is designed to assist urban visitors in seeing traces of the past, it affords rural labourers glimpses of modernity and the dilemmas of consumer citizenship.

CONCLUSION

The contradictions of heritage within today's exhibitionary complex are well known (Huyssen 2003). Its creation and consumption are fuelled by, and solicit, nostalgia for lifestyles and forms of community that modernity has displaced. None the less, the formation of heritage both as a specific type of state project, for instance, national trusts with their registers of historic places, and as an arena of popular consumption, are obvious indicators that heritage arises within, not against, the capitalist modes of consumption, mediation and mobility that have been tied so intimately to the rise of the nation-state. This dynamic, consolidated in the nineteenth century, shows no sign of abatement, though it unfolds now in the globalizing neoliberal order, trafficking in memories that are bound to both territorialized and deterritorialized imaginaries. In adopting self-consciously modern, global templates to define, represent and conserve tradition, new heritage sites of the global South produce territorialized pasts that bind nationalist affect. At the same time, tied as they are to the creative destruction of global capitalism, these same sites anticipate the global connections of the unfolding neoliberal order.

Rather than being a project to counteract the declining urban fortunes associated with deindustrialization, DakshinaChitra is an integral part of the new economy that the Indian nation-state, decentralized and deregulated, has embraced. The centre's mission is framed in terms explicitly critical of the effects of industrialization, though its critique does not take the form of outright resuscitation of artisanal modes of production. Instead, by salvaging the material remains and embodied knowledge of preindustrial lifeworlds, it poses a counternarrative that recalls (selectively) what modernity has displaced. DakshinaChitra's location within the new industrial landscape that characterizes Chennai's urban hinterland is a crucial index of the terms by which it organizes its project of recovery and remembrance. A memento of another space-time in the midst of the modern, it completes the cycle of creative destruction by gathering the residues left in the wake of industrial expansion and recombining them to yield a simulacrum of the rural real that can be mined for signifiers of local resilience, persistence and adaptability in the neoliberal order.

The exhibitionary spaces and practices on DakshinaChitra's grounds point, similarly, to the close but conflictual relation between the centre's formation and the region's neoliberal restructuring. No less globalized than the new industrial spaces that surround it, DakshinaChitra's distance from the city centre, its global exhibitionary template and the creative geography of its grounds all herald its global legibility. It is a space of leisure, where international standards of cleanliness, comfort and connectivity are the norm. In more specific terms, it is a recognizable example of the new wave of interactive cultural centres that, since the 1970s, have sought to break away from the previously hegemonic Victorian museal model. With its fusion of education, entertainment and spectacle, the centre is part of a recognizable genre of leisure destinations now marketed to

cosmopolitan audiences. It is, as well, a decidedly nationalist space: offering rural southern India as synecdoche of the nation-state. Its technologies of memory, which borrow Gandhian idioms, frame the nation-state as a homely space, a remote and only partially translatable rural lifeworld that invites both detached contemplation and nostalgic attachment.

DakshinaChitra's geography, its design, the labour that sustains it and the goods and services offered on its grounds are both products of mobile architectural and design templates and means by which southern Indians' encounters with a world of global consumer practice are managed. Its operations are fully consistent with the neoliberal state's emphasis on service-sector industries and its commitment to deregulation and public–private partnerships in economy and governance. This introduction of heritage into the industrializing hinterland inscribes the rural with signs of modernity, and in this respect the centre's nationalist effect is not unlike that of nearby factories and information technology campuses, despite their very different architectural realizations. Visitors, seduced by neoliberal nostalgia, encounter the nation as handicrafts; DakshinaChitra's workers may encounter it as a space at which modernity and the possibilities of consumer citizenship are presented. Consumer-citizenship, as a socio-moral discourse and subject position, is encoded in the modernity that work for the museum offers, and in the visitors whom the center's rural workers encounter. In tandem with the residential and industrial developments of globurbia, DakshinaChitra both encapsulates and authenticates the home that India's urban elites and offshore citizens desire, while ensuring that its authenticity, its pastness, remains legible within global cultures of consumption. It celebrates a past that anticipates, not without hesitation, the ethos of consumer citizenship even as it laments the loss of a rural lifeworld.

NOTES

1 Portions of this chapter appeared in Mary Hancock, 'Recollecting the Rural in Suburban Chennai', pp. 147–178 in *The Politics of Heritage from Madras to Chennai* (Indiana University Press, 2008), and they are reprinted with the permission of Indiana University Press. The ethnographic research on which this chapter is based was carried out in Chennai in 1996 and 1999 to 2000, and included multiple site visits, and interviews with staff and visitors. I conducted follow-up interviews between 2003 and 2007. I am grateful to Deborah Thiagarajan, Benny Kuriakose and DakshinaChitra staff for their assistance in my research; I thank this volume's editors (Michael Guggenheim, Ola Söderström) and the Routledge series editors (Anthony King, Thomas Markus) for their helpful comments and suggestions. I remain responsible for any errors that the chapter may contain.

2 Sources include Bruner 2005, Chappell 1999, Gordon 2005, Henderson and Weisgrau 2007, Hendry 2000, Hitchcock and King 2003, Karp *et al.* 2006, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Oakes and Schein 2006, Raz 1999, Ren 1998, Sorkin 1992, Stanley 1998, Teo and Yeoh 1997, Willis, 1993, Witz *et al.* 2005, Yeoh 2000, Young 2006, Zukin 1992.

3   I build on Renato Rosaldo's (1991: 68–87) notion of 'imperialist nostalgia'.

4   In a 2000 interview with me, the centre's director, Dr Deborah Thiagarajan, estimated that DakshinaChitra received about 30,000 visitors between 1997 and 2000. At that time, visitation figures were not systematically tabulated. In later conversations (October 2006, June 2007), she reported that visitation had sharply increased. Since 2005, monthly visitation figures have been tabulated; in the fiscal year 2005 to 2006 the centre received 94,000 visitors and in the fiscal year 2006 to 2007 visitor numbers increased to 104,000. Annual figures included at least 24,000 children who arrived with school groups, as well as visitors who came for seminars, special events and sales. She attributed the increases to growing interest among Chennai's middle-income groups and pointed out that foreign visitation ranges between 8 and 12 per cent of the total. She noted, however, that visitation by Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) may be underestimated in these figures as the counts are tabulated on entry ticket sales and NRI visitors usually purchase less expensive domestic entry tickets.

5   'DakshinaChitra: About Us – What We Do?' Online. Available HTTP: www.dakshina-chitra.net/scripts/whatwedo.asp (accessed 3 December, 2008).

6   Entry fees in 2008 were Rs. 75 for adults, Rs. 20 for children, Rs. 30 for students. For foreigners, the entry charge was Rs. 200. The exchange rate in 2008 was US$1 to Rs. 49.

7   American Express donated Rs. 10 lakhs (about US$20,000) and Konica and other corporations have furnished signage and advertising. A large textile gallery was set up with support from India's Co-Optex Handloom Corporation and the Ford Foundation's Media, Culture, Arts programme provided US$300,000 in seed money and stabilization funds.

8   She expressed this in conversations with me and in Thiagarajan (n.d.).

9   A balance-of-payments crisis in 1991 led to the restructuring of India's international loans, including the adoption of policies mandating the deregulation of major industrial and financial institutions (including raising or eliminating caps on foreign capital investment) and the Indian state's decentralization, including the devolution of authority from the central to state governments. The effects, positive and negative, of the phased structural adjustment programme that followed are matters of ongoing debate; while India's productivity has surged, class divides remain wide, the livelihoods of urban and rural poor, as well as many within the new middle class, remain precarious due to their participation in the growing informal economy and an increasingly speculative real estate market.

10 Although Gandhian nationalism has had a negligible impact on the economic and social policies of the Indian state, its imagery and idioms are invoked regularly by state institutions and elected officials to characterize nationalist values.

11 What state funding it receives has come from a central agency, the Development Commissioner for Handicrafts, and is earmarked for craft education and marketing operations.

12 Tamil Nadu's dominant political parties, the All-India Annadurai Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, grew out of colonial social movements committed to anti-Brahmanism, ethno-linguistic nationalism and regional

autonomy. These movements criticized the pan-Indian nationalism of Indian National Congress leaders, such as Gandhi and Nehru, as an imposition of the 'foreign' values and lifestyles (in the form of Hinduism and caste) introduced centuries earlier by speakers of Indo-Aryan languages who had migrated to the subcontinent from the northwest.

13   Baker, an Indian citizen who died in 2007, was born in England. Unlike the architects discussed by Guggenheim and Söderström (this volume), whose international commissions enabled their distinctive styles to populate diverse localities, often with limited reference to local architectural vernaculars, Baker's mobility introduced him to India's rural vernacular, which he subsequently sought to interpret for projects in India. Indeed, though he had resided in India since the mid-1940s, he had not initially practised architecture. Instead, he arrived as a Quaker conscientious objector to military service and worked in medical services. It was then that he became acquainted with Mohandas Gandhi and, profoundly affected by his notions of self-sufficiency, turned first to social service projects and later to architecture. Baker's work was inspired by the vernacular housing of the regions in India in which he resided for extended periods. He has been compared to Hassan Fathy of Egypt and to John Turner of Latin America owing to his popularization of the use of low-cost, local materials.

14   Kuriakose worked with Baker in the mid-1980s, when the latter had gained national notoriety as a proponent of cost-effective architecture – that is, architecture that utilized local materials and locally available technologies and vernacular building models to create low-cost, durable structures. While working with Baker, Kuriakose assisted Thiagarajan with background research for DakshinaChitra, by documenting Kerala's vernacular architecture, and shortly thereafter received a fellowship from the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) to study Conservation Architecture at York University, England – assuming a position as DakshinaChitra's site architect in 1994.

15   These include Tamil Nadu's merchant, potter and Brahman houses, Kerala's three houses and granary, and Karnataka's domestic compound.

16   The five reassembled structures were Tamil Nadu's Brahman house and Kerala's three houses and granary.

17   These included Andhra's and Tamil Nadu's mud houses and Tamil Nadu's agriculturalist and weavers' houses.

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Chapter 7: Tropicalising Technologies of Environment and Government

The Singapore General Hospital and the Circulation of the Pavilion Plan Hospital in the British Empire, 1860–1930

Jiat-Hwee Chang

In October 1926, at the Annual Dinner of the Straits Settlements Association in Singapore, Sir Laurence Guillemard, British Governor of the Straits Settlements at that time, boasted that his speedy recovery from ill-health was a 'testimony to Malaya as a health resort' (Guillemard, 1926: 224). Central to Guillemard's boast and his resurrection of the old myth of Malaya as a health resort was the completion of the new Singapore General Hospital complex. Guillemard (ibid.: 225) proclaimed that the new hospital would help turn Singapore into 'one of the best-equipped [medical] centres in the Far East'. Guillemard then continued to elaborate on the various public health initiatives undertaken by his government. He summed up by noting: 'I hope that what I have said will convince my hearers that Government is alive to its responsibility in the matter of public health though we admit that there is still much to do in the way of improving the conditions of life *out there*' (Ibid.: 226, emphasis added). Here, Guillemard's use of 'conditions of life *out there*' in relation to the colonial government's public health initiatives is revealing. On that occasion, his audiences were members of the elite Straits Settlements Association, who were from the wealthy European community in the colony. Unlike the 'native'[1] population '*out there*', they received good medical care and were healthy, and as such, not the target of Guillemard's public health initiatives. After years of neglect of the natives' health and sanitary problems, Guillemard's speech appears to mark a new phase in committing the colonial state's resources in expanding the application of colonial/Western medical and sanitary science beyond the privileged European sociopolitical enclaves and '*out there*' into the native population.

Because of the causalities established at that time between built environment and health, regulating the built environment was a key component of the British colonial public health initiatives (e.g. Simpson, 1908). As a landmark project in the colonial public health initiatives, the new Singapore General Hospital complex and its history encapsulated many of the sociopolitical aspects, and

their contradictions, in shaping the colonial built environment and managing the natives' public health. In this chapter, I explore these sociopolitical aspects by examining the design of the new Singapore General Hospital, tracing its history and comparing the new general hospital complex in relation to the two previous complexes of the general hospital that were built in the nineteenth century. I also situate the history of the general hospital, which was a pavilion plan hospital, in the larger history of the pavilion plan hospital in the British colonial context. I outline the 'invention', circulation and transformation of the pavilion plan hospital, from its origins in the metropole to its 'tropicalisation' in the colonies. I focus on two aspects of its 'tropicalisation' – in environmental technologies and technologies of government.

Scholars have noted that the pavilion plan hospital in the Euro-American contexts was one of the earliest modern building types known for, among other things, its innovations in environmental technologies concerning ventilation, heating/cooling and lighting (Adams, 2008; Bruegmann, 1976). These innovations were shaped by the miasmic theory of disease transmission contemporaneous with the invention of the pavilion plan hospital in Europe in the nineteenth century. When the pavilion plan hospital circulated to the tropics, where the hot and humid climate was perceived to produce even more venomous miasma, much attention was channelled towards modifying its environmental technologies to take into account the effects of the torrid climate. This chapter attends to how the pavilion plan hospital was reconfigured accordingly with, for example, the addition of verandahs and an increase in space standards, in the tropics.

The emergence and proliferation of the pavilion plan hospital was part of the spatial effects brought about by larger sociopolitical shifts. In the metropolitan context, Michel Foucault (1980: 169–170) has described this larger shift in terms of the emergence of the modern state with its new governmental rationality that saw the 'health and well-being of the population in general as one of the essential objectives of political power'. Some of the spatial implications of the new governmental rationality were visible in the planning of the pavilion plan hospital in which the Panopticon's spatial apparatus of surveillance was adopted to control the patients. The scholarship on governmentality and spatiality has however been largely confined to the study of the metropole. By following the pavilion plan hospital to Singapore, this chapter argues that both governmentality and spatiality mutated in the colonial context. The population in colonial Singapore was differentiated into different segments and dissimilar amounts of state resources were committed to maintain the health and well-being of each population segment. Spatially, this was reflected in the segregation between Europeans and natives and also in the way internal surveillance was combined with the symbolic display of power externally in the design of the new Singapore General Hospital complex.

LIGHT, AIR AND COOLNESS: THE 'NEW' PAVILION PLAN HOSPITAL?

The new Singapore General Hospital at Sepoy Lines started construction in 1923 and was completed and officially opened by Guillemard in 1926 (Figure 7.1). J. S. Webster, a Professor of Medicine at the King Edward VII Medical College in Singapore who was on the medical committee advising on the design of the new hospital, noted in a lecture that the elevated site at Sepoy Lines was chosen primarily because of three main considerations – light, air and coolness. He remarked that the site was 'cool and airy', allowed 'good natural drainage', and favoured 'the entrance of sunlight' (Webster, 1924: 846). These three main environmental factors of light, air and coolness dominated Webster's lecture on the design of the new hospital complex.

The hospital consisted of two different schemes and three separate sets of buildings (Figure 7.2). As I will elaborate later, one set of buildings housed the

Figure 7.1
Panoramic view of the new SGH. National Archives of Singapore (NAS).

Figure 7.2
Plan of the new SGH. *The Malayan Medical Journal*, 1933.
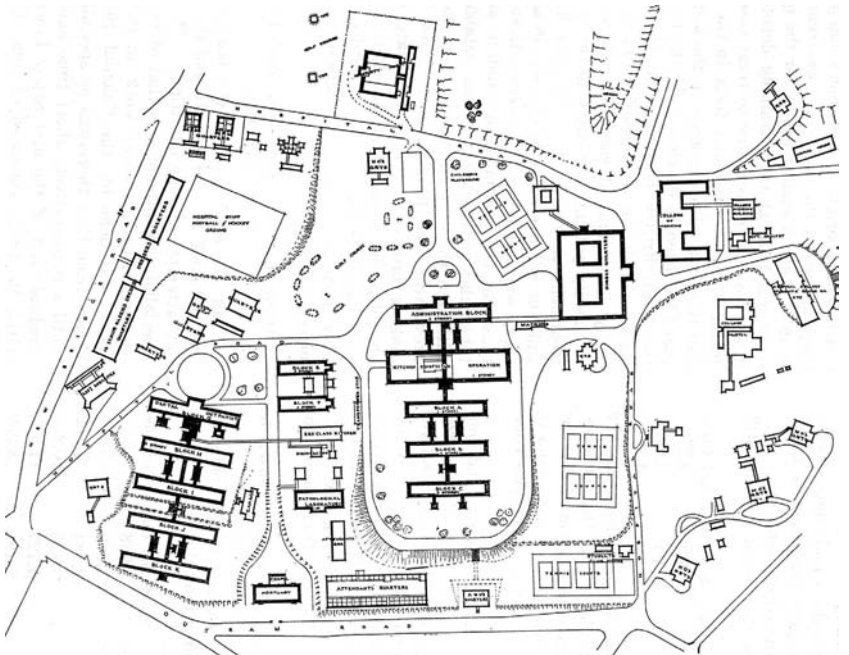
European scheme while two other sets of buildings formed the Native scheme (Keys, 1923). Each set of buildings was organised on the pavilion-type plan and the pavilions were oriented such that the prevailing direction of wind was at an angle of 45 degrees to the long side of the ward. The minimum floor and air spaces of the wards were increased to double or triple those prescribed for hospitals in temperate countries to obtain 'large, airy rooms'. Ten-foot-wide verandahs lined the perimeter of the wards so as to provide spaces that could almost 'approximate an open-air existence' while also shading the wards from excessive heat from the sun. Moreover, ventilation holes and large openings were designed in the inner and outer walls that lined the wards and the verandahs respectively, so as '[t]o avoid the formation of pockets of dead air' (Webster, 1924: 848, 849, 854). The wards were also designed such that the long sides faced north and south to minimise sunlight entering the interior (Keys, 1923).

Webster (1924: 845) claimed that the specifications of a hospital in the tropics were, unlike the case for a hospital in Britain, unknown and 'the staff [on the advisory committee] were forced to rely almost entirely upon their experience' to come up with appropriate recommendations. He noted that the committee's recommendations were vindicated as correct and up-to-date when two other new hospitals in the British Empire – one in Cairo and the other in Madras – were planned in a similar manner as the Singapore General Hospital. However, Webster appears to overstate the committee's achievement as the new hospital was not even the first pavilion plan hospital to be built in Singapore. The 1882 general hospital building and the 1909 Tan Tock Seng Hospital complex were both earlier editions of the tropicalised pavilion plan hospital built in Singapore. In fact, as early as the 1860s, not long after the first pavilion plan hospitals were first built in Britain, a standard design of pavilion plan hospital for the tropics was developed for the British Army. Many of the recommendations of Webster's committee were not very different from those made in the mid-nineteenth-century standard design, as the next section will show.

METROPOLITAN ORIGINS: HOSPITALS AND TECHNOLOGIES OF POPULATION

The pavilion plan gained widespread acceptance as the most suitable plan type for hospitals in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century (King, 1966; Taylor, 1996). Implicit in the planning principle of the pavilion plan hospital was the miasmic theory of disease transmission although the pavilion plan principle continued to be adopted in the early twentieth century, years after the germ theory of disease transmission had supplanted the miasmic theory (Adams, 2008; Forty, 1980).[2] Miasmic theory attributed the cause of disease to miasma, or noxious vapour being emitted from putrescent organic matter. Miasma was associated with both the natural and built environment, such as marshlands and insanitary houses, in any place where decomposing waste matter could be found. Miasma was also

believed to be generated by people through breathing and sweating; thus it was perceived to accumulate in overcrowded interiors, especially if the air was stagnant. Various remedies were usually proposed to deal with miasma – the dilution of the concentration of miasma through ventilation, the prevention of overcrowding and the principle of isolation. Thus, in the design of the pavilion plan hospital, the importance of ventilation was emphasised, with an air space of 1,500 to 1,600 cubic feet per patient being laid down to ensure no overcrowding. The minimum spacing between beds was stipulated and the wards were arranged in a manner to minimise the circulation of poisonous miasma from one ward to another.

The pavilion plan consisted of ward blocks usually placed at right-angles to a linking corridor. Each ward in the pavilion plan hospital was

> a parallelogram, entirely detached on at least three sides, with windows of both its longer sides facing each other, and attached to the main block at one end only… The essence of the pavilion system [was] the isolation of wards from the rest of the hospital.
>
> (Burdett, 1893: 99)

The advocates of the pavilion system emphasised that such an arrangement ensured sufficient ventilation and sunlight in the wards (Figure 7.3).

The British pavilion plan hospital was very much shaped by continental European development, especially France. The Lariboisière Hospital in Paris (completed in 1854) was an especially significant precedent. It embodied many of the most innovative ideas on hospital planning proposed in a landmark report produced by the scientific committee that was appointed by Louis XVI to reform the Hôtel-Dieu following a fire in 1772 (Bruegmann, 1976; Thompson and Goldin, 1975). Michel Foucault (1980) saw the production of the model plan for the Hôtel-Dieu and the subsequent building of the Lariboisière Hospital as exemplifying the larger hospital reform in France in which the modern hospital as a 'curing machine' for healing sick people emerged out of the old hospital that was a 'seat of death', used for housing the sick and other social deviants. According to Foucault (1990, 2003), the modern hospital has to be understood in the context of the emergence of a new governmental rationality of the state that saw the health and well-being of the population in relation to the wealth of the nation and, as such, sought to invest in the biopower of the population, and improve their health and productivity.

The reform of the hospital into a 'curing machine' entailed not just the architectural transformations to provide for air, light and comfort, it also meant the spatialisation of disciplinary power. According to Foucault, a component of the new governmental rationality was the disciplinary regime, and Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, with its apparatus of surveillance and control, was used to illustrate the spatialisation of such a disciplinary regime. Like other modern building types such as the prison, workhouse and lunatic asylum, established in the nineteenth century to 'normalise' the population, the modern pavilion plan hospital shared the Panopticon's spatial apparatus of surveillance (Driver, 1993; Markus, 1993; Scull, 1980). One of the key planning considerations in Nightingale's pavilion ward was the ease
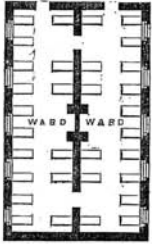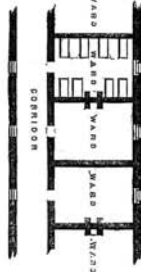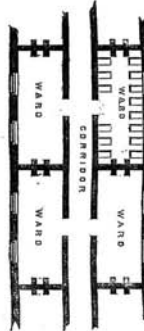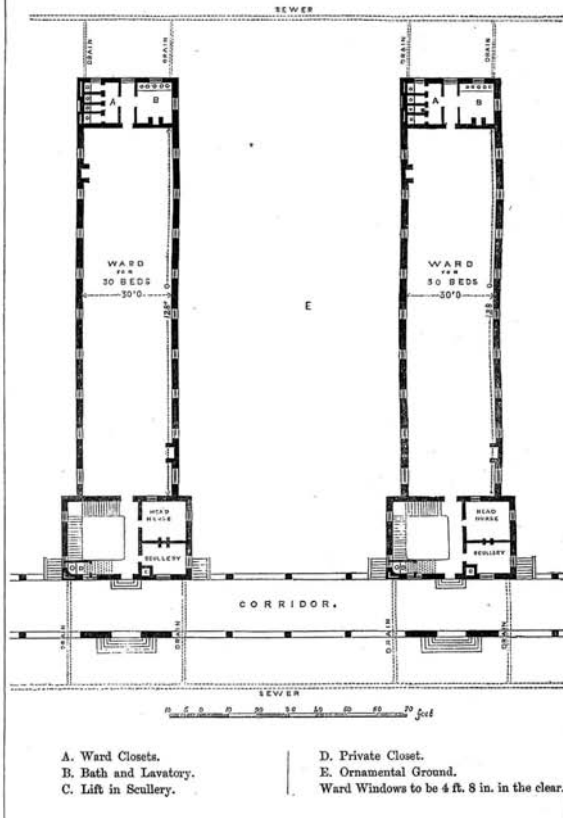
of supervision by the nursing sisters. Not only was the ward size kept manageable, the nurse's room was positioned such that it had a window overlooking the entire ward so that the nurse 'may have all her sick under her eye at once.' Furthermore, it was recommended that the beds were to be arranged so that the 'patients … should feel that they [were] continually under the eye of the head nurse'. Finally, it

was stated: 'There should be no dark corners in any part of an [*sic*] hospital ward. Every recess or angle not easily overlooked is … injurious to hospital discipline' (*Hospital Construction – Wards* 1858: 641, 642). Besides surveillance, the pavilion plan hospital was arranged such that each ward was made the 'cul-de-sac of the main circulation system' (Forty, 1980: 80) and the position of the nurse's room in that system allowed the nurse to control access to the ward.

TROPICALISATION: STATISTICS, BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND BIOPOLITICS IN THE MILITARY ENCLAVE

The pavilion plan principle was proposed for the British Army in the tropical colonies at almost the same time as it was widely adopted in Britain. The 1863 Report of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of Army in India and the 1864 Report of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission for Indian Stations put forth what were probably the earliest recommendations for military hospitals in British colonies to be built according to the pavilion plan principle (BHIC, 1864; Commissioners, 1863). These two reports were produced at a momentous point in British India's history – just after the governance of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown after the 1857 Indian revolt and therefore at a time when more British soldiers were to be stationed in India. Following an inquiry that took 'unusual extent and duration', two thick volumes of the report of the Royal Commission were published. One of the features of the report was the voluminous amount of statistics compiled. These statistics were all linked to understanding the excessive rate of 'lives wasted in India'. The report opened with two pages of graphic representations that vividly illustrate the high annual mortality rate of the British soldiers stationed in India at 67 in 1,000, a rate that was eight times that of the British Army stationed in Britain and seven times that of the male British civilian population of the same age group. At that rate, the statistics showed that 100,000 British soldiers would be reduced to 9,604 in 20 years of service. It was deduced that in order to maintain an army of 85,856 men, the strength of the British Army in India at that time, 10,000 recruits would be required annually. An even more startling revelation was the economic cost of the high mortality rate. Each soldier was calculated to cost the British government £100 annually to maintain and the commission thus emphasised that 'either the loss of his life, of his health, or of his efficiency, is not to be lightly regarded' (Commissioners, 1863: xviii).

Scholars in science and technology studies and governmentality have argued that numbers have the power of 'turning a qualitative world into information and rendering it amenable to control' (Rose, 1999: 203). Numbers do not merely describe a pre-existing reality; in a way they constitute the very reality for political calculations. The statistics of the 1863 report, for example, enumerated the politico-economic costs of the bad sanitary conditions of the British Army in India. Through the processes of quantification and standardisation of measurements, different entities distributed across diverse time-spaces could be made

commensurable with one another and, as such, also rendered comparable. In the 1863 report, the statistics was compiled and ordered such that mortality rates between not only England and India, but also between the different stations in India, could be analysed and compared. It was through such comparison that the mortality rates of British soldiers in India were deemed abnormally high and costly, thus necessitating political intervention.

It has also been argued that quantification is a 'technology of distance' (Porter, 1995). As the results of quantification are outcomes of structured and rule-bound processes, the need for intimate knowledge of a place and the reliance on personal trust of the people carrying out the processes are minimised. Furthermore, the information obtained through quantification is considered more factual and objective because it is the result of disinterested processes. Numbers are in a way like Bruno Latour's concept of immutable mobile – mobile, stable and combinable information that could travel over long distances without distortion (Latour, 1987). Like immutable mobiles, numbers could facilitate action at a distance. This perhaps explains why the Royal Commission did not have to visit India. The Commission met only in London and they relied primarily on 'an elaborate examination of the available statistical and sanitary documents' (Commissioners, 1863), i.e. printed answers to the standardised questionnaires they sent out to all the Indian stations, and their interviews with sanitary experts and veterans who had served in India. Statistical information featured prominently in the questionnaires. Besides information on climate, and mortality and morbidity rates that were typically presented in statistical form, information on the built environment, particularly barrack and hospital accommodation, was also quantified in these questionnaires. Dimensions of barracks and hospital wards, air space and superficial area per person, number and dimensions of windows, and number of occupants were recorded in statistical tables to facilitate cross-checking and comparison with minimum standards.

From the statistics, the commissioners singled out 'that subtle, unknown agent, or rather that cause of disease known only by its effect, malaria' (ibid.) as the main culprit of high mortality rates. Etymologically, the word malaria was derived from the Italian term, *mal'aria*, which literally means bad air. Malarial fever was thought to be caused by the poisonous miasma from putrefaction, which was in turn thought to be intensified by the frequent rain and intense heat of the tropics. According to the medical topographical theories held by many of the medical experts at that time, malaria would also be further accentuated by the insalubrious topographies or insanitary built environment (Arnold, 1993: 28–36). Based on the station reports, the Commissioners found that existing hospitals in India tended to be overcrowded and insufficiently ventilated to be healthy for the patients. Moreover, according to the new sanitary standards in the metropole, most did not have a proper water supply, drainage or sewerage systems (Nightingale, 1863). Thus, the modification of the built environment was an important part of the Commissioners' recommendations on improving the mortality rate of the British soldiers in India. These recommendations were

followed with even more comprehensive suggestions, including detailed designs of model barrack and hospital, in the 1864 report of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission for Indian Stations.

The model hospital in the report by the Commission (Figures 7.4 and 7.5) was a two-storey building raised on a 4-foot-high "ventilated basement" in order for the lower floor to avoid direct contact with the miasma emitted by the ground. The building had two storeys so that the sick and convalescent could sleep on the upper floor while the lower floor could be used for auxiliary spaces such as dining-rooms and libraries. The wards were designed to accommodate 24 beds and they were dimensioned such that each patient had 120 square feet of superficial area

Figure 7.4
Upper floor plan of the model hospital for Indian stations. BHIC, *Suggestions in regard to Sanitary Work required to improve Indian Stations*, 1864.
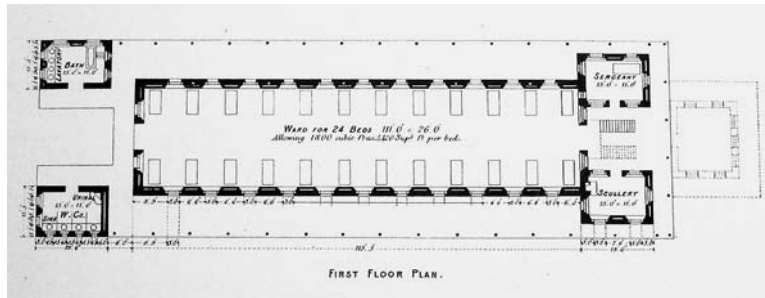
Figure 7.5
Section of the model hospital for Indian stations. BHIC, *Suggestions in regard to Sanitary Work required to improve Indian Stations*, 1864.
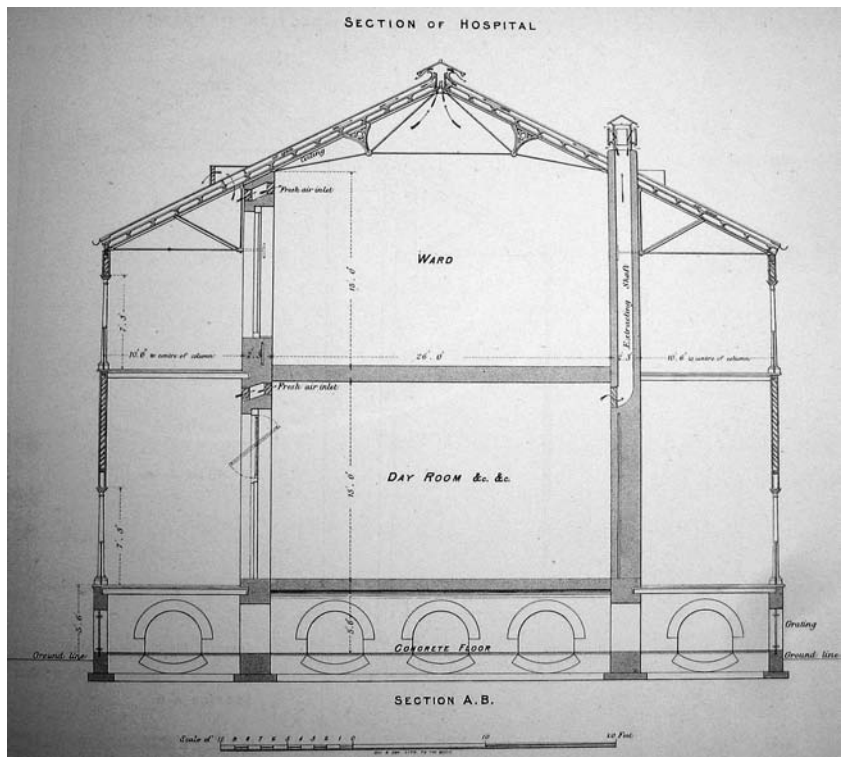
(floor area) and 1,800 cubic feet of air space (BHIC, 1864). The doors and windows were designed and positioned in relation to the beds such that lots of light and air were admitted into the wards without the heat and draughts. The Commissioners also recommended that 'ventilating arrangement should be independent of doors and windows' and 'ventilating course[s] of air bricks', louvred shafts and ridge ventilation were incorporated for that purpose. Furthermore, the hospital was sited to receive 'all healthy winds' and secure 'pure air' (BHIC, 1864: 29, 22).

Other than the concerns with air, light and overcrowding, which were similar to those in the planning of hospitals in the temperate zone, one particular concern differentiated the recommendations for hospitals in tropical India – cooling. To address cooling, the report dealt with two aspects – the modification of the built form and the use of additional cooling appliances. For the former, the report recommended that the hospital blocks be surrounded with 12-foot-wide verandahs and sun-shading louvres be added at the external perimeter of the verandah. In addition, a double roof with a continuous six-inch-wide air space was to be used to minimise heat gain. Using the same principles, the report also advocated that 'walls should be built hollow ... as a means of coolness' (BHIC, 1864). On the use of additional cooling equipment, the report first reviewed the existing appliances that were used in India. These appliances – punkah, tatties and thermantidote – were originally adopted from the local inhabitants of India and subsequently modified according to the needs of the British colonials (King, 1995 [1984]: 34). However, the Commissioners found these appliances to be largely unsatisfactory and, as a remedy, they recommended the use of a ventilating air pump designed and manufactured in the metropole.

The report also covered the types of latrines and urinals to use and the proper provision of ablution and bath facilities. Again, the commissioners demonstrated a distrust of local practices and a preference for replacing them with appliances manufactured in Britain. The drawings of the model hospital in the report also suggest that the commissioners had in mind the use of prefabricated iron building components manufactured by one of the many iron foundries in mid-nineteenth-century Victorian Britain (Herbert, 1978). The preference for manufactures from the metropole could also be attributed to the Commissioners' distrust of the construction practices in India and the construction standards these practices could achieve (*Public Works Department, India*, 1869). For the Commissioners, these prescriptions of appliances and prefabricated building components, not unlike statistics and the practices of quantification discussed earlier, functioned to ensure standardisation and control over long distances and on unfamiliar territories.

Like the metropolitan hospital and sanitary reform, the British military sanitary reform in the tropics was a similar regime of governmentality that prescribed a better built environment as part of a larger scheme of biopolitical improvement. The model hospital described earlier was part of the recommendations that included improvements to the soldiers' attire, diet and their means of recreation. However, in the tropical colonies, the regime of biopower was not applied to the

population at large (i.e. including the natives), but only to the British soldiers. David Arnold argued that in the British India context, Western medical and sanitary science was first applied only to privileged sociopolitical enclaves, where their effects could be evaluated and controlled (Arnold, 1993). The British soldiers, their regimented lives, and the military space of barracks and cantonments constituted such a sociopolitical enclave that was socially and spatially segregated from the larger colonial society, i.e. the native population (King, 1976). However, what would happen when these Western medical and sanitary sciences escaped the controlled military enclave into the larger public realms of the civic hospitals and engaged with the native population at large? The following section will explore this issue through the study of the various historical buildings of the Singapore General Hospital.

ESCAPING THE ENCLAVE? POLITICAL CALCULATIONS AND PRIORITIES OF MEDICAL PROVISION

Not long after the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony under the direct control of the Colonial Office in 1867, Governor Sir Henry Ord received a dispatch from the Colonial Office asking him to complete a standardised questionnaire on the state of hospitals and asylums in the Straits Settlements (CO273/19). In the Straits Settlement's reply to the questionnaire, which was similar to the format used by Royal Commission of the Sanitary State of Army in India, the General Hospital building located in Kandang Kerbau, which was planned by Captain George Collyer and built by Indian convict labourers, was presented as well-planned and well-managed. The reply claimed that '[t]he sanitary state [was] satisfactory', the 'water supply plentiful and good', the bathrooms 'good, and sufficient', and the building was 'adapted to the climate' and well ventilated. From the statistical returns, the wards were of the right sizes and met the minimum spatial standards prescribed. On seeing the reply, the Colonial Office noted that while there were minor faults, the General Hospital 'seem[ed] to be in a state of efficiency' (ibid.).

Despite the capacity of quantification and statistics to facilitate government at a distance through gathering objective facts, the Straits Settlements managed to suppress many of the problems of the general hospital in their reply to the Colonial Office. For example, there was no mention that the hospital was poorly sited on 'low and swampy' ground, which led to the sinking of the building's foundation that in turn caused structural problems for the buildings (Lee, 1978: 52). The reply was also silent on the fact that the hospital was located next to one of the 'most objectionable creeks' that was described as producing "the most repulsive odours … [which were] carried into the wards of the convalescent sick and dying, to retard the progress of the first and to hasten the decay of the last" (cited in ibid.: 63). How should we understand the failure of quantification and statistics in this instance to uncover these problems typical of the colonial hospitals built in nineteenth-century Singapore?

One of the prerequisites for the collection of accurate statistics and proper analysis of the statistics collected was a vast state bureaucracy. The rise of statistics

as technology of government was often mirrored by the emergence of a modern state with a strong bureaucracy. However, those prerequisites were not always present in a small colony with little resources such as the Straits Settlements in the nineteenth century. It was noted that when the East India Company became obsessed with the collection of administrative reports and statistics in the early 1850s, the understaffed and underpaid small Straits Settlements' administration could not cope. Instead of obtaining statistics and facts, a commentator noted that Calcutta, from where the Straits Settlements was governed from, was instead getting 'lying figures'. He further commented:

> [S]urely there is enough real work in this world to save men from the painful necessity of being set to such a spinning of sand and weaving of moonbeams such as the attempts to manufacture facts by the multiplication of errors must prove.
>
> (Cited in Turnbull, 1972: 82–85)

This statistical problem persisted into the early twentieth century, when the population statistics were perceived as a complete 'washout … largely inaccurate – worse than hypothetical' (Malaya, 1926).

In 1873, all the patients at the Kandang Kerbau General Hospital were moved to the Sepoy Lines barracks because of a cholera outbreak. When the outbreak was contained later, the Principal Civil Medical Officer advised against moving back to the Kandang Kerbau site because it was insalubrious (Lee, 1978). The patients remained at the Sepoy Lines, and this subsequently became a permanent arrangement, and a new hospital building designed by Colonial Engineer J. F. A. McNair was built in 1882 (Figure 7.6). McNair's design, the first in Singapore to be built in accordance with the pavilion plan principle, adopted many of the recommendations that the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission put forth in 1860s. As McNair noted, the new hospital was 'arranged on pavilion principle', double-storeyed and elevated on a ventilated arched basement with the ground floor being used for dining and recreation rooms, 'built so as to be opened to the prevailing winds, but the beds in the wards are protected from draughts by a suitable arrangement of the doors, windows, and wall space', and it had 'baths, lavatories, and latrines built off the wards' (*PLCSS 1875*, 1876: ccclxx). Moreover, the wards were spacious and afforded each patient 1,800 cubic square feet; they were also protected from the sun by deep verandahs.

However, the new hospital building at the old Sepoy Lines housed only the European wards. The native wards continued to be housed in the overcrowded and insanitary old buildings converted from Sepoy barracks. This was a reflection of the general segregation of the Europeans from the natives and the disparity in resources allocated to them typical of the colonial medical provision. The Colonial medical service in the Straits Settlements was shaped by the colonial political economy of health and its priorities of treatment. From the founding of Singapore as a British settlement in 1819, the hospitals and bare-bones medical service established there by the colonial state served primarily four groups of people essential to the maintenance of Singapore as a free port – the British and Sepoy

Figure 7.6
Plans of the SGH building by McNair. MacGregor, 'A Historical Review of the General Hospital, Singapore', *The Malayan Medical Journal*, 1933.

GENERAL HOSPITAL, SEPOY LINES, SINGAPORE. [BUILT IN 1882]
FIRST AND SECOND CLASS WARDS.
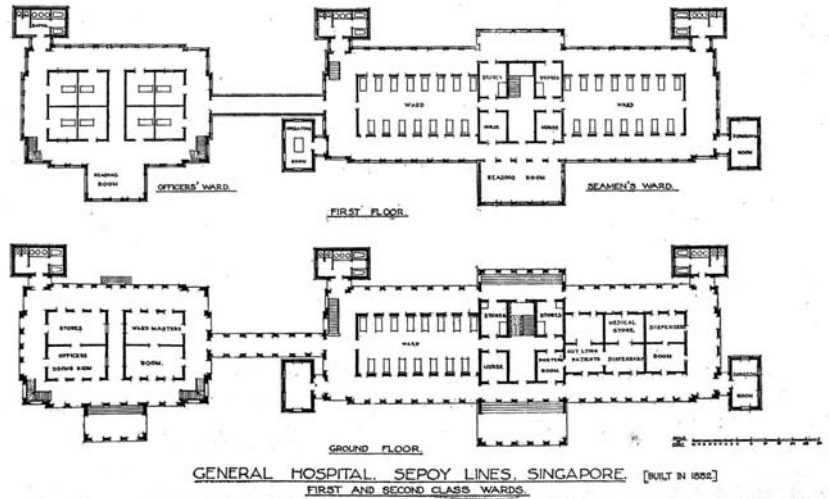
soldiers, the police and police cases, the convicts, and the sick European Seamen passing through the port (Brooke, 1991 [1921]; MacGregor, 1933). The only hospital that the sick natives could seek help from was the pauper hospital, financed and run not by the state but by local philanthropists.

It was only after 1867 when Singapore, as part of the Straits Settlements, became a Crown Colony that the colonial government, as instructed by the Colonial Office, began to take slightly greater interest in the health and welfare of the native population. For instance, in 1872, the Colonial Secretary Lord Kimberley ordered the Straits Settlements government to take over the operation of the pauper hospitals (*PLCSS 1899*, 1900). However, the colonial government continued to demonstrate an unwillingness to commit financial and administrative resources towards securing the health of the natives. The colonial medical service was still greatly understaffed and the state's medical initiatives were largely restricted to responses to crises, such as outbreaks of plague. It was no wonder that, on the centennial celebration of the founding of Singapore in 1919, a commentator remarked: 'The general trend of medical and scientific work in Singapore throughout the century is not especially remarkable for constructive ability or statesmanlike policy' (Brooke, 1991 [1921]: 489). However, with the appointment of Joseph Chamberlain as the Colonial Secretary in the late nineteenth century and following his initiatives in constructive imperialism and colonial development, partly through the promotion of tropical medicine (Havinden and Meredith, 1993), the colonial government took on more medical initiatives aimed at improving the health and welfare of the natives. Even then, these initiatives were only selectively extended to those natives whose health had a direct impact on the colonial economy, particularly the immigrant labourers (Manderson, 1996). When the colonial medical service was first extended to the 'public' realm, it was largely limited to the medical enclaves of the hospitals. Even then, these medical initiatives, driven not so much by colonial benevolence as by political

calculations 'to raise the efficiency and prevent the waste of labour' (CO273/310), were still fraught with problems.

In the case of the General Hospital, these problems were clearly identified in a 1913 report by the Committee on Medical Service and Hospital in the Straits Settlements. The native wards, still housed in the converted barracks, were especially condemned by the report. They were overcrowded, dark, and the 'chief source of ventilation was through the latrines'. The native wards were also mismanaged to the extent that '[i]nstances of patients contracting new diseases during their stay in hospital [were] frankly admitted'. The report concluded that:

> These wards are a blot on the medical administration of the Colony. In them all the evils conceivable in a hospital has centred … all point to a condition which should never have been permitted to exist, and which demands instant remedy.
>
> (CO273/396)

The report recommended that the native wards be demolished and a new hospital be built immediately. With World War I breaking out the year after the report was filed and the Colonial Office's imposition of wartime fiscal austerity measures on the Straits Settlements and other British colonies, the recommendations of the report were ignored and the 'accumulation of neglect' (ibid.) continued until 1920 when Guillemard decided to commit the colonial government's resources to deal with mounting public health problems and finally, in his words, 'set our house in order' (CO273/502).

MUTATED EFFECTS: COLONIAL MONUMENTS AND ORNAMENTAL GOVERNMENTALITY

To build what Guillemard described as the hospital 'on the most modern lines, worthy of this great Colony' (Guillemard, 1926), he commissioned two London-based architects, Major P. Hubert Keys and Frank Dowdeswell, to design the new Singapore General Hospital. Keys and Dowdeswell were originally specially appointed by the Straits government to design the landmark General Post Office building in 1920. The engagement of Keys and Dowdeswell was a controversial one. As an unofficial member of the colony's Legislative Council noted, they were 'supermen' on 'super salaries' (*PLCSS 1922*, 1923: B85), generously remunerated by the Straits government for their services at a time when the colony's economy was in a slump. The buildings they designed, especially the General Post Office, were considered luxuries that the colony could ill afford (CO273/541/1). Their 'super salaries' were justified on the grounds of their special metropolitan expertise and the innovations of the buildings they designed. For one, their buildings in the Straits Settlements utilised the latest building technologies. For example, the General Post Office and the Capitol Theatre were the first two buildings in Singapore to install air-conditioning systems (Hindmarsh, 1933). Despite the advanced technology employed in these buildings, their exteriors followed what a commentator at that time described as the 'modern classic style', one which 'evolved from a study of the

old Greek and Roman buildings adapted to modern construction and requirements'. It was a style that 'aims at bigness, simple dignity and the cutting out of superfluous features and decorations' (Gordon, 1930: 2) so as to project an image of grandeur and monumentality. In the context of the Straits Settlements, that was considered a stylistic innovation. The General Post Office building started the trend of making the modern classic style the style of choice in the prominent colonial monuments erected in Singapore's city centre during the 1920s to 1930s.

The new Singapore General Hospital was also designed in Keys and Dowd-eswell's usual modern classic style – Doric order in a 'plain and simple manner' so as to obtain 'good simple architectural effect at the minimum cost' (Keys, 1923: C219). The modern classic style of the new hospital was used to differentiate the two separate schemes within – the European scheme and the Native scheme. The estimated 9,151 European population in Singapore was served by a scheme of five pavilions that consisted of 260 beds and was estimated to cost 1.16 million Straits dollars to build, while the estimated 391,311 Native population in Singapore was served by a scheme of five pavilions that consisted of 538 beds and was estimated to cost 1.78 million Straits dollars (Keys, 1923). The numbers speak of the disparity of resources committed to each segment of the popula-tion. The Native scheme, which served a population that was more than 42 times that of the European population, was only allocated slightly more than double the numbers of beds and 50 per cent more money than the European scheme. Not only that, the difference was also subtly encoded in the architectural form. As discussed briefly earlier, the European scheme was fronted by a three-storey building that has a clock tower and an entry portico with four pairs of twin Doric columns (Figure 7.7), while the Native scheme was fronted by a smaller two-sto-rey structure that has an entry portico supported by four Doric columns (Figure 7.8). This concern with style and architectural effect contradicted what protago-nists of pavilion plan hospitals, such as Florence Nightingale, emphasised in their seminal hospital textbooks. In these textbooks, the emphasis was on fitness for purpose and the authors would typically caution the hospital architect from the pitfall of 'striving after architectural effect' (Taylor, 1996). Similarly, in the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission's general report, the Commissioners, reminded the hospital architect:

> It should never be forgotten that the object sought in the construction of a hospital is the recovery of the largest number of sick men to health in the shortest possible time, and that to this end everything else is only subsidiary. The intention aimed at is not … to produce a certain architectural effect, be that good or bad.
>
> (Commissioners, 1861: 175)

Later, they further admonished the hospital architect: 'Useless ornament is quite out of place in a hospital. It costs money. It is liable to damage. It harbours dust, and requires extra time in cleaning. But time is everything for the sick' (ibid.: 197). As discussed earlier, Nightingale and the Commissioners strived to produce a disciplinary space in the hospital through a spatial organisation that facilitated
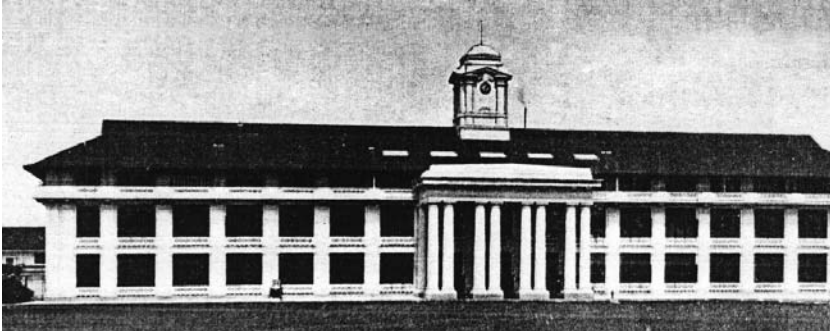
Figure 7.7
The clock tower and
entrance portico of the
European scheme. NAS.
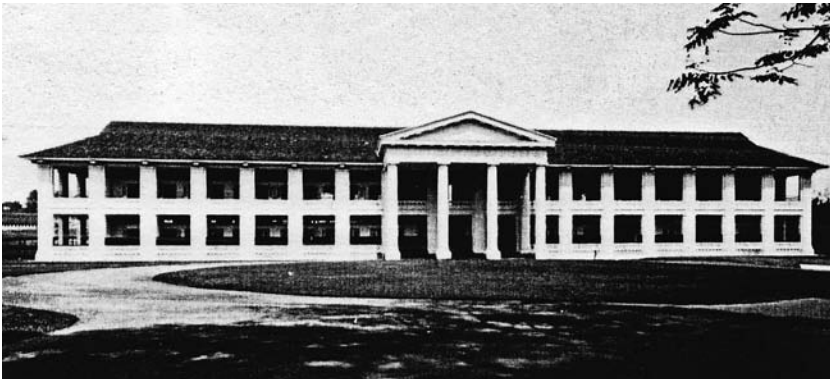
Figure 7.8
The entry portico of the
Native scheme. NAS.

surveillance; their emphasis was on the internal arrangement of spaces, rather than external architectural effects. When the new general hospital is compared to the two other general hospitals being built at around the same time in Penang and Malacca, the other two cities in the Straits Settlements, it also appears unusually historicist, adorned with Doric columns, domed clock tower and other neoclassical embellishments. How could we understand this stylistic peculiarity of the new Singapore General Hospital?

In *Ornamentalism*, David Cannadine (2007) argued that spectacles, rituals and honours were central to British imperialism in terms of acting out and symbolising the hierarchical nature of the imperial society and legitimising the imperial order of things. He showed the intricate ways in which the British went about devising this elaborate pomp and pageantry and how they operated. Although Cannadine did not really discuss it, architecture was central to such pomp and pageantry, not only as a setting but as a display in and of itself. Could the new Singapore General Hospital not be understood along this line, as part of the colonial ornamentalism that sought to symbolise the colonial state's commitment to the health and welfare of the 'native' population? Foucault (1990 [1978]: 135–145) contrasted biopower (i.e. the power to invest in and optimise the biological life of the population) with sovereign power (i.e. the power to kill). He even, on occasions, suggested that biopower displaced sovereign power. In Foucault's

(1991) conception of governmentality, modern power was part of a triangle of sovereignty–discipline–government in which all different forms of power co-exist to varying extents. Drawing on that insight, Stephen Legg (2007) has argued that sovereignty and biopolitics were especially complementary in the colonial context. Here, the display of sovereign power, through the performance of its authority and the presentation of itself as natural and stable through spectacles, monumental imperial architecture and urbanism, went hand in hand with the initiatives to 'improve' the lives of the colonised population.

Earlier in the chapter, I noted that Foucault understood the emergence of the modern pavilion plan hospital as part of governmentality, which involved specific techniques of government such as the statistical enumeration of the problems of the population. This, in turn, required an extensive state bureaucracy and the commitment of vast resources. I have argued that both were lacking in colonial Singapore. Thus, statistics, instead of gathering objective facts, became only capable of producing lying figures that belied political reality. That was further accentuated by illiberal colonial rule and the absence of the need for the colonial state to forge consent from the native population. These contributed to the 'accumulation of neglect' in terms of the colonial state's failure to secure the health and welfare of its population. This gross neglect on the part of the colonial state was not restricted to the case of the Singapore General Hospital that I have described above. It was also evident in the failure of the larger public health reform, specifically in urban sanitation and housing provision that were launched together with the hospital building programme by Guillemard. Given the broader failures of governmentality in colonial Singapore, the neoclassical adornments of the Singapore General Hospital complex could perhaps be understood in another way – the compensatory display of sovereign power that, together with the colonial rituals and spectacles, symbolised the colonial state's commitment to the health and welfare of the native population.

By examining the circulation of the pavilion plan hospital in the British Empire, this chapter contributes to the study of mobility and built form by attending to the ways in which the built form mutated as it circulated from the metropole to the tropical colonies. Earlier I described the mutations as tropicalisation. I have argued that there were two forms of tropicalisation – environmental technologies and technologies of government. In terms of environmental technologies, the pavilion plan hospital in the tropical colonies was conceived as an extension of metropolitan principles and norms. However, because of climatic conditions, verandahs were added, space standards were increased and climate-modifying appendages were attached. Yet the underlying principles of the environmental technologies of the pavilion plan hospital in the tropics did not deviate from those in the metropole. When it came to the technologies of government, the mutations were more complex and fundamental. In colonial Singapore's context, the biopolitical regime of optimising life was not offered equally to the general population. Instead, it was only selectively applied to certain segments of it, privileging the Europeans, and then by natives important to the colonial

economy. The differential application of biopower was reflected in the colonial policy of medical provision and was manifested in the segregated planning of the hospital. Moreover, the colonial state in Singapore sought to compensate for the inadequacy of the biopolitical regime through the display of sovereign power. Instead of the purely panoptical space envisioned for the metropolitan pavilion plan hospital, its tropical variation mutated into a hybrid that combined surveillance with the display of a spectacular façade.

NOTES

1   Native is qualified in the description of 1920s population in colonial Singapore because, other than the indigenous Malays, the 'Native' population consisted of a large percentage of transient migrant populations from China and India.
2   Besides the miasmic or environmentalist theories, the pavilion plan hospital was also influenced by the contagionist theory of disease of transmission. In some of the early proposals in France, the smaller wards of the pavilion plan hospital facilitated the segregation of the contagious patients from the non-contagious patients. The use of the smaller wards to classify and separate patients was, however, hardly discussed in relation to the British pavilion plan hospital.

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Chapter 8: International Models, Regional Politics and the Architecture of Psychiatric Institutions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

Leslie Topp

Seven new public psychiatric institutions were built in the Habsburg Empire in the last two decades of its existence. These large, carefully planned complexes were created by the governments of individual Crown lands to serve their populations. Across Europe in the *fin-de-siècle* period, the establishment of new psychiatric institutions was seen as a significant opportunity for high profile scientific and architectural activity. Crown land governments, the main organs of self-government by regional groups within the empire, capitalized on this opportunity, as did members of the psychiatric profession who were based in the regions. Habsburg psychiatric institutions thus offer a lens through which to examine how science, politics and architecture interacted in the diffusion and reinvention of a particular building type. The story of the planning and building of Habsburg psychiatric institutions is one in which a desire for modernity and international scientific profile results in a contested arena in which different versions of a building type – each with its own regional roots – fight for pre-eminence, for the status of model, or 'prototype'. Architecture plays a crucial role in this process.

In 1864, a law was passed that made Habsburg Crown lands responsible for public psychiatric institutions (1864: 140–141). This legislation meant that the responsibility for what was then a branch of medicine (asylum planning) was decentralized and put into the hands of provincial administrations that became increasingly politicized during the course of the second half of the century. This chapter looks at the planning process in the cases of two of the seven psychiatric institutions built from scratch in the last two decades of the Habsburg empire (in Trieste, at the edge of the Empire and Lower Austria, at the centre) and analyses how provincial politics, science and architecture interacted in each instance.

I pay particular attention to the ways in which Crown land administrations used asylum planning to negotiate their relationship to the central state and to the connected issue of how they positioned themselves in relation to the rest of Europe. Spatially, the two institutions were laid out according to more or less the same principles, in line with international trends in the development of the asylum as building type. They looked very different from each other, though, and I see in the difference in architectural approaches and the layers of architectural

meaning present in each institution a series of complex cultural responses to the scientific and political contexts. It is not simply a matter of an internationally accepted model being applied differently in different regional settings, but rather of a reinterpretation of that model, and, in one case, the attempt to design something that would itself take on the position of prototype.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the two institutions, it is important to come to a specific understanding of their scientific context. The relevant speciality was asylum planning, a subfield of psychiatry. The branch of psychiatry known as asylum psychiatry had been overtaken in terms of scientific prestige by clinical psychiatry (that is, psychiatry as practised in university clinics) in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Germany taking the lead in this development (Engstrom 2003). But this did not mean it was an entirely static field. The belief that asylum buildings could be designed in such a way as to promote the healing of patients' mental illness had a long history, and despite the scepticism of clinical psychiatrists and, connected to this, the lack of any experimental basis for its tenets, new and ever more technically complex models for the ideal psychiatric institution continued to be developed into the period dealt with in this chapter. By the beginning of the twentieth century, asylum planning had its own textbooks and reference works, and significant participation in journals and conferences.[1] As was the case in clinical psychiatry, Germany dominated the field.

As Foucault argued so compellingly, asylums from the late eighteenth century onward mirrored intersections present in society at large between power, knowledge and the manipulation of bodies in space (Foucault 2006: 419–511). The notion of the asylum as a microcosm, a miniature world-in-itself, was present throughout nineteenth- and early twentieth-century asylum planning literature (Topp 2005: 137). There was a messianic strain in the literature that took the analogy further, presenting the ideal asylum as a utopia, in which the chaotic jumble of modern society was replaced by orderly and non-violent co-existence in harmony with nature.[2] Around 1900, the asylum-as-microcosm was recast in social terms: the modern psychiatric institution would represent an orderly, healthy version of the world beyond, in which patients would be transformed back into productive citizens for the greater economic good of society (Gerényi 1909). It was also given new impetus in this period by the prevalent mode of asylum design, that is, the villa system, in which a single asylum would consist of a group of buildings (including church, theatre, infirmary, mortuary, and other common service buildings in addition to residential pavilions), often compared to a self-contained human settlement – a village or a small city.

The asylum planning subspecialty overlapped significantly with engineering and architecture. That said, those who published in the field were almost all medical doctors and trained psychiatrists (usually directors of or doctors practising in psychiatric institutions). Architects – whether government-employed or private – were always involved in the planning process for new institutions in the period discussed here, though many of the decisions about the layout of the institution, what was called the 'system' according to which it was built, had

already been taken by asylum planning experts before the architect became involved. The architect's role was aesthetic, which is not to say it was insignificant. The visual self-presentation of institutions was taken seriously, especially by the government bodies whose name was attached to them, and architects' decisions regarding the appearance of the institution (both in terms of the 'urban plan' of the complex and in terms of stylistic gestures and the arrangement of volumes) could be debated in the sittings of provincial diets (Topp 2005: 130–156). The fact that by the late nineteenth century both self-consciously nationalist and internationalist architectural approaches were available to architects in Central Europe (and were taken up by asylum architects) added another political dimension to these asylum projects.

TRIESTE AND THE ANXIETY OF INFLUENCE

An examination of the planning history and architecture of the asylum that was built on the outskirts of Trieste between 1904 and 1908 exposes a complex and at times inharmonious relationship between provincial politics, nationalism, science and architecture in a small but significant territory at the geographical edge of the Empire. In extended deliberations about what international asylum model the new institution should emulate, scientists, politicians and architects negotiated between competing loyalties to the Empire and to neighbouring Italy. At the same time, they attempted to develop a solution that would be both 'modern' in international terms and nationalist in the particular context of early twentieth-century Trieste.

Nationalist politics in Trieste around 1900 were not at all straightforward. Trieste was a multiethnic city that functioned in Italian in a multiethnic empire with a German-speaking central government. Its prosperity as a financial and shipping capital depended on its links with its Austrian hinterland. It had in the distant past been an autonomous city-state, and what Giorgio Negrelli calls the 'myth' of autonomy was revived by the liberal-nationals, who dominated the city council, and espoused a populist nationalism that made a rhetorical point of resisting centralizing and Germanizing forces from Vienna while it continued to foster economic and cultural links with the capital and the rest of the Empire (Negrelli 1979: 157–185; Millo 2001: 400–406; Ballinger 2003: 92). The official rhetorical aim of the liberal-nationals was not to re-establish the ancient autonomous city-state, however, but to see Trieste 'redeemed', that is, to join the existing, active and coherent modern state of Italy, in what would be the crowning act of the Risorgimento. Another important ingredient was the rising demand from the Slovenian population of Trieste and the rural territories around it for its own national and language rights, a demand stiffly resisted by the liberal-nationals in the name of the majority Italian (largely middle-class) population. The nationalism of the people in power on a local level in Trieste, despite their official rhetorical position on Trieste's 'redemption', seems to have been not so much a deeply felt affinity for Italy and desire for independence from the Empire, as a

political tool aimed at maintaining the status quo: Italian cultural dominance, a considerable degree of self-government for the city and, to ensure prosperity, continuing good economic relations with Vienna and the rest of the Empire. In the case of the planning of a new Trieste asylum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we see the operations of this ambivalent nationalism, but also another ingredient, which is thrown into relief by the attention to the asylum project as a scientific activity: the way the planners saw their activities in an international context and oriented themselves neither entirely to Austria, nor entirely to Italy, but in large part toward Germany, where the asylum building type was seen to exist in its most advanced scientific form.

In the 1890s, planning began for the Trieste asylum, inaugurated by two politically loaded trips to study institutions abroad. In 1896, two Trieste government officials (the heads of the engineering and hygiene authorities) and two prominent Trieste psychiatrists, working on behalf of the municipal authorities, developed a brief for the new institution.[3] It contained a preamble, in which they presented the brief as issuing directly from observations made on two research trips abroad (1896a: 1–2). The first trip, in 1895, was to Italy, to see the most recent psychiatric institutions there, in Florence, Quarto al Mare (Genoa), Collegno and Brescia. The second, in 1896, was to Lower Austria, to see the institution at Kierling-Gugging, near Vienna, and to Saxony, in Germany, to see the Alt-Scherbitz asylum near Leipzig. On these trips, they 'assembled a large number of interesting observations about the architectural particulars and the organisation' of the institutions they visited (1896a: 1). International study trips such as this were seen by asylum planning experts as essential components in the development of a brief for a new institution – the Trieste planners were thus following internationally accepted good practice (Müller 2004). Gustav Kolb, German asylum director and author of a guide to the planning of asylums, advocated that 'psychiatrists and architects should study [existing] institutions over a period of months according to a precisely made plan, and stay in each individual institution for a week or more'. They should in the process assemble a 'collection of ground plans, which get their value from the individual point of view of the observer' (Kolb 1907: 1:iii).

The Trieste planners' choice of destinations was not orthodox, though. Alt-Scherbitz, built in the 1870s, had become a standard stop on asylum research trip itineraries.[4] The Lower Austrian asylum at Kierling-Gugging did, in a limited way, embody modern approaches to asylum planning, but it was not a standard stop, and was presumably included because the planners felt they should be aware of what was happening at the centre of the Empire. The emphasis on visiting recent Italian asylums had more to do with the liberal-nationals' irredentism, which meant that, in the activities of the city government, existing economic, cultural and linguistic connections to Italy were reinforced and politicized.

If Italy dominated the research trip itinerary, the German asylum was, in the end, the destination that had the greatest impact. An orientation to Italy could not be reconciled with the desire to create an asylum that would be seen on the

European stage as scientifically innovative. Indeed, the brief's preamble showed the planners eager to distance themselves from current Italian asylum-building approaches, as if to emphasize that in their search for the cutting edge, they were not allowing themselves to be swayed by emotional nationalist affinities. They observed that most institutions they saw in Italy, though modern in terms of hygienic standards and the therapies provided, were built with a high degree of centralization and symmetry. They interpreted this planning approach as corresponding to a subordination of the interests of the patients to the interests of society (since a *sistema accentrato* was easier to control through surveillance than a *sistema aperto* (an open system) (1896a: 4). While the ease of surveillance and cheaper running costs made the Italian system attractive, the planners were determined that the institution in Trieste would be characterized by 'absolute modernity', and therefore be built on the open system, on the model of Alt-Scherbitz (1896a: 4–5).

What was at issue here in the preference for 'open' over 'centralized' systems of asylum planning was the desired spatial organization of the new institution. That is, the question of whether it would be built as one large attenuated building, on the centralized system, or as a relatively loose grouping of buildings spread across the institution's grounds. Albrecht Paetz, the director of the Alt-Scherbitz asylum, had influentially publicized the latter system in his 1893 book *Die Kolonisirung der Geisteskranken in Verbindung mit dem Offen-thür-System* ('The Colonization of the Mentally Ill in Connection with the Open-door System'), using his own asylum as a model. Picking up on British innovations such as agricultural therapy and so-called 'open-door' treatment (that is, housing quiet, harmless patients without locked doors, bars and high walls), Paetz developed an asylum that in its spatial layout and built form both fostered and symbolized this 'open' approach. The plan for the institution alluded to an organic, informal agricultural community, or village, with a close connection between buildings and nature, and a deliberate avoidance of 'institutional' characteristics. The literature on asylum psychiatry placed such a strong emphasis on the importance of built form that a modern approach to the treatment of the insane (giving the patient, within an ordered institutional setting, as much freedom as he or she could bear) could seem impossible without the appropriate layout of buildings (Topp 2007).

The word that the Trieste planners kept coming back to in the 1896 brief was 'symmetry'; the key to a modern approach to asylum planning seemed for them to be an asymmetrical layout. A glance at the plan of one of the Italian institutions they visited shows why they picked up on symmetry as the main quality distinguishing what they saw as the outdated Italian centralized system, with its emphasis on central surveillance and public security, from the modern open system as it had been developed in Germany. The asylum at Genoa, opened in 1895, was a single building built around a series of courtyards, forming a carefully geometric and symmetrical composition, closed off from the world beyond and reinforcing rather than hiding the institutional character of the place (Tamburini 1918: 35–37) (Figure 8.1). It also partook of a typically 'Italian'
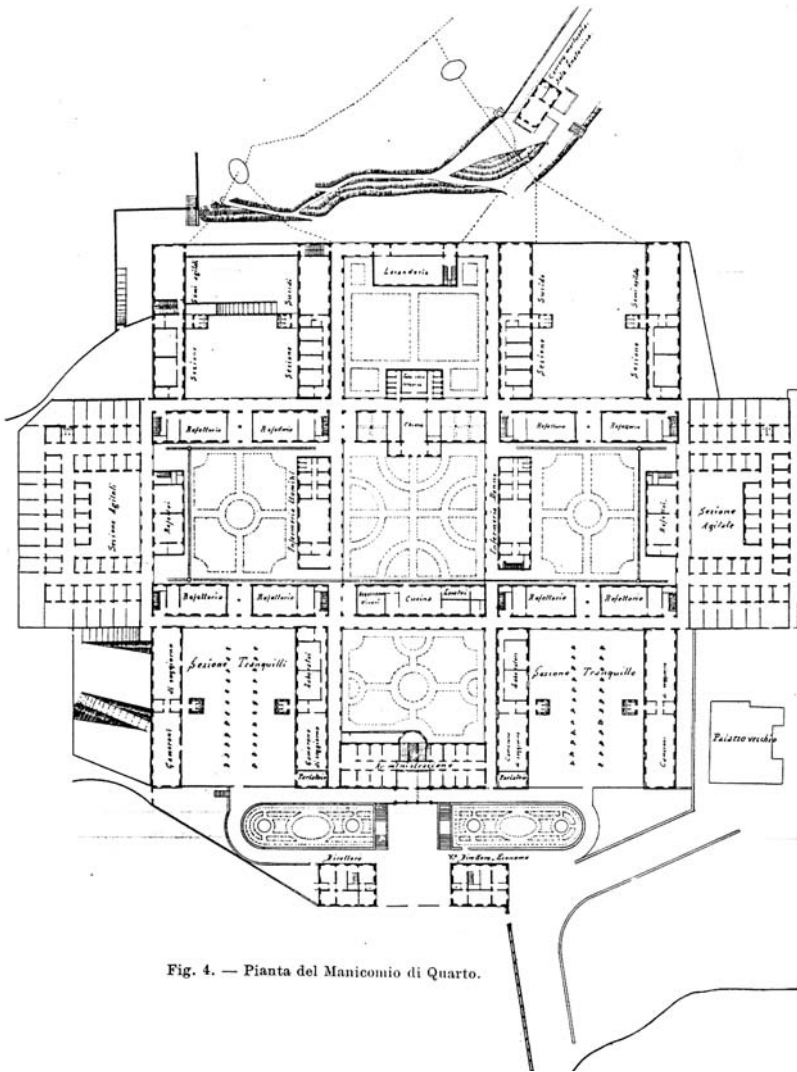
Fig. 4. — Pianta del Manicomio di Quarto.

planning idiom, in its use of axiality and symmetry and the emphasis on the courtyard and colonnade, reminiscent of the Roman imperial forum and the Renaissance palazzo. So the Trieste planners expressly rejected both the current Italian approach to asylum planning and the Italian tradition of laying out institutions around symmetrically arranged courtyards. Was the model they looked to a typically 'German' one? The way organic vernacular urban forms were invoked at Alt-Scherbitz could be called 'Germanic', and certainly the site plan and the architecture of the institution corresponded with National Romantic tendencies prevalent at the time in Germany (Lane 2000). But they could also be seen as part of an international embrace of the vernacular and asymmetrical forms which represented and indeed were seen to generate a kind of authenticity and freedom in

modern life. Other examples were the Garden City movement in Britain, and Art Nouveau reform housing in Belgium (Ogata 2001).

Between 1896 and 1902, progress on the Trieste institution became bogged down in controversy over the cost of the project, the appropriate architect, and the choice of location within the city (Donini 1959: 55–56). A second research trip was undertaken in 1902, which may be seen as an effort to reinvigorate the planning process by elevating it above the particularism of local politics and reinserting it in an international scientific context. This time the participants were Lodovico Braidotti, the Triestine architect who had just received the commission for the institution, and three psychiatrists, including Luigi Canestrini, who had been part of the 1896 research trip and who published his account of the 1902 trip in the proceedings of the Medical Association of Trieste (he would become director of the new hospital when it opened in 1908) (Canestrini 1903: 75–98; Barbina *et al.* 1996: 146–147). Their itinerary covered some of the same destinations as the previous trip had, including Italian asylums and Alt-Scherbitz. It also took in the latest statement in Austrian asylum planning, the model institution at Mauer-Öhling in Lower Austria (which is discussed below), and an earlier progressive villa system asylum at Dobřan in Bohemia. In addition, the group visited new institutions at Dresden, Brandenburg and Hamburg in Germany and Swiss examples at Basle and Zurich (Canestrini 1903: 76–78).

Canestrini's report gives some interesting insight into the motivations and practices of an asylum-oriented study trip. He states at the outset that the trip was undertaken by all participants 'at our own private initiative, and without any official support' (Canestrini 1903: 76); it is difficult to know what specific political context lies behind this decision, but the motivation does seem to have been a sense that international professional and scientific standards had to be upheld, even if no official backing was forthcoming. The group observed closely how a new liberal approach to the management of patients' movements was manifested in 'the particular construction and arrangement of buildings' (85). The relative presence or absence of isolation cells was noted, as were significant details of landscape design, such as the use of hedges and 'ha ha's as alternatives to walls, (82, 86–87). A great deal of attention was also paid to both infrastructural issues (heating, electrification) and the use of hygienic and practical furnishings (floor coverings, beds) (80–81). Canestrini presents here a detailed summary, behind which presumably lay copious notes, drawings and plans assembled by the multidisciplinary group.

Canestrini's report also shows that both the need to take Italy into account – and the desire to distance the project from Italian tendencies and orient it towards an approach internationally recognized as innovative (i.e. a German approach) – were still relevant in 1902. Canestrini also clarifies the planners' attitudes towards a discourse that until now had not been articulated in the discussion of the project: race theory. He returned to a theme that had been raised in the preamble to the 1896 brief: the reluctance of Italian psychiatry to embrace 'non-restraint' and 'open-door' treatment to the full. He claimed that if he had

asked Italian psychiatrists why this was the case, they would have turned to a racial explanation. In insane Italians, they would have argued, aspects of the Italian psyche are particularly pronounced: lively temperaments, impulsive, violent and chaotic traits, the tendency to revolt and rebel. These racially determined qualities made open-door treatment extremely difficult to institute in places with Italian populations (Canestrini 1903: 89–90).

Canestrini was no racial theorist himself. He set up this hypothetical racial explanation in order to knock it down. If the Germans embraced open-door treatment, he argued, it was not because German insane were inherently more capable of living with a high degree of liberty. Rather, they had been trained into it by being exposed to it. Therefore, any population could benefit equally well from it, including the predominantly Italian (but multiethnic) Triestines. Canestrini was committed to the ideal of transformation through environment and daily regime, an ideal which excluded the notion of immutable racial differences. What is interesting here is the opposition Canestrini sets up between essentialist attitudes to ethnicity prevalent in regional contexts and an internationalist 'scientific' attitude to building systems.

The search for an architectural image for the new institution showed a similar tension between a preoccupation with the position of Trieste as an Italian entity within the Austrian Empire, and the desire to surpass such local considerations in favour of the international stage. The 1896 brief for the new institution ended with a statement that a competition for architectural plans would be held that would be open to architects from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and from the Kingdom of Italy. During the debate on the brief in the municipal council, representatives raised the contradictory nature of these restrictions on eligibility. Surely, they argued, if, as the brief maintained, the most important modern asylums were in Germany, that country should not be excluded. In defence of the restricted competition, Francesco Venezian, the leader of the irredentists, argued that the translation and advertising costs of a truly international competition would be too high, and, by including two countries, the international conceit was maintained while the possibility of the commission remaining close to home and benefiting local practitioners was higher. This kind of particularism was rejected by the majority of the councillors, who voted to remove national restrictions on eligibility for the competition (1896b: 267–268).

An international group of 12 architects submitted projects to the competition,[5] but no one project was declared the winner. The international competition had failed to produce a plan that adequately embodied the open-door impulse – and none of the projects were possible under the prescribed budget.[6] The municipal council compromised, and decided that Ettore Lorenzutti, the engineer-architect who headed the municipal buildings office, should devise plans based on the best qualities of the submitted designs. Finally, the commission was given, without a competition, to Lodovico Braidotti, a Trieste-based architect who had studied in Vienna.[7]

Braidotti was responsible for the aesthetic elaboration of the brief. This meant that he took a pre-existing programme that determined the number and

function of the individual buildings and their relationship to each other, and gave it visual expression through the grouping of buildings, landscape design, and the massing and surface articulation of individual buildings. The layout of the different sections of the institution, each with its own function and medically determined position, on the steeply sloping site became in Bradotti's design an easily legible narrative (Figure 8.2). A visitor entering the institution at the bottom of the hill checked in at a monumental porter's lodge built into the hillside, and proceeded up a winding path through a richly planted area dotted with elegant detached Renaissance-style villas housing paying patients. She then came to the main administration building, a simple neo-Renaissance block, which marked the central point of and transition to an axial road leading up the hill and flanked symmetrically by the pavilions for male and female agitated, semi-agitated and physically impaired patients. These single-storey pavilions, which were built on platforms carved into the hillside and surrounded by lush plantings, were a creative re-creation of Roman countryside villas. The main axial road led to a monumental double staircase, which took the visitor to a platform from which to take in a panoramic view of Trieste and the Adriatic. Behind this was the next functional zone, consisting of three large common buildings (laundry, kitchen and theatre), simple 'Roman' volumes on an axis perpendicular to the main axis. Beyond these the visitor climbed still higher, past two simple neo-Renaissance blocks for quiet patients. Concluding the axis was the institution's church and the 'workers' village', a series of small residential and workshop buildings for harmless quiet patients, arranged informally around the church and designed to resemble an alpine hamlet. A road led from here past two tiny one-storey pavilions for patients with infectious diseases, and the combined mortuary and funeral chapel (also resembling a village church) to a rustic portal giving on to the public road running just below the ridge of the hill.

If Braidotti's design for the Trieste asylum was clearly legible, it was also richly allusive, drawing together a range of sources to create a complex visual image. He situated the institution in a particular cultural and political context while at the same time pointing towards universal meaning. He responded to complexities of the planning history of the institution – caught between irredentist sympathies, scientific internationalism and a focus on local concerns – with a design that acknowledged those complexities while attempting a coherent synthesis. For his visual articulation of the buildings, rather than adopting an abstract ahistorical modernism (which he would have seen at the Mauer-Öhling asylum and which was employed in designs – dating from the same period as the Trieste designs – on which he collaborated for the Gorizia asylum) (1907b: 93), Braidotti drew on the nineteenth-century toolkit of historicism and regional vernacularism. This allowed him to be both specific and subtle in his references to national traditions of architecture. In the context of a city in which the architectural orientation was towards Central Europe and specifically Vienna, the asylum looked distinctly 'Italian', while in no way resembling the Italian asylums visited on the two study trips and criticized by Canestrini. For the bulk of the buildings,
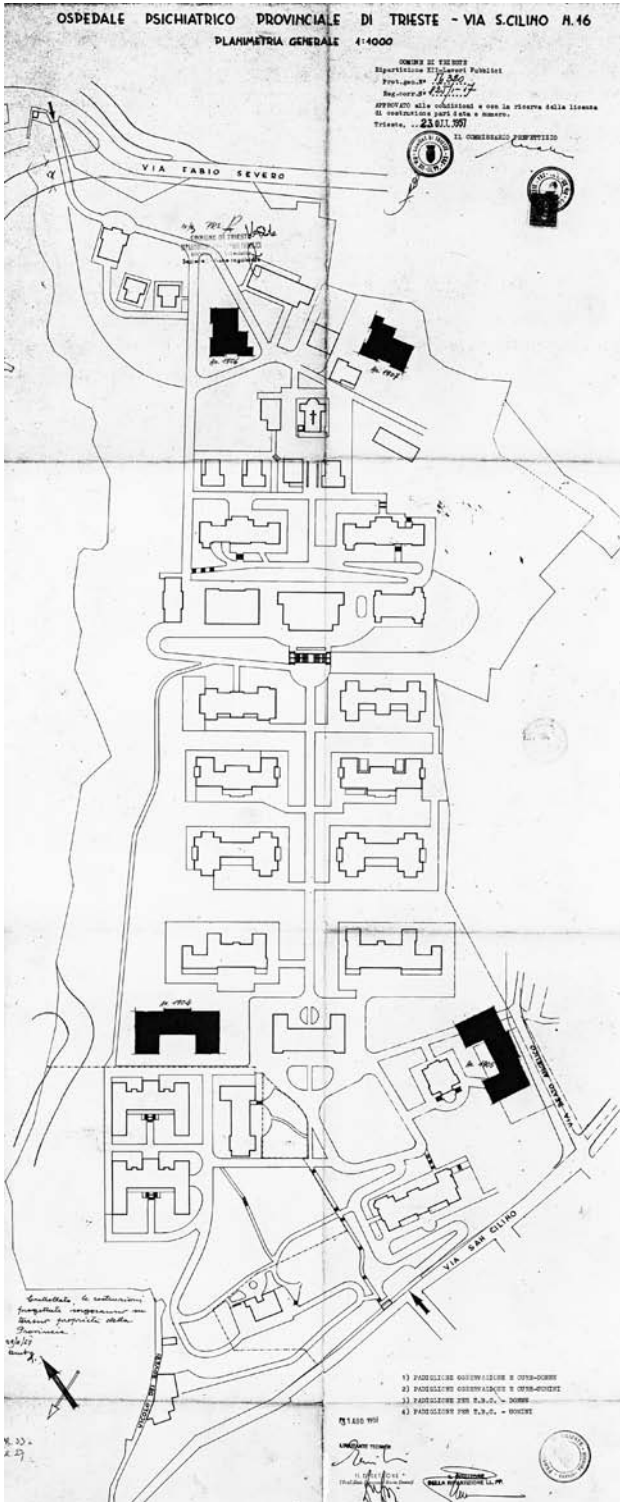
Figure 8.2
Site plan for the Trieste
municipal asylum, 1957.
This shows Braidotti's
plan as it was when the
asylum opened in 1908,
with the exception of the
pavilions shown shaded,
which were added in the
1950s, and the pavilion at
the bottom right, which
has been doubled in size.
The three large pavilions
at the bottom left were
included in the original
design but constituted a
separate institution, the
Hospital for Chronic
Patients. Comune di
Trieste, Pianificazione
Urbana, Archivio tecnico
disegni, Box P. 62.

those housing patients, the aspects of the Italian architectural tradition employed by Braidotti were not from the world of institutions but from the domestic realm, and particularly from the residential architecture of the suburbs and countryside.

The paying patients lived in villas in the Italian Renaissance style which, free-standing and surrounded by gardens, would have been familiar from wealthy villa districts in the nineteenth-century suburbs of Italian and other European cities (indeed, Braidotti seems to have wanted his buildings in this zone of the complex to resemble an existing Renaissance-style villa on the property).[8] The pavilions for pauper patients on either side of the main axis (Figure 8.3) reached back to ancient sources, or rather a vision of what ancient Roman rural life would have looked like. With their low horizontal massing – a single storey over a heavy rusticated base – unpretentious 'natural' use of columns on entrance porches and inset verandas (where the columns were covered with flowering vines), flat roofs with overhanging wooden eaves, brightly painted friezes and large, regularly spaced windows with wooden shutters, these buildings appear to be imaginative re-creations of modest Roman countryside villas. Braidotti was not drawing on Roman architecture as a source of classical monumentality but seems to have been trying to re-create a sense of simple healthfulness and connection to nature that would have characterized the rural domestic architecture of the ancient Italian past. The quiet 'working' patients occupied buildings that invoked yet another type, that was shared by Italy, the German-speaking lands of Austria, Germany and Switzerland – the village houses of the alps, compact volumes with pitched roofs, carved wooden pillars supporting overhanging eaves, and colourful painted wall frescos (Figure 8.4).[9] The common buildings similarly

Figure 8.3
Trieste asylum, pavilion for semi-agitated male pauper patients. Donini 1959: n.p.

invoked a range of national and regional types: multi-functional Italian Renaissance palazzo for the administrative building; simple Roman market and industrial forms or the cross-axis of laundry, kitchen and theatre; and rustic alpine church at the centre of the 'village of work'.

Braidotti's architecture showed that there was more than one way to look Italian,[10] and that an Italian architectural image did not preclude an approach to asylum design in line with current international thinking. In place of the strictly controlled and hierarchical institutional forms of the Italian asylums he had seen, he drew specifically on those aspects of the national architectural and vernacular building tradition that emphasized individual freedom and proximity to nature. In this way, he managed to speak a language that formed an adequate representation of the irredentist identity of the municipal council, while also, with dispersed, human-scale buildings and allusions to 'normal life', following the principles of Alt-Scherbitz and 'open-door' asylum planning.

At Trieste, repeated and focused study trips to several international locations, combined with a desire for scientific legitimacy and an eclectic approach to architectural design, resulted in an institution that was, in its very allusiveness, utterly specific to its context. In Lower Austria, by contrast, travel to comparative examples was undertaken in a competitive spirit, and the goal was not to reconcile contradictory impulses, but rather to transcend them and create a new international prototype.

Figure 8.4
Trieste asylum, 'Workers' Village', showing church flanked by residential and workshop pavilions for pauper patients. Photograph 2006 by Sabine Wieber.

MAUER–ÖHLING: CONSTRUCTING A NEW MODEL

While the Trieste municipal council deliberated about their asylum, more rapid progress was being made by the administration of the Crown land at the political centre of the Empire, Lower Austria. Between 1896 and 1902, the Emperor Franz-Joseph I Provincial Institution for the Cure and Care of the Mentally Ill at Mauer–Öhling was initiated, planned and built on a rural site between the villages of Mauer and Öhling in the western part of the province, near the town of Amstetten. As at Trieste, we see in the discussions concerning the planning of Mauer–Öhling a desire on the part of the administration to respond to and make an impact on the international asylum planning scene. But differences in the political and regional contexts meant that the two administrations approached this international scientific context in subtly different ways, and embraced quite markedly different architectural solutions.

The new asylum at Mauer–Öhling was the product of a government controlled by a party, the Christian Socials, who had just come to power for the first time. They were strong advocates of regional autonomy, but did not, like the Triestine irrendentists, emphasize nationality as a political issue (Boyer 1981, 1995). And while the Lower Austrian administration stressed its independence from the central state, it was keenly aware of its position as the Crown land at the centre of the Empire, encompassing the imperial capital. In the course of planning the asylum, government officials turned to examples of international cutting-edge practice in a conscious effort not only to learn from them but to surpass them in terms of administrative rationality, modernity and exemplary status on the international stage. The site plan for the institution and its architecture helped to construct Mauer–Öhling as a model modern asylum. There had up until then been no central scientifically advanced asylum model in the Empire to which provincial governments could look; the Christian Socials were acutely aware of this, and were determined to create one.

The provincial committee officials responsible for planning the new hospital (led by the elite Christian Social official Leopold Steiner) presented their brief for the institution to the provincial diet in 1897 and, as at Trieste, included an extended preamble, intended to sell their plans to the diet by pressing certain political buttons (1897a). The role of an international study trip was emphasized, at once giving the planning process the prestige of a scientific endeavour and showing that Lower Austria saw itself in an international context. Again a complex set of motivations governed the choice of destinations. The main destination was Germany, where Steiner and the civil servant Fedor Gerényi (who bore the title of inspector of Lower Austrian social welfare institutions) visited Alt-Scherbitz and other asylums in Saxony, and where they also went to see what was being built in Germany's capital Berlin. The Berlin asylums had a strong reputation in the asylum planning world (Bresler 1912), but the Lower Austrian officials may also have been drawn there to witness how asylums were planned in the other main Central European imperial centre. On their way back from

Germany, Steiner and Gerényi visited the asylum at Dobřan, erected by the Bohemian Crown land government 20 years before. Dobřan, built between 1876 and 1880, was an early example of a villa system asylum, one of the earliest built in the Habsburg Empire, but it was not a standard stop on study trip itineraries. Steiner and Gerényi visited Dobřan, and to some extent the German asylums as well, in a competitive spirit, as members of a government determined to establish the international profile they believed was rightly theirs as the central province of Cisleithania. One of the main conclusions they reached on the study trip, as they wrote in the preamble, was that under their liberal predecessors, Lower Austrian provision for the insane had been surpassed by developments beyond the Empire's borders and even by the activities of the Czechs within the Empire itself. They argued that Mauer–Öhling must be used as an opportunity to rectify this situation – to show the world what a well-run and scientifically aware provincial administration could do (1897a: 2–3).

The brief for the new institution (along with the administrative reforms to psychiatric provision) was accepted by the Lower Austrian provincial diet. There was no international competition held – instead, Carlo Boog, the architect at the head of the provincial building office (*Landesbauamt*), was commissioned to design a site plan and buildings for the new institution. He conformed closely to the spirit of the brief and its preamble. The villa system was of course adopted, though in a very different mould from what Steiner and Gerényi would have seen at Alt-Scherbitz and the other institutions they visited. I have analysed the differences between the Alt-Scherbitz and Mauer–Öhling versions of the villa system at length elsewhere, and argued that at Mauer–Öhling the self-professed humanitarianism and liberalism of Alt-Scherbitz are recast as transparency and benign social control (Topp 2007). What is important for my argument here, though, is the way in which Boog's architecture and site plan design constructed the institution visually as a universally applicable model, transcending national or regional contexts.

Alt-Scherbitz was laid out in a flowing, asymmetrical mode, conforming to local geographical features and merging in places with existing settlements. Boog's site plan for Mauer–Öhling, by contrast (Figure 8.5), was compact and self-contained, conforming only to an ideal, crystalline geometry, in which each part related to the whole in a clear, predictable manner. It was emphatically separate from the nearby villages of Mauer and Öhling, and if it took any inspiration from local features, it was from the ruler-straight line of the inter-city railway line that ran alongside it. Without reverting to a single centralized structure as was used in Italy and criticized by Canestrini in Trieste, Boog employed axial symmetry to give the group of buildings a unified, condensed form that looked as though it could be easily transplanted to any location in which an open piece of land was available for a new asylum. The one feature specific to the site that was incorporated by Boog was the fact that it was wooded. Rather than clearing the land, he placed the buildings among the trees and built roads and paths connecting them. This meant that for those using the institution the strict geometry and axiality of

Figure 8.5
C. v. Boog, site plan for the Franz-Josef I Lower Austrian Provincial Asylum at Mauer–Öhling, showing the villages of Mauer and Öhling. *Bericht des Nieder-Österreichisches Landesausschusses über seine Amtwirksamkeit* Vienna, 1898–1899, opposite p. 384. Courtesy Nieder-Oesterreichische Landesbibliothek.
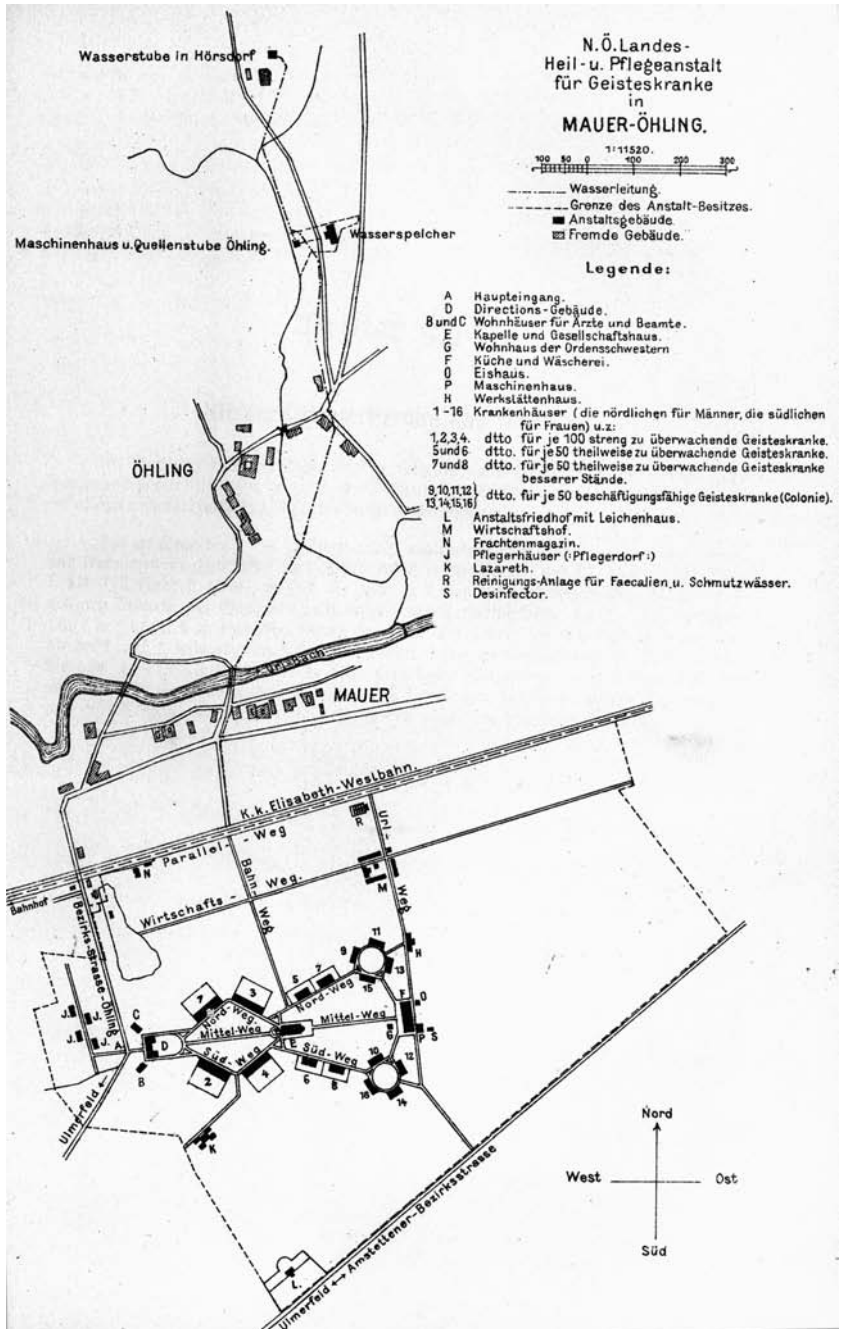
the plan was softened. But the existence of the forest was not visible on the graphic representation of the site plan, which was posted for orientation at the entrance and was frequently used in publicity for the institution, and would have been the main way in which the site plan as such was absorbed.[11]

In contrast to the rustic vernacular of Alt-Scherbitz's buildings and to the nationalist eclecticism I described at Trieste, the individual pavilions and common buildings at Mauer–Öhling were simple, modern and repetitive (Figure 8.6). They consisted of small-scale rectangular volumes with flat roofs, large evenly spaced windows and minimal ornamentation. The motif of red brick with white and green details was repeated throughout, except at the mortuary, which was rendered and whitewashed. The architecture of the buildings and the design of the site plan worked together not only to construct a unified image of order and rationality, but to create the impression that the institution offered a template that could be repeated.

Boog did not invent this mode of design, and it was not an international import. Indeed, it could even be called local, though in a very different sense from the vernacular modes adopted at Alt-Scherbitz, and in the 'alpine' workers' village at Trieste. The close parallels in both architecture and site planning show that Boog was looking to a very recent tendency in Viennese architecture, that of the self-professed modernists around Otto Wagner, who became professor at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts in 1894 and published the first edition of his influential textbook *Moderne Architektur* in 1896. Wagner and the Wagner School produced both site plans (usually for imaginary complexes) and designs for buildings in this period that introduced a simple, clean, rectilinear aesthetic that Boog picked up on and used at Mauer–Öhling.[12] In an architectural context

Figure 8.6
Mauer–Öhling asylum, pavilion for quiet female pauper patients.
Photograph 2005 by Sabine Wieber.

characterized by a wide range of so-called national styles and experiments with vernacular specificity, much of which was being developed by ethnic minority groups within the Empire, the Wagner School offered a 'neutral' architectural vocabulary, appropriate for the capital of a multinational empire. For the Lower Austrian provincial government, who sought to provide a convincing model applicable across national contexts, this approach to architecture was a powerful tool.

CONCLUSION

By the time the Mauer–Öhling asylum opened in 1902, the Lower Austrian administration had embarked on a new asylum project on the edge of Vienna itself. The Lower Austrian Provincial Institution for the Cure and Care of the Mentally and Nervously Ill, 'am Steinhof', was opened with great fanfare in 1907. With room for over 2,000 patients, the institution was the largest in continental Europe. Otto Wagner himself was the lead designer, and the 'model' quality of the architecture and site plan (Figure 8.7) was as emphatic as it was at Mauer–Öhling, but magnified by the scale of the institution and its location within the boundaries of the imperial capital itself (Topp 2005: 130–156). In 1909 the director of the provincial asylum in Udine, Italy, who like many psychiatrists had travelled to Vienna to see this modern institutional wonder, published an account of

Figure 8.7
O. Wagner, site plan for the Lower Austrian Provincial Institution for the Cure and Care of the Mentally and Nervously Ill 'am Steinhof' (Vienna), opened 1907. *Auszug aus den Verwaltungstätigkeit der christlichsozialen Landtagsmehrheit in den Jahren 1902–1908*. Vienna: Wahlkomitees der christlichsozialen Partei für den I. Bezirk., 1908. n.p. Courtesy Ö. N. B.Wien.

his visit to the new asylum that would have gratified its Christian Social patrons. He opened his account by conceding defeat:

> It is pointless to be patriotic at all costs; that which is true must be said, even if it offends our *amour propre*, and even if it speaks well, as is the case here, of Austria. The strongest impression I received on my visit to the asylum in Vienna was that of humiliation, of shame in the face of our enormous economic inferiority. We are truly paupers in comparison to the Viennese. The whole thing is grand, magnificent, elegant, and modern.

(Antonini 1909: 40)

He goes on to bemoan the parsimony of the Italian government bodies responsible for asylums and to argue that the inferiority of Italian asylums is due not so much to a lack of funds as to a lack of enlightened initiative (Antonini 1909: 42). Austria (as represented by a Lower Austrian psychiatric institution) makes Italy look poor, but the poverty is more intellectual and social than economic in the narrow sense of the term.

The reading put forward in this chapter of two asylums, their inception, planning and spatial and architectural elaboration, shows that it was precisely an *absence* of control by the central Austrian state over this particular area of scientific activity and public works that resulted in the new Vienna asylum being received as a statement of national superiority, a blow to a neighbouring nation's patriotism. In the decades after the central government made psychiatric institutions a provincial responsibility in 1864, Crown land administrations emerged as sites of power and self-presentation by minority groups and new political parties. In the same period, the scientific subfield of asylum planning was promoting elaborate and showy complexes that were 'worlds within worlds', with ambitions to reform society. The desire to be (and to appear to be) advanced in this area of science led Crown lands to look beyond the borders of the Empire for models, and specifically to Germany. In the case of Trieste, this meant the renegotiation of nationalist orientations, since the ruling liberal-nationals were oriented towards a country, Italy, that maintained a doggedly backward approach to asylum planning. The result of this renegotiation was not an imported 'German-style' asylum, but a reinterpretation, conveyed through architecture, of what an Italian asylum (and, by association, an ideal Italian, or Italo-European, community) would look like. The Christian Socials of Lower Austria did not so much defer to the German model as seek to supplant it, to co-opt from the Germans the status of internationally dominant model in this area as part of their ambition to assert the dominance of a Christian Social imperial centre. The result in this case, the asylum at Mauer–Öhling, eschewed all references to national pasts in favour of a scientific and architectural vocabulary of neutral modernity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1   Asylum planning textbooks and reference books included Bresler 1910–1912, Kolb 1907, Paetz 1893 and Schlöss 1912. The *Zeitschrift für Kranken- und Humanitäts-Anstalten* focused on the planning of both general and psychiatric hospitals; the *Psychologisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift* regularly contained articles on asylum planning. A series of international conferences on the care of the mentally ill devoted much of its attention to asylum planning issues (1902a, 1907a, 1909).

2   For example, W. A. F. Browne's *What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought to Be* (1837), reprinted in Scull 1991. See especially pp. 176–231.

3   The psychiatrists were Luigi Canestrini, at the time head of the psychiatric division of the Trieste General Hospital, and a Dr Seunig, director of the existing municipal asylum at S. Guisto (1896a: 2; Donini 1959: 49–50).

4   The influence of the Alt-Scherbitz institution was attested to and reinforced by the publication in 1893 of a lengthy illustrated account by the director, Albrecht Paetz, of its operation and the principles underlying it (Paetz 1893). See especially pp. v–vi for Paetz's publicity work on behalf of the institution.

5   Twelve projects were submitted, of which eight were entered anonymously. The architects whose names we know were from Rome, Paris, Eberswalde in Germany and Middelkerke in Belgium (Donini 1959: 50–52; 1897b: 3).

6   Donini 1959: 52; 1897b: 4, 16. Three projects ended up sharing first prize.

7   For Braidotti, see 1939 and the entries on Braidotti in *Fachschulkatalog der Bauschule an der k.k.Technischen Hochschule in Wien* from 1882 to 1887, kindly shared with me by Cassiano dell'Antonia. A typescript resumé of Braidotti's career in the archive of the Instituto tecnico-industriale Andrea Volta in Trieste states that Braidotti was in fact one of the three winners of the 1896 competition.

8   Patetta 2004: 7–30. See in particular figures 9, 13 and 15 for villas in the Italian Renaissance style. The 'Villa Renner', which was on the property purchased by the Trieste city council for the new institution, may be seen in Braidotti's site plan, in the southeast corner of the plot, labelled *villa esistente*. See Donini (1959: 58) and the 1903 site plan signed by Braidotti and now in private hands (reproduced in Luciani 1996: 1).

9   For the promotion of the Italian alpine vernacular by the Club Alpino Italiano from the 1860s onward, see Sabatino 2005: 1: 23.

10   Braidotti's use of a range of styles, all of which could be seen as Italian, was not out of step with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century trends in Italian architecture, which had moved away from a mid-century commitment to the neo-medieval as the

only properly Italian style to a much more eclectic approach (Della Torre *and Prachhi* 1997: 177–206).

11   The design for the original orientation plan, which indicates that it would have been posted next to the entrance to the institution grounds, is preserved in the Nieder-Österreichisches Landesarchiv, NÖ Regierung, Departement J (Sanität) Karton 2443 (Dep. J, 1903), Folder 5227. The site plan was reproduced at the back of the publication marking the opening of the institution (1902b) and in the following publications: Boog 1900: 657; 1903: 41; Klasen 1901: 1011; 1902a; Gerényi 1902.

12   Wagner himself designed plans and structures in the 1890s for high-profile public works projects in Vienna, including a general urban plan for Vienna (*Generalregulierungsplan*, 1892–1893), the improvement of the Danube canal (1894) and the urban passenger railway system (*Stadtbahn*, 1894–1900). Boog, as director of the Lower Austrian Building Office, would certainly have been aware of these designs. Wagner's design for the administration building at Nussdorf, at the mouth of the Danube canal, of 1894, is particularly close to many of Boog's pavilions at Mauer–Öhling (Graf 1994: 132, figures. 202, 203).

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Part IV

Shaping Places

Chapter 9: Trajectories of Language

Orders of Indexical Meaning in Washington, DC's Chinatown

Jennifer Leeman and Gabriella Modan[1]

Hanging from the lamp-posts along Chinatown's streets are Chinese-language banners proclaiming goodwill thoughts of health, happiness, and prosperity. The window display of the national-chain drugstore CVS gives passersby a quick lesson in the meaning of four Chinese characters. Chinese writing may be seen on the façades and signage of most of the commercial establishments in the neighborhood. Some Chinese linguistic and architectural types date to the establishment of Chinatown in the 1930s, some appear on small businesses from before the large-scale corporate gentrification in the 1990s, and others are located on the national and international chains that were part of that gentrification.

With the linguistic turn in the arts and social sciences, notions of textuality have been used as a lens through which to view aesthetic and social phenomena. We suggest that in addition to analyzing the built environment metaphorically as text (e.g., Duncan 1990; Jencks 1977), it is also useful to examine actual linguistic texts and the role they play in the built environment. Units of language may usefully be understood as *types*, similar to the way that we think about *architectural types*. As Guggenheim and Söderström (Chapter 1, this volume) explain, architectural types are crystallizations of structure, function, and context. They are analytical abstractions, identifiable based on observed similarities in their forms and the ways they are used. Guggenheim and Söderström stress, however, that it is in the particularities of the individual settings where types are located that they gain their meaning. In other words, types develop, persist, and evolve according to the specific historical and sociopolitical contexts in which they are embedded. Language works similarly. Indeed, the above explanation shares much in common with de Saussure's assertion that meaning derives from the interaction of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Syntagmatic relations are roughly equivalent to relations between an exemplar and its context (a word in a sentence gains meaning in relation to the other words in the sentence), while paradigmatic relations (relations among words that share a semantic or syntactic

form, such as nouns or verbs) are roughly akin to formal similarities across contexts. While de Saussure (1983) was interested in how these relations worked within language systems viewed as autonomous entities, the discipline of sociolinguistics has added a social component to the analysis of form, function, and context. Sociolinguistics is premised on the notion that linguistic forms have meaning – referential as well as symbolic – only through interaction with the context in which they occur. Similarly, sociolinguistics has extended the notions of syntagmatic and paradigmatic meaning to apply to larger stretches of talk than individual words.

According to a sociolinguistic view of type, then, a stretch of language would qualify as belonging to a particular type based on its linguistic structure as well as its social and linguistic function. For example, a grant proposal and a sermon each conform to a recognizable set of linguistic and stylistic conventions, and are used for specific purposes. The notion of linguistic type may also be used to describe material uses of language, such as restaurant menus or name signs of business establishments. Like architectural types, abstract linguistic types exist across a wide range of environments, their specific form, and their cultural meaning, manifesting in particular ways according to context. Like many of the architectural types discussed in this volume, some linguistic types, such as a telephone sales pitch or a customer service response, circulate nationally and internationally, sometimes as the result of corporate attempts to standardize communicative practices (see Cameron 2000). Others, such as certain styles of handwritten advertisements, may have a more limited circulation.

As in the previous examples, when linguistic types are broadly recognized as such, they may have names that are used and understood by the general public, and they are associated with a variety of cultural assumptions. Both King (Chapter 3, this volume) and Guggenheim and Söderström argue that language plays a key role in constituting architectural type; buildings do not constitute types unless they 'are named and used according to their names.' Linguistic types don't always work this way, however; many aspects of language operate below the level of consciousness, and therefore are not readily available for explicit observation and analysis. Some linguistic types are not named at all, and others may be referred to with a technical term that is neither used nor recognized by the general public. Thus, while a 'service encounter' is a recognizable linguistic type with its own stylistic and formal conventions and function, the name itself is likely to be utilized only by analysts.

Like other linguistic types, commercial and public signs and other material manifestations of language may be classified according to their linguistic form (e.g., lexical categories, grammatical structures, length) and function (e.g., indicating the name of an establishment, communicating business hours, identifying streets, advertising products). They may also be classified according to their physical form (e.g., size, language, font, orthography). Linguistic types are artifacts of the sociopolitical environments that created them and they also circulate nationally and internationally. Both linguistic and architectural types invoke cultural

assumptions, and as such are wielded as strategic tools in local politics, power struggles, and competing claims to space.

Studies of Chinatowns throughout the world show considerable similarities in social and architectural histories. In places as disparate as New York, Bangkok, and Mexicali, Mexico, Chinese immigrants settled in close proximity to other Chinese residents, often at the behest of the government or monarchy. These Chinese neighborhoods came to be stigmatized by members of the respective majority societies, associated with such vices as gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution. In the later decades of the twentieth century, however, as heritage tourism initiatives became globalized, government and private interests around the world embraced the ethnic exoticness of Chinatowns as tourist attraction and means of economic development (Light (1974) on New York; Dararai (2002) and Into Asia (2009) on Bangkok; Curtis (1995) on Mexicali). As Santos *et al.* (2008) explain, heritage tourism initiatives in Chinatowns rely equally on older marginalizing discourses of Chinatowns as places of the exotic Other, and on contemporary commodifying discourses that market safe and sanitized packagings of diversity.

Based on her work in Vancouver, Canada, Anderson (1987: 583) takes a cognitive approach, describing Chinatown as an instantiation of the majority culture's cognitive boundaries between Self and Other. She argues that:

> as a Western idea and a concrete form, Chinatown has been a critical nexus through which a system of racial classification has been continuously structured. Racial ideology has been materially embedded in space.
>
> (Anderson 1987: 584)

Because of the ubiquity of this phenomenon, Anderson describes Chinatowns as a *Western landscape type*. That Chinatowns do indeed form a type, and that type carries with it cultural associations, may clearly be seen from an 1893 tourist guide to New York, described by Light (1974: 382):

> Mott, Pell and Doyers streets and vicinity are now given over to the Chinese … The district is a verifiable 'Chinatown' with all the filth, immorality, and picturesque foreignness which that name implies.

As Santos *et al.* (2008) explain, such images undergird later decades' tourism initiatives. Many of these initiatives include Chinese themed architectural innovations (cf. Anderson 1988; Curtis 1995; Rath 2005; Santos *et al.* 2008; Yip 1986).[2]

Washington, DC has a similar history. We analyze the landscape in Washington, DC's newly gentrified Chinatown as an accretion of local, national, and transnational flows of architectural and linguistic symbols, brought about by circulations of people, capital, and urban planning ideologies. In DC's Chinatown, the first architectural and linguistic types referencing Chinese culture were brought to the neighborhood by Chinese merchant associations who had been forcibly relocated from a neighborhood that was to be demolished to make way

for federal government buildings. These early material manifestations of Chinese went hand in hand with, and reflected, the neighborhood presence of speakers of Chinese, to whom they were primarily directed. These types may also be interpreted as a symbolic claim to neighborhood space, especially in light of the resistance that locals showed to their new neighbors.

Although once the heart of the Washington Metropolitan area's Chinese community, the neighborhood changed drastically with disinvestment and suburban flight following the 1968 riots. Currently, Chinatown is home to only 500 of the area's 55,000 Chinese and Chinese American residents, and the number of Chinese businesses has decreased drastically. Despite this decrease in residents and businesses, however, two waves of gentrification – the first starting in the late 1970s and the second in the late 1990s – have increased the presence of Chinese architectural and linguistic symbols in the landscape. These spatial artifacts reflect the city's current revitalization initiatives; in an era in which DC finds itself in fierce competition with other American cities for economic capital, the city government has created landscapes of consumption (cf. Flowerdew 2004; Harvey 1994; Ley 2003; Lloyd 2004; Zukin 1998) where urban life is commodified through symbolic systems to create a distinctive urban experience that attracts corporate investment, tourist dollars, and residents with upscale incomes.

We argue that attending to written language in the landscape provides particular insight into the ways that the varied parties involved in the re-shaping of this neighborhood have inscribed their interests in the landscape. We focus on the sources and trajectories of linguistic and architectural symbols as they circulate within the Chinese community in the District of Columbia, among US urban cities engaged in redeveloping their urban cores, and between the US and mainland China. Using the tools of sociolinguistic analysis, we examine how the interests and perspectives of various social actors become inscribed in the planning policies, construction, and renovations of particular spaces, and we illuminate the effects of aestheticizing material elements of Chinese culture.

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND THEORIES OF LINGUISTIC MEANING

Linguistic landscape research emerged within the field of language planning and policy as a framework to address questions about linguistic vitality and relations among ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual settings. Whereas most research has considered linguistic landscapes as simply the sum of material manifestations of language in a bounded geographical area (cf. Backhaus 2005; Cenoz and Gorter 2006; Landry and Bourhis 1997), current work in this field is starting to conceptualize linguistic landscapes as social constructions (cf. Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006). Elsewhere we have argued that linguistic landscape research should be informed by scholarship on space, which characterizes landscape as a representation that encodes or obscures the perspectives and interests of various parties (Leeman and Modan 2009). In this chapter, we seek to show the contribution that theories of linguistic meaning can make to understanding larger patterns of

spatial practice and representations of space, in Lefebvrian terms (Lefebvre 1991).

Linguistic theory posits two intertwined types of meaning: semantic and indexical. Semantic meaning may be glossed as the meaning assigned to a word or phrase in a language's *lexicon*, or vocabulary. However, word meaning is not completely fixed or stable, even at a particular historical moment. Rather, as McConnell-Ginet (2008, 2002) notes, the meaning of a linguistic feature (such as a word, grammatical structure, or pronunciation) at a given time emerges through its use as part of a larger discourse, in a particular social situation. All linguistic features gain at least part of their meaning from the sociolinguistic context, but this is particularly clear in the case of *shifters* – words like *I*, *you*, *here*, *there*, *now* and *then*, *this* and *that*. For example, to understand the meaning of the question 'Could *you* come *here* and help *me* with *this now*?', a listener must know who is speaking, when the person is talking, where s/he is located, what s/he is doing, and who she is talking to. Without such knowledge, it is impossible to comprehend the specific meaning of the sentence. This context-dependent meaning of linguistic features is called *indexical meaning*. In the case of written language in the landscape, context is also spatialized; as Scollon and Scollon (2003) note, the meaning of a given sign may be understood only when its emplacement in physical space and the history of its planning and production are taken into account.

Linguistic features can have *social* as well as *referential* meanings. In the question in the previous paragraph, the shifters index referential meanings; that is, they have specific referents, whether tangible, real-world objects or abstract concepts. Languages that distinguish between formal and informal second-person pronouns provide a clear illustration of the social meanings of words. In the case of French *tu* and *vous*, for example, although both pronouns indexically reference a particular addressee, they also index social meanings about the relationship between speaker and addressee. As Silverstein (1976) notes, it is not only shifters that index social meaning; the meaning of all linguistic features is shaped to varying degrees by the contexts in which they occur, and thus to some extent all linguistic features index social meanings. For example, the word *sweetheart* has a very different social meaning when spoken by a loved one in an intimate setting compared to when a manager uses it to address someone in the workplace.

Because words have indexical connections to social information or phenomena, a linguistic feature can become ideologically associated with a particular stance, social group, attitude, set of assumptions, and so on. When such a structure is used, it implicitly invokes that attitude or stance, a process which Ochs (1992) calls *direct indexicality*. And because social phenomena themselves exist in networks of connection, chains of indexical processes may also exist, whereby a linguistic feature may directly signal a group of people, and that group of people may be associated with a particular characteristic, which in turn may index a second characteristic (a process called *indirect indexicality*). For example, in many English-speaking countries, rising intonation at the end of a sentence has been

analyzed as directly indexing either hesitancy or solidarity (Cameron and Coates 1988; Lakoff 1975), and because these stances are often associated with women's behavior, rising intonation comes to indirectly index female gender (cf. Ochs 1992). Silverstein (2003) stresses that indexicality is a recursive process; he uses a system of 'n+1' orders of indexicality, whereby third order indexes, fourth order indexes, and so on establish connections between a stance, assumption, or characteristic and a linguistic feature via an extended chain of indirect indexicality.[3]

Within research on language and place identity, indexicality has been a useful framework for elucidating how people use language to create portraits of places and the people who live in them. For example, Modan (2007) examined how members of an urban Washington, DC neighborhood used talk of femininity, White ethnicity, and fear to index and ascribe suburban identities to other people, without mentioning the suburbs explicitly. Johnstone *et al.* (2006) used Silverstein's model to analyze ideas about localness in Pittsburgh. In the first order of indexicality, certain pronunciations and grammatical forms correlated with speakers from southwestern Pennsylvania. In the second, speakers began to assign social meaning to these linguistic features, often interpreting them as signaling working-class identity. At the third order, the features came to signal a generalized "Pittsburghness."

Inoue (2006: 76–77) cautions that, in analyzing direct and indirect indexicality, one must not 'create[ ] a simulated temporal order in which a direct index [. . .] is assumed to have temporally preceded an indirect one'. She argues that it is critical to trace the genealogy through which specific indexical connections between linguistic forms and chains of social phenomena develop. To that end, we analyze the sequence of sociohistorical processes – migration, relocation, and multiple urban planning initiatives – that have contributed to the current linguistic landscape in DC's Chinatown. By examining newspaper reports, urban planning documents, and municipal regulations, we show how three phases of urban development have led to different indexical meanings of Chinese writing.

We identify four orders of indexicality with different histories and trajectories, all of which co-exist in the current landscape. The first and second orders of indexicality emerged in the 1930s when Chinese residents of the city were relocated to the present Chinatown; Chinese was associated with the residents of Chinatown, used primarily to communicate referential meaning. Starting with urban revitalization initiatives in the late 1970s, a third order of indexicality emerged in which Chinese had a spatialized social meaning: as we will show, Chinese writing helped to demarcate the neighborhood as 'Chinatown'. The 1990s heralded a further phase of development, corporate-based gentrification, when Chinese was used explicitly to help frame the neighborhood as a destination location. Within the context of a built environment engineered to draw consumers in, Chinese writing acquired a fourth order of indexicality, that of a branded, commodified space.

In the following sections, we examine each order of indexicality in turn. In our analysis of how Chinese writing came to mean what it does, we pay particular

attention to how flows of people, capital, and urban planning philosophies initiated trajectories along which linguistic and architectural features traveled to the neighborhood. While both linguistic and architectural types are design elements, they have different origins and circulate differently. Chinatown's linguistic types may be said to have a local circulation; many of the newer signs (which were translated from English by members of the local community) use the Chinese orthography predominant among Chinese Americans in DC's Chinatown but no longer the norm in mainland China. On the other hand, post-gentrification architectural types have a more global inspiration and circulation; DC's design guidelines for Chinatown explicitly look to postmodern architecture in mainland China as a model.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DC'S CHINATOWN

Washington, DC's current Chinatown is an officially designated nine-square-block area in the city's central core (Fifth Street to Eighth Street between G Street and Massachusetts Avenue NW), occupying approximately three-quarters of a square mile (just under 2 square kilometers). The district's first Chinatown was a community of residences, shops, restaurants, and laundries located close to the US Capitol. In the 1930s, the US federal government's plans for new government office buildings led to the displacement of Chinese residents. The On Leong Merchants Association helped arrange for their relocation to the site of the present Chinatown, once a German and Jewish neighborhood (Chow 1996; Pang and Rath 2007).[4] Some White property owners and realtors sought to prevent the Chinese from relocating to the neighborhood, arguing that they would be bad for business as well as for real estate values (Chow 1996).

As Chinese and Chinese American people relocated to H and Seventh Streets NW, they brought material manifestations of Chinese language and culture to the neighborhood's small streets and Victorian rowhouses. These included signs in Chinese as well as Chinese architectural elements, such as the roof tiles of the new On Leong Merchants Association (see Figure 9.1). Brought simultaneously by the same people, the linguistic and architectural elements were part of a cohesive flow which signaled the presence of Chinese-speaking people within the specific territory of Chinatown: direct indexicality, in Ochs' terms. In addition, the use of Chinese language and architectural elements may be seen as a claim to the territory, with the new Chinese and Chinese American residents and merchants inscribing the landscape with ethnic markers and heralding the emergence of the second order of indexicality, the spatialization of ethnicity.

DC's Chinatown never reached the size of other North American urban Chinese communities such as those of San Francisco or New York. Even with the 1960s liberalization of US immigration policy, DC was not a primary destination for new arrivals from China. Further, more highly educated Chinese immigrants often chose to live in other DC neighborhoods or in the suburbs, as did second and third generation Chinese Americans raised in Chinatown (Chow 1996).

Nonetheless, despite its small size, Chinatown remained the symbolic and cultural heart of the Chinese American community, even for those who did not reside there. Chinese-owned stores and restaurants, often displaying Chinese language signs, served a clientele that included many Chinese-speaking patrons.

REDEVELOPING CHINATOWN

In the US, the late 1970s saw increased ethnoracial consciousness and activism among Chinese Americans, and growing interest among urban planners in the revitalization and development of downtown urban neighborhoods. In the post-Fordist era, with manufacturing on the decline, redevelopment initiatives sought increasingly to capitalize on the symbolic economy (Zukin 1998). By the 1980s, these national trends found their way to DC's Chinatown in the form of local activism around housing rights, on the one hand, and on the other, the city's 1984 Comprehensive Plan, which called for new developments such as a sports arena, hotels, and government buildings in the downtown core.[5] The intersection of housing activism and urban development initiatives paved the way for new linguistic signs with local origins and architectural types originating from both national and global sources, which were funded via local, national, and international flows of capital.

On the activism front, residents united in opposition to the Comprehensive Plan's proposal for the construction of a new convention center in the heart of Chinatown. This opposition centered on concerns that Chinese residents would be forced out by demolitions and escalating prices, with opponents emphasizing

a desire to preserve Chinatown's culture and community. In 1983 the DC Convention Center opened a few blocks away from where it was originally envisioned, displacing hundreds of residents. Many of these moved to the Wah Luck House, a low-income subsidized apartment building primarily for seniors, built with federal funds (Chow 1996). Wah Luck was designed by Albert Liu, a Chinese American architect with offices in both DC and Beijing who has designed public and private projects throughout the US and China as well as in a number of other countries. The building incorporates Chinese architectural elements such as the lines of the balconies, and displays Chinese writing on the façade (see Figure 9.2).

Formerly at odds, Chinese community leaders and government planners eventually reached a compromise, agreeing that Chinatown's cultural heritage should be protected and that revitalization could benefit the neighborhood (Pang and Rath 2007). This recognition was formalized in municipal regulations that sought to promote development, 'protect and enhance Chinatown as Downtown's only ethnic cultural area,' maintain ethnic-oriented businesses, and implement design guidelines and signage criteria promoting a Chinese-influenced streetscape (District of Columbia Municipal Regulations, Title 11, 1705.1). The

Figure 9.2
Wah Luck House.
© J. Leeman.

compromise and the resulting regulations played a crucial role in the subsequent configuration of the landscape.

Although official recognition and preservation of Chinatown's cultural heritage was primarily designed to secure community leaders' consent for, and support of, redevelopment initiatives, city officials also recognized the economic potential of Chinatown's cultural heritage. As the capital city, Washington holds a privileged place in international interactions; consequently, promoting cultural heritage entailed utilizing symbols and capital that had local, national, and global origins. For example, in 1986 a gigantic arch, on which 'Chinatown' is inscribed in Chinese, was erected across the span of Seventh Street (see Figure 9.3). This arch was influenced by an internationally circulating approach to redevelopment applied in many North American Chinatowns, and by the development of 'Chinatown' as urban type designed to attract tourism (cf. Santos, *et al.* 2008). As Yip (1986: 111) notes, following World War II, it was common for US municipalities to erect 'gateways and other structures modeled on Chinese prototypes' in Chinatowns. Under the auspices of DC and Beijing's 'sister city' agreement, the US$1 million price tag was split between the Chinese government and DC Office of Business and Economic Development (Pianin 1985). The arch, with design features inspired by architecture of the Ming Dynasty, was assembled by 11 artisans and builders from China; the entire roof of the arch was made in Beijing and shipped to DC (Pianin 1985).

The arch's evolving physical condition has been impacted by goings-on at both the local and global level. In 1990, for example, a massive 100-pound dragon's head fell from the arch and crashed to the street below; the arch's state of disrepair was the consequence of the strained relations between the US and China after Tiananmen Square, which made it impossible for Chinese craftsmen

Figure 9.3
Chinatown and the
Friendship Arch.
© J. Leeman.

to travel to DC to fix the ailing arch, as well as budget shortfalls on the part of the DC government, which did not have the money to pay for repairs (Vane 1990).

DC officials saw the arch as a means by which to enhance local and international visibility as well as to draw visitors. As then Mayor Marion Barry put it, the arch was to be 'a visual symbol of the cultural and economic exchanges which will be part of our sister-city agreement and part of my program to make the District a visible, world-class city' (Wheeler 1986a). The arch's potential as a tourist attraction was also welcomed by the influential local entrepreneurs on the Chinatown Steering Committee who, in the words of Liu, saw it as 'a magnet which will draw people to Chinatown' (Wheeler 1986b). The erection of the arch went hand-in-hand with the city's addition of 'Chinatown' to signs of the local Metro station (originally called 'Gallery Place'), as well as the construction of a 197-room hotel being built a block away. The arch and the new signs, which along with the hotel were part of the larger plan to attract commerce and tourism, helped to bring about the third order of indexical meaning (discussed later in this chapter). These linguistic and architectural elements demarcated Chinatown and officialized it as an ethnic enclave worthy of visiting.

The case of the arch highlights the fact that indexicality is polysemous; the arch indexes different meanings for different social actors. Local residents did not necessarily view the arch in the same way as the city and local entrepreneurs did. In fact, for some members of DC's Chinese community – particularly those who had fled China after the 1949 revolution – the arch had quite a different meaning. These opponents of the project saw the arch in international rather than local terms; rather than viewing it as a material recognition of Chinatown's heritage, as a symbol of the city's world-class status, or even as a tourist attraction, they saw it instead as an unforgiveable gesture of cooperation with mainland China and referred to it disparagingly as the 'communist arch' (Wheeler 1986a).

Along with large-scale development projects like the arch and hotel, the 1980s also saw local investment by Chinese and Chinese Americans from the DC metropolitan area who opened small businesses that offered Chinese products or services. Many of these establishments showcase Chinese architectural elements such as roofing, and window and door ornamentation (see Figure 9.4). In addition, the city installed Chinese-themed street furniture such as pagoda-roofed phone booths typical of US Chinatowns of the era. These elements may be seen in Chinatowns across North America, regardless of the particular regional affiliations of community members. As such, they may be thought of as generic architectural types that index a floating 'Chineseness' that circulates throughout North America and beyond. However, like other North American Chinatowns established in pre-existing neighborhoods, these architectural elements are generally superficial additions to building structures. While such ornamentation is a much less expensive way to 'Chinesify' a business than building a new building, in DC's Chinatown these architectural choices were also due to the fact that most of the

neighborhood is located within the larger Downtown Historic District, where renovations are subject to strict guidelines. As the city's Comprehensive Plan (District of Columbia 1999: Title 927.2 (c)) states, planning in Chinatown should:

> Provide for the use of Chinese design features that do not harm the historic character and structural integrity of the buildings in Chinatown that receive landmark protection.

Most 1980s-era establishments that do not specifically target a Chinese clientele or stock products marked as ethnically Chinese tend to have signage exclusively in English. In contrast, most Chinese-owned and Chinese-oriented businesses use Chinese in their signage. Such establishments generally display signs in both Chinese and English, but sometimes information provided in Chinese does not appear in English. Because these establishments deploy Chinese to sell specifically Chinese goods, such writing is an example of direct indexicality; Chinese language is directly associated with Chinese things.

The Chinese in signs from this period is generally written in the traditional, non-simplified Chinese orthography used by the local population. After 1949, mainland China promoted a new orthography of simplified characters, but

Figure 9.4
Architectural
ornamentation on
restaurants. © J. Leeman.

people who emigrated before the revolution continue to use the traditional orthography, as do people from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Therefore, these signs reflect the local circulation of linguistic symbols while the superficial architectural ornamentation may be linked to a national trajectory.

Chinese-language signage serves referential functions, by providing specific semantic information to Chinese-reading clients. However, the signs also convey indexical social meanings that are less connected to their specific semantic content, and these meanings depend in part on the viewer. For readers of Chinese (most of whom are ethnically Chinese), the signs provide information about the establishment and products or services available, but they also signal recognition of Chinese speakers in the community. For viewers who do not speak or read Chinese, Chinese writing in older establishments indexes Chineseness, in an early commodification of ethnicity. The appeal of Chinatown as a source of exotic cultural experiences has a long history, and for visitors seeking such experiences, Chinese-language signs create a place redolent with ethnic authenticity. In this sense, such signs function like the arch and the architectural ornamentation of this period to convey third order indexical meaning. In the case of Chinese signs used to sell Chinese cuisine or products, Chinese writing directly indexes Chinese things and people. The concentration of Chinese things and people within a given area inscribes that area as a Chinese place. By process of transitivity, then, Chinese writing comes to signal a Chinese place through a second order indexical relationship. Finally, that place becomes associated with exoticness, and in a third order indexical relationship, Chinese writing comes to index an ethnically authentic place. While this third order social indexicality is available to readers of Chinese alongside the referential meanings of the signs, all orders of indexicality will not necessarily be equally salient for all viewers. Those who cannot read Chinese only have access to the various social meanings (direct, second order, and/or third order).

THEMED CHINATOWN

By the 1990s, rising real estate prices were threatening the survival of small businesses, and corporate-based large-scale development was bringing new flows of capital and people into, and out of, the neighborhood. While redevelopment in the 1980s was marked by Chinese-related businesses like Tony Cheng's Mongolian Restaurant, the national and international chains that have joined the neighborhood since the 1995 demolition of a 5-acre lot and the construction of the MCI (now Verizon) sports arena have no particular Chinese or Chinese American orientation. Newer neighborhood businesses such as Ann Taylor Loft clothing, Aveda cosmetics, and numerous chain restaurants are targeted towards middle- and upper-middle class consumers. This era of corporate-based gentrification was ushered in by public–private initiatives that overwhelmingly favored corporate investment over small businesses, and included giving city-owned land to major developers.

Once seen as the future of retailing, suburban shopping malls and standardized festival marketplaces have became so ubiquitous and generic that they have lost their novelty, and with it their potential to draw consumers (Crawford 1992; Hannigan 1998). As a result, many cities have revamped historic districts to make them tourist-friendly and draw people into the city. Because Congress prohibits DC from levying taxes on suburban commuters and much of the city's land is exempt from real estate taxes (see Leeman and Modan 2009), city leaders have sought to increase revenue by attracting affluent residents, local visitors, and domestic and international tourists.

It was in this context that the city designated Chinatown a Special Treatment Area (STA) within the downtown Business Improvement District (BID).[6] BIDs typically stress the importance of highlighting or creating a unique neighborhood identity or brand, as well as a unified look and feel in the built environment. BIDs are a common strategy of contemporary urban planning models circulating nationally and internationally. These models, which generally promote public–private partnerships in the redevelopment of the urban core, seek to capitalize on and market urban authenticity, thereby transforming a neighborhood into a commodified themed environment. As we will discuss later, this constitutes a fourth order of indexicality.

DC's Office of Planning is a participant in the circulation of planning models that rely on historic urban neighborhoods in their redevelopment initiatives; as the Downtown Action Agenda asserts, 'The visual richness, variety, and evocative quality of downtown's historic environment distinguish it from its suburban counterparts.' A key strategy in the promotion of Chinatown as what the DC government's Office of Development calls 'a special place' – a destination location to draw consumers – was the solidification of its Chinese 'image.' As the city's Comprehensive Plan (District of Columbia: Title 9, Section 900.27 1999) explains:

> [Chinatown's] role as a major regional and tourist attraction should be strengthened by … developing a stronger Chinese image in its building facades and street improvements, and by attracting new development to reinforce its economic viability.

In order to preserve and promote Chinatown as a Chinese place, the Office of Planning also commissioned an architectural study to develop specific design guidelines for new additions to the built environment. The guidelines, many of which became part of the requirements for new businesses, recommended the use of Chinese architectural elements on buildings and public furniture such as lamp posts and ironwork – including elements inspired by contemporary postmodern architecture in China – as well as Chinese signage, and Asian foliage such as Chinese Elm trees. Regarding the use of Chinese language on buildings and signs, the guidelines stated:

> Signage and Chinese characters are important design elements. Liberal use of Chinese characters in signage and decoration will provide needed Chinese ambiance in Chinatown.
> (District of Columbia Office of Planning 1989, Section 6.91: 42)

The guidelines make no mention of language access or representation – key issues in language policies designed to address the needs and rights of multilingual populations. Instead, they conceive of Chinese in purely aesthetic terms, which index symbolic rather than referential meanings.

As a result of the concerted efforts of city planners who used the typical toolbox of contemporary urban redevelopment – such as the BID, the STA, the municipal regulations, the Comprehensive Plan, and the Chinatown Design Review Guidelines – many of Chinatown's buildings are now decorated with Chinese banners, street lamps are rendered in the Chinese style, and sidewalks contain visual references to Chinese aesthetic motifs. The MCI/Verizon Center was also designed to reference Chinese architectural styles, with the front entrance canopy exhibiting 'a curved dragon-wall style' (Fehr and Haggarty 1995) (see Figure 9.5).

Virtually all new commercial and residential buildings display Chinese architectural, linguistic, or other graphic design elements; Chinese writing appears on everything from the Starbucks coffee shop and the upmarket natural cosmetics store, to the new luxury condominiums and the Thrifty car rental. The central corner of the neighborhood, next to the arch, is now dominated by a large mixed-use building that alludes to Chinese postmodern architecture, for example, in the cornices (see Figure 9.3, behind and to the right of the arch). This contemporary style provides a stark contrast to the more traditional style of the arch and earlier ornamentation. It is worth noting that the increased use of Chinese architectural elements, and the more universal use of Chinese on store fronts, has coincided with drastic change in the demographics of the neighborhood. Chinese culture and language were inscribed on the landscape just as much of the remaining Chinese population has moved to the suburbs and affluent Whites

Figure 9.5
The Verizon Center.
© J. Leeman.

have taken up residence. Concurrent with this change in population has come a decrease in Chinese businesses in the neighborhood.

As planners had hoped, Chinatown now presents a unified image or brand which reflects the national circulation of urban redevelopment models. Nonetheless, the various elements that make up the composite unity reflect very different trajectories. The built environment retains traces of the generic Chinatown types discussed in the previous section, and many of the new street fixtures and decorative elements index generic Chineseness, reflecting North American flows. International influences are seen in many of the new buildings erected during the second wave of redevelopment that invoke the architecture of contemporary China; according to Pang and Rath (2007: 12), 'the architects sought inspiration in existing post-modern and hybrid buildings in China.' Locally, the Chinese on post-gentrification signs is almost uniformly written in traditional orthography, a reflection of the literacy experiences of the community members carrying out the translations. One exception is the sign for Starbucks, which uses the simplified orthography now the norm in China. Although many Starbucks outlets in China display their name only in English, some also display a Chinese translation (see Figure 9.6). The use of this same orthography on the Starbucks in DC's Chinatown suggests a transnational circulation. Whereas the actual paths and histories of Chinatown's architectural and linguistic indexes criss-cross through time and space, their heterogeneity and complexity likely goes undetected by many. To the casual observer, the overall impression is of a unified whole bleached of historical specificities.

Figure 9.6
Starbucks signs in DC's Chinatown (left) and Shanghai. © J. Leeman and © H. Zhang.

Ironically, although the elements of the built environment reflect the city's attempts to make Chinatown unique and special, they have simultaneously had the opposite effect. Even though the banners lining Chinatown's streets proclaim good wishes in Chinese, and their brackets evoke Chinese ironwork styles (see Figure 9.7), they are very similar to the banners now lining the streets of hundreds of North American cities trying to promote their downtowns as exciting entertainment or shopping areas. The widespread implementation of models emphasizing standardization within the micro environment (i.e., a given neighborhood or urban core) has led to the development of an easily identifiable urban type across cities – the revitalized downtown.

Another irony is that the city originally sought to revitalize downtown by evoking tropes of urban authenticity and indexing ethnic enclaves (via the third order of indexicality), but the second wave's prepackaged approach to redevelopment has led to a fourth order of indexicality. In the contemporary Chinatown, the standardization of design elements, including language, has led to a commodified themed environment. While many DC residents disparage this 'Disney-fied Chinatown' as artificial, we suggest that, for many, themed environments index vitality, entertainment, and fun.[7] As Chinatown architect and developer Liu said, 'you create an image of "city." It's the theme park concept. People say it's fake, but they do enjoy it' (Fisher 1995).

Turning to the linguistic elements of the landscape, we see that non-Chinese-owned establishments of the second wave exhibit a different pattern from those of the first wave. They use Chinese exclusively for one linguistic type: the name sign. Chinese occurs sometimes on a separate sign, sometimes as part of a bilingual English-Chinese sign. In both cases, in such establishments Chinese serves only a labeling function; it communicates either an establishment's name (e.g., '*Ann Taylor'*) or a description of products sold (e.g., '*men's and women's clothing'*). Although Chinese labels are spatially positioned close to the English labels, Chinese normally appears in a smaller font than the English, with the Chinese text less visually prominent (Lou 2007). Although the Chinese writing

Figure 9.7
Banners along Seventh
Street. © J. Leeman.

does convey referential meaning, the primary function of Chinese signs is not referential. English is the only language used to convey the information that one might actually need to participate in a service encounter – store hours, menus, information about events. Thus, in contrast with English, which is utilized for referential communication, the main thrust of Chinese is symbolic.

Our discussion of Chinese in post-gentrification businesses is not meant to suggest that Chinese no longer serves any referential function. Although the resident Chinese population has shrunk, Chinese and Chinese Americans living elsewhere in the metropolitan area are still drawn to the local Chinese-oriented businesses, community associations, churches, and so on. People hang Chinese-language flyers offering housing in DC as well as in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs, and businesses post Chinese-language advertisements for imported herbal remedies and international phone cards. These instances of Chinese writing directly index an active Chinese community while simultaneously contributing to the inscription of Chinatown as an ethnic enclave (second order of indexicality) and an authentic urban neighborhood (third order of indexicality). Embedded in the themed Chinatown environment, however, these signs may also take on the indexical meaning of the commodified language that surrounds them and thus contribute to the fourth order of indexicality. This underscores the fact that orders of indexicality co-exist in time and space. However, they are differentially available to different audiences.

We want to stress that the corporate presence and commodification of ethnicity in Chinatown are not the only forces promoting Chineseness in the neighborhood. Just as the first plans for redevelopment in the 1970s had input from members of the Chinese and Chinese American community as well as from business interests (both inside and outside Chinatown), the recent efforts to define the neighborhood as Chinese are supported by many within the community. Indeed, many Chinatown residents, members of the Chinatown Steering Committee, and city planning officials are invested in enhancing Chinatown as a cultural anchor for the area's Chinese and Chinese American community. One prominent example is the spacious Chinatown Community Cultural Center, a non-profit organization that 'seeks to preserve and promote Chinatown and celebrate Chinese culture, history, language, and heritage.' The Center offers a variety of classes, including Chinese language, ESL, martial arts, calligraphy, citizenship exam preparation, and job training. Importantly, the Center's treatment of Chinese language and culture contrasts with corporate businesses' approach. Whereas the latter use Chinese linguistic and architectural elements superficially (physically and metaphorically), the Center ties language and culture to social interaction and education.

The Office of Planning finds itself walking a thin line between creating a future for the neighborhood as a cultural anchor that facilitates the creation of community and meets community needs, and a themed landscape that simply promotes consumerism. New initiatives currently underway signal a more holistic and inclusive approach to redevelopment; the new Chinatown Cultural Develop-

ment Strategy brings the Office of Planning together with the Mayor's Office on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs and other professionals in the areas of urban design and planning, economic development, and cultural development, as well as members of the local community.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing language in the environment, we hope to have broadened perceptions of symbolic meaning in the built environment. In contrast with other semiotic systems, language has distinct, specific referential meaning in addition to symbolic meanings. Linguistic signs generally signify at both the symbolic and the referential levels simultaneously, and in this way they function differently from other types of signs. What makes DC's Chinatown a particularly interesting case of language use is that within the larger context of spatial commodification, language becomes divorced from its referential meaning. Although the words on signs do encode referential meaning (i.e. they are not nonsensical), the fact that referential meaning is largely limited to labeling functions and that the intent of Chinese writing is aesthetic (*pace* the Chinatown Design Review Guidelines), means that symbolic meanings dominate. However, as social actors, we expect language to work referentially, and thus we accord it greater weight beyond the 'merely' symbolic. The traces of 'authentic' referential meaning associated with language are what give Chinese writing such impact in DC's Chinatown.

The Chinatown landscape is constituted by architectural and linguistic types that have found their way to the neighborhood through local, national, and transnational circulations of capital, people, and planning philosophies. These circulations do not flow in orderly patterns; the historically sensitive indexical approach we adopt elucidates the twists and turns that have formed a multi-layered latticework. Furthermore, examining the orders of indexical meaning reveals how disparate interests have coalesced to form the contemporary Chinatown landscape. While many observers view Chinatown as a mere façade, the approach we suggest emphasizes the multiple overlapping layers that make up the landscape, illuminating it as a place rich with the traces of social action – of residents staking a claim to territory, activists promoting their place at the city government table, a city coping with a political status that inhibits it from gaining the revenues it needs to function, of creativity and greed. Put simply, an analysis of indexical chains of meaning allows us to read the architectural and linguistic forms in Chinatown as artifacts that reflect the intricate politics of social life in urban settings.

NOTES

1   Our thanks to Scott Kiesling for his suggestions regarding orders of indexicality, as well as to Michael Guggenheim and Ola Söderström for their helpful comments. We would also like to thank Xu Huafang, Ben Kao, Hai Zhang, and Weili Zhao for their Chinese – English translations.

2   Given that the touristic promotion of Chinatown as an ethnic enclave occurs in Penang (Teo 2003) as well as Sydney (Pang and Rath 2007), and that ornate gateways, lions, and hanging lanterns are part and parcel of tourism initiatives in Bangkok as well as Amsterdam (Rath 2005), it seems fair to say that Chinatown is not only a *Western* landscape type.

3   Silverstein's model differs from Ochs' in that for Silverstein, first order indexicality is under the level of conscious awareness, whereas for Ochs, direct indexical connections are available to speakers. We follow Ochs' perspective by and large, although we borrow from Silverstein the notion of 'n+1' orders of indexicality, in order to differentiate between the various links in indirect indexical processes.

4   These groups moved to various, more spacious neighborhoods to the north.

5   In this first stage of redevelopment, most of the projects called for in the Comprehensive Plan did not materialize. It was not until the second stage of redevelopment that the recommendations of the Comprehensive Plan came to fruition. The plan itself was revised in 1999.

6   BIDs are spatially based public–private non-profit organizations that levy fees on businesses to supplement public services such as street cleaning, security, and maintenance of street fixtures.

7   It is not a coincidence that F Street also bears a street sign proclaiming it to be 'Fun Street.'

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Chapter 10: Forms and Flows in the Contemporary Transformations of Palermo's City Centre

Ola Söderström

INTRODUCTION[1]

Cities are transformed under variable historical and social conditions. One way of characterising this phenomenon is to talk about regimes defined as systems of local governance. My hypothesis is that the processes analysed by authors dealing with contemporary situations in this volume, including the case study on which my contribution is based, may be understood as instances of a cosmopolitan city-building regime.[2] In other words, they are related to forms of governance in which translocal flows play a crucial role. This type of regime, which relies on a series of actors' competence to navigate between different cultural references, allows or disallows certain types of flows and plays a central role in shaping urban forms that increasingly mingle different aesthetics and typological solutions. Most often, analyses of urban regime change are based on general diagnoses of governance change in terms of political economic theory (Harvey 1989; Hall and Hubbard 1998; Brenner 2004) or political histories of local governance (Stone 1989, 2005). In this chapter, I follow a slightly different route by focusing on changes in urban forms. Although I will not therefore develop a classical urban regime analysis, I will use it to frame the analysis of these forms. It will allow me to locate them within a historically shaped system of action, comparable to other systems of action elsewhere, instead of considering them as free-floating, idiosyncratic urban features.

The case I study is Palermo in Sicily that has a peculiar urban history with a recent and quite dramatic regime change. The study deals with the nexus between forms and flows in the recent transformations of the city.[3] By forms, I will refer to built form, but also to the interior design of places and to that of urban public spaces. By flows I will refer to the mobility of persons, ideas and capital. Different research questions have oriented the study on which this text is based: how does an urban regime affect the openness of the city to translocal influences, and what happens when the local governmental regime changes? How do ideas about urban space and form circulate across space to finally 'land' in a city such as Palermo? How do the translocal influences translate into the creation of actual urban and architectural form and to what extent do these forms

shape new urban practices and identities in the city? The focus is on the first two questions but the second two are considered as well.

This chapter will, first, discuss the concepts and approach framing the research: urban regime theory, the idea of a cosmopolitan city-building regime along with the form and flows nexus. I will then move on to introduce the case of Palermo and the changes in local governance over the past 15 years and focus on a series of 'biographies of artefacts' exploring the mediations through which these forms were imported in Palermo and how they have been (or not) adapted to suit local needs, practices or representations of urban life. In my conclusion I will return to my heuristic hypothesis and discuss in what ways the change in urban form is involved with cosmopolitan city-building regime.

A COSMOPOLITAN CITY-BUILDING REGIME

Over two decades ago, the geographer David Ley wrote about the material imprint in Vancouver's urban landscape of two successive local governments between 1968 and 1986. Their different political orientations – one liberal, the other neo-conservative – were, he showed, legible in the urban fabric: each government had created its coalition, agenda and style (Ley 1987). What Ley described is how different concepts and approaches may be used to define and understand such coalitions and programmes, all with their advantages and drawbacks. The approach most suited for the purpose at hand here is urban regime theory. First formulated by Clarence Stone in his study of urban politics in the city of Atlanta between 1946 and 1988, this theory 'centers on the question of how local communities are governed. How do they establish and pursue problem-solving priorities' (Stone 2005: 328–329). Urban regimes are defined as an 'informal arrangement by which public bodies and private interests function together to make and carry out governing decisions' (Stone 1989: 179). Their study is twofold: the first aspect involves historical investigation into 'how an agenda came to be framed in a particular way, what brought coalition partners together […] the other, more abstract side of regime analysis, centres on a model of how governing arrangements operate' (Stone 2005: 331). Stone's theory is not a grand theory of urban change, but a middle-range theory which 'concerns how local agency fits into the play of larger forces' (Stone 2005: 324) and insists on the necessity of historical depth.

Stone's theory has been criticised for being too dependent on the context in which it was developed (the US) and therefore not sensitive to the logics of urban governance in other regions and countries of the world (Pierre 2005). The private sector and public–private partnerships carry, it has been argued, less weight in European cities. However, the US governance model has tended to spread in many countries during the two decades following Stone's study of Atlanta, thus increasing the geographical scope of his theory and weakening the efficacy of that critique.

Political economic analyses of urban regime change have insisted on the impact of the neo-liberal turn in the late 1970s on urban governance. 'Privatism'

(Barnekov *et al.*, 1989), 'Entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989; Hall and Hubbard 1998) and 'Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime' (Jessop 2002) are different terms used to designate, within this approach to urban change, a shift away from a social welfare approach to an approach centred on economic growth.[4] I do not contest the role of this shift. I wish rather to highlight less documented aspects of contemporary urban governance. I argue that one of the general features of urban regime change across the worldwide city network in the past three decades is the cosmopolitanisation of local governance. Urban regime analysis focuses on local arrangements and political-economic approaches on how local actors try to capture global flows of capital. They thus both privilege, but to a different extent, an 'internalist' approach to urban governance. By referring to cosmopolitan city-building regimes I wish to better understand, first, the role of non-local actors and translocal flows, second, the competence of local actors to move between different cultural references,[5] and third, how the two former elements generate new urban forms.

This phenomenon is by no means a new one: cities have always been to a certain extent informed by such flows and, as a consequence, 'artefactual zoos' containing quite different species of buildings. The CIAM movement, but also long before that, the principles of urban form developed by the *trattatisti* of the Renaissance or the layout of Hellenistic new towns have travelled across space and left their imprint in different places. What is more recent however is the intensity of these translocal exchanges and therefore the multiplication of displacements and hybrids visible in contemporary urban landscapes. In that sense, the increasing polyphony of urban artefacts is a distinctive feature of contemporary cityscapes.

Local governance is in this contribution, as mentioned in the introduction, an *explanans* much more than an *explanandum*. In other words, what I want to understand is not local governance per se, but to explore the interplay between flows and forms, and more specifically how local government moulds the latter in a period of increasing mobility and interconnectedness. This requires a brief discussion of what I mean by the forms and flows nexus.

The forms and flows nexus: The relation between forms and flows is not a new question in social and cultural theory. In macro-anthropological theory, for instance, cultural forms, in the guise of ideas, practices or objects, are seen, since the late 1980s, as the product of an often complex intersection of different types of flows (images, capital, people) (Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996). To pick up an example from Hannerz: hiphop music in Stockholm, performed by musicians from an immigrant background, is, he argues, a cultural form that can only be accounted for by following the threads and flows relating these young artists to other places, other social groups, and to specific networks of information and communication.

Geographer Doreen Massey's redefinition of *place* as an intersection of networks: a horizontal, open phenomenon versus place as a vertical (historically shaped), bounded and homogeneous entity has moved our conceptions of that

specific geographical form in the same direction (Massey 1994, 2005, 2007). In both her account and in those of macro-anthropological theory, places are rather undefined as built forms. The shape of cities and their architecture is a quite marginal dimension of their analysis as it is in most contemporary urban studies.[6] How built form is shaped by globally circulating models has in particular, as mentioned in the introduction to this volume, rarely been investigated, with the important exception of Tony King's work (King 1984, 1990, 2004).[7]

The forms and flows nexus may be analysed in different ways: focusing on the forms themselves, on the actors of their production, on the vectors of their circulation and on the conditions of their local translation. While King pays a lot of attention to the two former ones, I will focus here more on the two latter ones. In order to do that, the research on which this text is based has used a series of methods, materials and data: first, existing work on local and especially urban politics in Palermo and interviews with figures and observers of local politics; second, data concerning incoming flows in order to relate qualitative changes in built form to changes in the economic and social base of the city;[8] and third, a series of 'artefact biographies' where we studied, at the level of individual built forms, the role of specific flows (subsidies, ideas, travels).

Forms and flows coalesce under local circumstances according to historically situated power struggles. So, let us first look at these local political arrangements in Palermo, which are critical mediators between global flows and local forms.

REGIME CHANGE IN PALERMO

Changes in the urban landscape have been spectacular in Palermo. From a bomb-wounded, parochial, apparently marginal city it has been transformed in the past 15 years into a place displaying the trendy features of most Central and North European large cities. More than in most other European cities, these transformations are directly related to political circumstances and to the end of a long-standing hegemony of one political coalition. This hegemony had its roots in the reconfiguration both of the Italian political landscape and of organised crime in Sicily in the late 1940s.

Phase 1

Following World War II, Palermo has been characterised by two central features: its role as the capital of an autonomous Italian region (Sicily) and as the international capital of the mafia (Cannarozzo 2000). In 1947, Palermo became the administrative centre of the Sicilian Region. As a result, the city began to attract important flows of migrants[9] from the rest of the island and saw the development of a regional bureaucracy recruiting its employees generally in the function of their belonging to a political party or to a mafia family (Maccaglia 2005). During those same years, the mafia, formerly mainly active in the smuggling of cigarettes, began to move into the more profitable sector of the building indus-

try. The best way to illegally make money in that sector was to take control of certain parts of the local administration, and especially public works. With the election of two members of the mafia, Vito Ciancimino and Salvo Lima, to the city council in 1956, Palermo saw the establishment of a 'mafian city-building regime' that would be hegemonous for nearly 40 years.[10] Elected then as Mayor in 1958, Lima, together with Ciancimino as Officer for Public Works, created a system that turned the city into a very profitable cash machine for the mafia.

The two major mechanisms of this machine were the attribution of building permits and the use of information about re-zoning schemes. First, out of the 4,200 building permits issued by Ciancimino during his political mandate, between 67 per cent (Maccaglia 2005) and 80 per cent (Dickie 2004; 281) of them, depending on the sources, were granted to five persons who were all straw-men for Ciancimino himself. The permits were then given to mafia-related building firms. Then, agricultural land in the periphery was massively bought up by *mafiosi*, informed beforehand by the office of public works that these areas would become constructible plots. These areas were generally sold some time later with huge profits. The system led to what is known as "il sacco di Palermo" (the sack of Palermo) consisting in uncontrolled urban sprawl, cementification of the coast line, destruction of architectural heritage, and abandonment and decay of the historic centre which lost 90,000 inhabitants between 1945 and 1980.[11] Parts of the system still function nowadays, as is shown by the fact that the cost of construction is higher in Palermo than in other Italian cities, due to the persistence of racketeering in the building industry.[12] The enduring role of the mafia is both the consequence and the cause of economic depression in the area.

Phase 2

Two tragic events in 1992 marked the end of this period and led, if not to a complete regime change, to a radical change in local politics.

On 23 May 1992, the anti-mafia judge Giovanni Falcone was murdered by the mafia in Capaci on his way back to Palermo from the airport. Less than two months later, on 19 July 1992, another anti-mafia judge, Falcone's close collaborator Paolo Borsellino, was murdered in Palermo while he was going to visit his mother. These events led to a civic and political reaction in Sicily and in the whole country.[13] The following year the presumed boss of Cosa Nostra, Totò Riina, was arrested. The same year, Leoluca Orlando, a centre-left charismatic figure of local and regional politics, was elected as mayor with 70 per cent of the votes at the municipal elections. Orlando was the founder of an anti-mafia political movement *La Rete* (the network) and had already been mayor between 1985 and 1990 under the banner of the now defunct *Democrazia Cristiana* (the Christian Democratic party). Orlando was then re-elected in 1997 and resigned in 2000 in order to run, unsuccessfully, to become Governor of the Sicilian Region.

This period between 1993 and 2000 saw the advent of a new coalition of public and private actors establishing a new programme for local development. As part of this agenda, a new planning regulation was developed in 1993 by

Pierluigi Cervellati, famous for his preservationist plan in Bologna in the late 1970s, the historian of architecture Leonardo Benevolo and the architect Italo Insolera. To commission these renowned specialists was a very significant move. Orlando had chosen three outsiders while all plans in the previous decades had been drawn up by members of the local administration. While the mafian coalition needed secrecy and closure, the new regime sought external actors, capital and ideas.

The new government's plan had three main objectives: rehabilitating the built environment and the architectural heritage of the city, improving living conditions for the inhabitants and developing the economic activities in the historic centre. After years of urban sprawl and abandonment, the centre became, according to Orlando's expression, the city's 'new area of expansion'. Tourism, in the absence of an industrial base, was to be the driving economic force, and Palermo's main tourist attraction was its monuments and its decayed but architecturally very rich historic core.

In the following years, a new urban landscape emerged in the city centre, comprising restored monuments, rehabilitated housing, places of culture, designer bars and hotels, and new or redesigned public spaces, such as a waterfront park. This landscape was the product of a much more intense commerce of models, ideas, capital and persons between Palermo and other cities in Italy and abroad. From being a very closed circuit, the local economy became a more open one: efforts were made to capture subsidies and investments from different levels of the national administration and from the EU for urban development.[14] High-profile cultural events were organised in newly created culture places with figures such as Pina Bausch, Bob Wilson, Philip Glass, Alessandro Baricco, Jean Nouvel and Harold Pinter. Finally, foreign visitors, attracted by the picturesque city centre and the buzz around the renaissance of the city, increased in numbers.[15]

Three places in the city are iconic of this phase of urban politics in Palermo: Palermo's opera, the *Teatro Massimo*, which had for obscure reasons remained closed for 23 years and had reopened in 1997; *Santa Maria dello Spasimo*, a rehabilitated monumental complex turned into a space for music, theatre and exhibitions in 1995, and the *Cantieri Culturali alla Zisa*, a huge brownfield site turned into a working space for cultural creation in 1997. As these leading projects show, regeneration through culture was the motto during those years.[16]

Phase 3

For many intellectuals in Palermo, this process of urban policy renewal came to an end with Orlando's defeat in 2000 and the election of the centre-right mayor Diego Cammarata, who has been re-elected since and in 2009 is still mayor of the city.[17] Figures of the former administration in particular tend to consider the present situation as a return to the obscure times of the past. The situation is more nuanced, however. The city has not returned to its insular former self. Although investments in rehabilitation and state-sponsored cultural activities proceed at a slower pace, the present local government pursues efforts to attract

capital and ideas from abroad. New projects have been launched, for instance, to improve the traffic scheme (with the choice of the French architect Dominique Perrault) and to develop waterfront amenities.

The main difference between the 1990s and the 2000s lies in the regulation of urban change. While the former government sought to rehabilitate the entire city centre and, at the same time, to avoid the eviction of the poor, the present government is developing an active pro-gentrification policy, focusing its action on the economically most promising parts of the centre, the Kalsa neighbourhood.[18]

In brief, looking back at the postwar urban policy in Palermo, the picture is the following: a long period dominated by mafia interests, a regime change in the early 1990s and then two distinct cosmopolitan public–private coalitions.

In the second part of this chapter, I will look at the material fabric of the city and focus on a series of places created or transformed in central Palermo since 1992. The aim will be to see how flows and forms actually intersect in the transformation of its urban landscape and to identify the mechanisms at work.[19]

COSMOPOLITAN PALERMO

Urban forms in Palermo have become more cosmopolitan than they were before the regime change in the 1990s. New architectural and urban types as well as new forms of interior design have made their appearance in the urban landscape, especially since the late 1990s. As a result, this landscape 'speaks' the material language of globalisation much more than it did before 2000. There is no existing lexicon of urban globalisation however that would allow us to relate very systematically changes in Palermo to more generic changes in the contemporary urban fabric. In the early 1990s, Paul Knox established a repertoire which approaches such an ambition. It contains seven elements: postmodern architecture, historic preservation, gentrification, master-planned communities, mixed-use and multi-use developments, festival settings and high-tech corridors (Knox 1991). Knox's repertoire is based on an analysis of the transformations of Washington, DC and is (probably) relevant for the comprehension of changes in US cities. It does not apply to an Italian city like Palermo with a weak private sector and a very rich architectural heritage. There are common elements such as gentrification and new forms of historic preservation produced by the private sector, but, due to its anaemic economy, there is little related to Knox's other urban landscape forms.

In Palermo, changes over the past 15 years may be grouped within five categories: the reuse of urban wasteland, the rehabilitation of heritage buildings, the creation or transformation of public spaces, bars and restaurants catering for tourists and yuppies, and culture places (e.g. museums, galleries).[20] The regime change described above is one of the mechanisms explaining these transformations, because it brought more investments from foreign sources and involved

more persons, firms and institutions from other parts of the country or from abroad. Two other mechanisms have contributed to opening up the city to foreign flows: the arrival of trendsetters from abroad and the enhanced mobility of Sicilian students.

The renaissance of Palermo brought more media attention to the city. The image that Palermo was not only about the mafia, economic depression and unemployment began to make its way through media and the accounts of travellers in the 1990s. As we know from the literature on gentrification, artists and persons active in the so-called creative professions are classical forerunners of urban change (Ley 2003). Seeing in Palermo an artistically inspiring milieu, a place of good cuisine and cheap housing, more artists, graphic designers and architects. came to visit the city and some rented or bought an apartment in the historic centre.[21] Closely following these forerunners came a wave of visitors[22] and with them a demand for new places: trendy bars and restaurants, exhibition spaces, designer hotels and B&Bs. These places in turn developed a taste and a demand within the city for non-traditional bars, restaurants and culture places. They have also been publicised in travel, design and architecture magazines, and have thereby increased the appeal of the city for a certain type of clientele.

Palermo has not only been the passive recipient of ideas, types and designs coming from elsewhere. In the large majority of the 20 places we analysed, the owner or the architect has wide-ranging experience abroad. The owner of the *Kursaal Kalhesa*, a pioneering multi-use place which opened in 2001 in the Kalsa neighbourhood, is, for example, a local entrepreneur who has worked in Singapore, Sydney and Tokyo: 'I've used' he says, 'my experience as a traveller and had certainly seen more than 200 places akin to the *Kalhesa* when we planned it.'

A particular group of Sicilian students has been very active in these changes: the first Erasmus and Leonardo generation.[23] During the past 20 years (the programme was launched in 1987), thousands of students from Palermo have visited another European city for six months or a year and gained new ideas from that experience:[24] 'I did my Leonardo in Barcelona by the Miralles architecture studio and that experience gave me the possibility to see things that I hadn't seen here: art galleries, artists, exhibitions', said one architect whom we interviewed. Generally speaking, the impact of this new generation of architects on Italian architecture is such that different commentators have talked about an 'Erasmus generation' or 'Erasmus effect' (Prestinenza Puglisi 2007).

These mechanisms are better understood when looking at the conception of three different recently created places: the *Foro Italico*, which is part of the new waterfront, the *Coso Café*, a small privately owned bar, and the *Teatro Montevergine*, a theatre and bar in a former church and cloister. These places have been selected here out of the 20 analysed during the research because they give access to translocal connections at different scales and performed by different actors.

THREE PLACE BIOGRAPHIES

Foro Italico: Practice Follows Form

The globalisation of urban form is produced by the worldwide circulation of architectural types, but also of solutions regarding specific functions or areas of a city, what we call here *urban* types. Waterfront developments are one of them. They are not characterised by a specific built form, but by a re-functionalisation of areas bordering rivers, lakes and seas. Creating recreational waterfronts is one of the signatures of entrepreneurial cities (Hoyle *et al.* 1988). The harbour area has of course been an important point of contact between the city and the sea for centuries, but since World War II Palermo has been turning its back to the Mediterranean. After the war, the waterfront became an area where the ruins of the houses destroyed by the bombings were unloaded, a large highway separating the city centre from the water was created and a funfair was regularly organised.

The project for its redevelopment was launched in 1999 by Leoluca Orlando with subsidies from the Italian state, related to the organisation the same year in Palermo of a United Nations conference on transnational crime.[25] The project was designed by the internationally known Milanese architect Italo Rota for whom the new waterfront is a means to 'reconcile the population of Palermo with contemporary form, which is generally associated with social pathologies and ugliness'.[26] It was finished and re-inaugurated by the new mayor in 2005. The area was turned into a 33,000 m² public park with a series of paths for walking, cycling or running and a few trees (Figure 10.1). The street furniture is made of colourful benches, design lamp-posts, a series of 1,400 small ceramic elements dividing the area from the highway, and 17 sculptures[27] (Figure 10.2). The global result is a new public area resembling the waterfronts of Venice (in California, not Italy) or Barcelona.

Figure 10.1
Aerial view of the *Foro Italico* with the Kalsa neighbourhood on the left and the old harbour in the top left corner. Google Earth.

Figure 10.2
Poles and sculptures
(top), benches, lampposts
and the inevitable
scooter (below) in the
Foro Italico.

These resemblances do not escape the users whom we interviewed: 'It reminds me of San Diego Bay or some American movies with people jogging along the sea.' The presence of joggers, a banal feature of city life in other cities, is in Palermo a clear sign of cosmopolitanisation. Jogging in the city centre is a completely new practice, as is lying on the grass in the city or having a picnic area close to the sea. These practices, are decoded by many users interviewed in the *Foro* as 'American' and as a typical world city feature: 'I'm thinking of images

of big cities, world metropolises, where people come to run and rest. These are cities that I don't know, but images I've seen in movies. Here it's not that big, it's a smaller version of that.' The *Foro* is also cosmopolitan in another sense: it has been used since its opening in 2005 as a place where members of the Srilankan and Bangladeshi communities, living nearby in the historic centre, come together.[28] Before the creation of the new waterfront, there was no space in the city centre other than the markets that offered an opportunity for 'ethnic co-presence'. Finally, users describe the *Foro* as a 'break' in a bustling city, one of the very few calm places in Palermo. In other words, the *Foro*, pertaining to a category of global urban types, is also a vector of the globalisation of urban practices. It offers opportunities for jogging, lying in the grass or simply using a quiet place in the city for reading or eating a sandwich.

Global ideas about the development of the waterfront have also followed other routes to the Sicilian capital. In 2006, Palermo organised an exhibition entitled *City-port*, a decentralised event of the Venice Architecture Biennale (Bruttomesso 2006). The exhibition was dedicated to a panorama of plans and projects for 15 waterfronts on different continents,[29] as well as ten projects in Southern Italy. In July 2008, a project inspired by the exhibition and by the Barcelona waterfront was aired to the media by the port authorities of Palermo. The principle of the plan is to work on the refunctionalisation of the waterfront considering it as what the former head of the urban planning in Barcelona Joan Busquets calls a 'zone of transition' between the port activities and the city centre (Busquets 2006). This zone comprises three distinct areas: one for cultural services and leisure which includes the *Foro Italico*, a second dedicated to shipbuilding, maintenance and freight, and a third to passenger ships (Figure 10.3). The plan implies the demolition of the walls separating the port infrastructures from

Figure 10.3
Palermo's harbour area.
Photograph by Maurizio
Giambalvo.

the rest of the city. The realisation of this plan in the years to come, inspired by international experiences in waterfront redevelopments, would be a further step in the local translation of this urban type in Palermo.

Finally, in May 2008, press releases announced that Limitless, a real estate company of the *Dubai* World group, famous for having realised the artificial palm-tree-shaped island in Dubai, was going to invest two billion dollars in the rehabilitation of the historic centre, the waterfront and luxury hotels. This proved to be a very optimistic and imprudent announcement, but is symptomatic of the present fervour in the local planning milieus for the modernisation of the water-front and the capture of global capital flows.

The Coso Café: 'Copy-paste' Logics in the Private Sector

The flow/form nexus is observable at different scales: in large architectural or urban redevelopment projects involving the public sector, as we have just seen, as well as in small-scale private initiatives. The creation of a series of designer bars and restaurants is a striking feature of the globalisation of Palermo in recent years. Studying the development of such places means observing proc-esses of transformation endowed with distinct temporalities. Creating a bar or changing its interior design can be done in a few months, whereas the water-front redevelopment will take many years (if it is ever done). Capturing trends in terms of activities and architectural style, being ready to temporarily renew the offer, is central for many bar owners, because their economic success often depends on the capacity to create an atmosphere, notably through design. These commercial strategies are increasingly conceived at a global scale. Bar owners try to offer something specific in relation not only to other places in town but worldwide, or, on the contrary, they try to mimic successful places elsewhere. To achieve that goal, the most affluent bar, restaurant or hotel owners hire the services of global designers, such as the British Terence Conran Group or the French Jacques Garcia. Their function may consist either in creat-ing means of social distinction through an original design, or a 'sense of home' through the reproduction of design features used in other cities. They may also combine the two.

The *Coso Café*[30] is one of those places in Palermo. It is situated in a square of the historic centre, which until recently was a non-illuminated, nearly aban-doned area where drug-dealing was taking place. Created in 2006, the *Coso Café* is part of the gentrification process of the area. The *Coso* is their first busi-ness for its three young owners who received financial help in the form of low interest rates from the state organisation for the economic development of Southern Italy: *Sviluppo Italia Spa* (Development Italy). They had been seduced by the design of a restaurant on the same square and asked the same architect and designer to create something that did not yet exist in Palermo. Inspired by bars in London and Barcelona and having in mind temporary bars in Berlin, the designers used rough materials to create a bar with three zones: the bar itself; a corridor-like space with iron tables and benches covered with rubber and bare light bulbs;

and finally a space with wide wooden stairs to sit and drink, as young people often do in front of the many churches in the city (Figure 10.4).

Rough, cheap but sophisticated, the design gives an industrial atmosphere to the bar, which was completely unknown until then in Palermo. According to the architect, a 30-year-old Sicilian living in Barcelona since 2006: 'For a foreign

Figure 10.4
The industrial aesthetics (top) and the wooden stairs (bottom) of the *Coso Cafe*. Photographs by Luciana Campione.
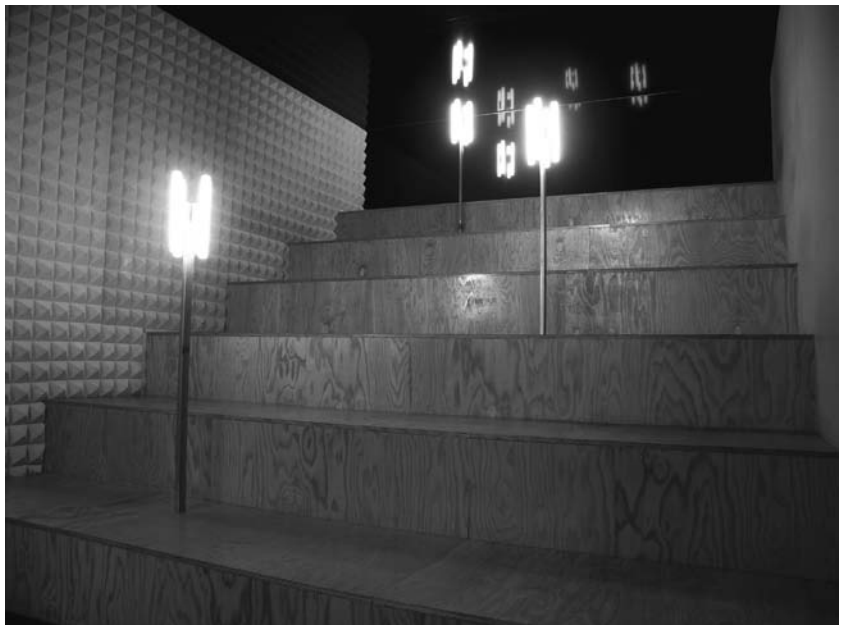
visitor, Palermo is an old place, completely deprived of signs of contemporaneity.' The ambition of the project was therefore to create one of those contemporary signs, avoiding, as the designer insists, any kind of relation to traditional Sicilian forms and in particular the 'sempiternal yellow walls and terracotta floors'. It was conceived via regular video conferences between the designer in Palermo and the architect in Barcelona. It ended up being a quasi copy of a bar in London known by the Barcelona-based architect. Not only is the *Coso Café* an import from abroad, it also contributes to the circulation of new images of the city. It received first prize in a competition for architects residing in Spain: *Valencia crea*, and has since then featured in several international architecture and design journals.

Like the *Foro Italico*, the *Coso Café* is a new artefact that shapes new urban practices. A traditional bar or an *enoteca* (Italian wine bar) in Palermo is a place where customers stand or sit around small wooden tables. The industrial design and the 'stair-room' are therefore puzzling for newcomers: 'The stair has nothing to do here: it's beautiful and they wanted to do something futuristic, but it's not usable', 'There are not enough tables and it's too packed on the stairs' are common comments made by the users. With time, though, going to the *Coso* seems to have become part of a social distinction strategy. When asked about the other places they visit, customers mention a series of similar places also recently created in the centre. The *Coso* has thus quickly become part of a network of places where one should go to be identified as belonging to an emerging cosmopolitan class in the city.

These different places have brought upper-middle-class city users and commercial gentrification to the historic centre following decades of social downgrading.[31] In one of Europe's world cities, like Paris, Frankfurt or Zurich, such strategies and relations between forms and practices would today be banal and barely visible in the maze of trendy design places. In Palermo it stands out as a striking manifestation of a new urban regime.

Teatro Montevergini: Heritage as Friction

Since the early 1990s, and it is true for both successive political majorities, Palermo's architectural heritage has been considered as its main resource and as an element of attractiveness for foreign visitors. Improving public lighting in the historic centre was Orlando's first tangible intervention. It had a clear symbolic meaning: the message – sent to a population highly qualified in the interpretation of political semiotics! – was threefold, first, it meant 'we are acting under the spotlights after years of darkness and opaque governance', second, 'the historic centre is the new area of urban development' and, third, 'pay attention to the hidden and run-down beauties of the city'. The rehabilitation of monuments and the redesign of public spaces undertaken subsequently had pedagogic value. The reopening of the *Teatro Massimo*, Palermo's most iconic building, and of the *Spasimo* were ways of showing how these resources could be used for a cultural renaissance, while the rehabilitation of Piazza Magione, a parking lot turned into

a green park in the middle of the historic centre, showed how heritage could be used to renew social life after decades of life 'underground'.[32] The Orlando government also launched in 1995 a successful initiative aiming at enhancing the young generation's awareness of the value of heritage. It consisted in the symbolic adoption of historic buildings by pupils of secondary school classes, as part of a reclaiming of the city by its residents, under the slogan: '*Palermo è nostra e non di Cosa Nostra*' (Palermo belongs to us and not to Cosa Nostra). Finally, the city council has subsidised the rehabilitation of the historic centre with five successive bids[33] between 1993 and 2006 for a total of 82 million euros.

These different aspects of a well-articulated heritage politics resulted if not in a general appreciation of architectural heritage at least in the growing awareness among the inhabitants of the city of its potential economic value. Since then, residential rehabilitation and gentrification has been constantly increasing. Recent interventions combining reuse, redesign and heritage preservation are part of this process. One of them is the creation in 2005 of the *Teatro Montevergini* in the baroque church of *Santa Maria di Montevergini* and in its adjacent fifteenth-century convent buildings. The church was built in 1687 and contains stuccoes of the Sicilian master Giacomo Serpotta.

The theatre comprises three parts: the workshop, with a bar and rooms for cultural events (exhibitions, lectures), the theatre itself situated within the church, and spaces for artists in residence (apartments, rehearsal rooms) in the former convent. Before the transformation, it was, like so many other religious buildings in the centre of the city, a decaying, abandoned structure which had become a *centro sociale*.[34] The *Montevergini* is symbolic of the second phase of a cosmopolitan city-building regime in Palermo. It is owned by the city of Palermo and managed by the association *Palermo Teatro Festival*, which received the direct support of the present mayor, Diego Cammarata.

Culture in the Orlando years was conceived of as high-profile events (with figures such as Bob Wilson, Pina Bausch and Philip Glass). The cultural politics of the Cammarata era is quantitatively less developed and qualitatively less ambitious (or less highbrow, depending on one's views). The *Montevergini* is characteristic of this shift both in terms of content and form. In terms of content, it is part of a series of places created by young cultural entrepreneurs mixing culture with clubbing. In terms of form, it treats both activities equally: whereas, as the architect of the project explains,

> the culture places of the 90's made a clear distinction between the commercial part and the one dedicated to artistic events, we decided to refurbish the workshop and the theatre in the same way, with the idea that the functions they support are increasingly enmeshed […] it was a kind of easy design that the city needed […] because the true ritual that is consumed here is not the theatre plays but social interaction.

In other words, with this second generation of culture places,[35] Palermo has seen the development in the past few years of mixed-use buildings, with fluid transitions between activities akin to those found in most world cities.

The presence and interaction of this tendency in Palermo with its monumental heritage gives it however a quite distinctive local twist. In the *Montevergini*, the architect had to compose with the weight of heritage:

> I had to build a place which would be neutral enough, a form that would not be hostile to the surrounding monument, but that would at the same time not distract the spectators from the show. Because there was too much stucco in here, too much Serpotta. I had to illuminate these statues, these *putti*, accept their presence but also manage their entrance on stage.

His solution was to create a 'Chinese box': a self-supporting framework with black curtains, working the opposite way to which they normally work in a theatre: it is open when the spectators come in, to allow the audience to admire the building, and closed when the play begins (Figure 10.5).

In other places, heritage is used differently. The bad shape of many historic buildings is not just a sign of poor governance and abandonment. For many visitors it is part of Palermo's distinctive charm. Compared to the perfectly preserved historic centres of northern Italy, for instance, its decayed, half-destroyed buildings (due to the bombings of World War II, various earthquakes and a long-standing absence of maintenance) have become, at least for some visitors, of added value. For tourists attracted by the poetics of the ruin and a Ruskinian conception of heritage, Palermo is the place to visit. Several young entrepreneurs are very aware of this comparative advantage and have played self-consciously with a confrontation between contemporary design and barely restored heritage.

Finally, this conception of heritage has also become an integral part of users' discourse concerning such places. They tend to value this form of heritage: it is described as 'fascinating', 'beautiful', 'powerful' and, more interestingly, they consider it as typical of the city, as its unmistakeable signature: it is 'characteris-

Figure 10.5
The 'Chinese box' (open) of the theatre in the former church of Santa Maria di Montevergini.

tic', 'peculiar', 'specific' to Palermo. As a consequence these new places are characterised as 'unique': 'there are no other places like this elsewhere'. In other words, we have here both an import of design and functional solutions developed elsewhere, and a form of creolisation in which a distinct staging of heritage plays a central role. Heritage is here the friction which counters and locally adapts cultural flows.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have attempted to explain urban change holding together macro-, meso- and micro-scale phenomena: global flows, local governance, built form and spatial practices. I have thus tried to provide a framework for the analysis of the cosmopolitanisation of cities and to use it to elucidate recent changes in the capital of Sicily. I will conclude by briefly discussing this approach and by returning to my initial questions.

Palermo's urban landscape has undeniably become morphologically and aesthetically more diverse in recent years. Foreign influences have also increased in the functioning of urban governance. The City Council now compares Palermo to other European cities, and tries to import so-called 'good practices', whereas it had looked very little for resources and inspiration abroad in the preceding decades. This could be accounted for by invoking globalisation and the oft-rehearsed transition from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989). In this chapter, I have however qualified this shift as a cosmopolitanisation of the urban landscape and described the constitution of a related city-building regime. What is the added value of this terminology and approach?

The lexicon used in urban studies tends to be borrowed from political science (governance) or economics (entrepreneurialism) as it often focuses on the economic and political dimensions of urban change. Using the terms proposed here embeds these dimensions in processes related to mobility and cultural diversity. Every city of a certain size today is cosmopolitan, at least to a certain extent,[36] and certain cities were arguably more so in the past, during the colonial period, for instance. There is therefore nothing revolutionary in the processes described in this chapter, but the approach adopted here displaces our attention to aspects of urban dynamics that are usually considered as peripheral. More generally, focusing on cosmopolitanisation shows that urban change today is related to resources that are geographically widely distributed and to local capacities of adapting and combining them.

More precisely, and in relation to my three introductory questions, I have, first, shown how strong the relation between regime change and openness of the city to translocal influences has been in Palermo. Up until the 1990s, local governance was carefully maintaining a closed political and economic circuit in order to perpetuate mafia rule. Although the years since 2000 have been characterised by a backlash, with the return of a right-wing party in the City Council, a large part of these translocal connections seem to be irreversible. Second,

concerning the vectors of these connections, I have shown the role of a series of human and non-human elements such as tourism, students' mobility, EU subsidies, foreign experts, and architectural and urban types in the recent transformation of the city. Third, and finally, I have pointed to how these vectors intersect with both a (depressed) economic situation and other contextual features, such as the importance of heritage, to produce a new urban landscape. I have also shown that these new elements of built form are used as expressive means and stages for changes in the identity politics of the population.

NOTES

1   Many thanks to Michael Guggenheim and Lynda Schneekloth for their helpful comments on the first draft of this chapter.

2   I talk about a *city building* regime instead of an *urban* regime to point to specific aspects of local governance related to transformations of the urban fabric. I do not mean that this regime is today a universal feature of urban centres, nor that it has no historical precedent, but that it is an important feature of contemporary processes of urban change.

3   The research on which this case study is based was funded by a grant from the *Fondazione Banco di Sicilia* and was realised with a group of researchers established in Palermo: *Nuove Energie per il Territorio* (NEXT). See Söderström and NEXT for a complete presentation of the research (Söderström, and NEXT 2009). See also: www. nuovenergie.org/materiali/Cosmopolitan_Palermo.pdf.

4   For other discussions of urban governance, see Keil (1998) who combines regime theory, regulation theory and discourse theory and Brenner (2004) who insists on the interplay different scales of governance.

5   This ability corresponds to the anthropological definition of cosmopolitanism. For a semantic discussion of the term, see Vertovec and Cohen 2002.

6   But see some developments in Harvey 1989: ch. 4) and Castells (1996: ch. 6) in globalisation theory; Dovey (1999: part III) in architecture theory and work on the mobility/moorings dialectic (Urry 2003), and especially on airports (Cresswell 2006: ch. 9), in the field of mobility studies.

7   But see also Nasr and Volait 2003.

8   It is well known that statistics of flows, especially at the urban scale, are underdeveloped (Taylor 2004). Statistics concerning flows of capital, through figures of Foreign Direct Investments, for instance, are poor at his scale and it is still difficult to produce reliable measures concerning information and especially knowledge flows. As a consequence, this case study uses a series of indicators concerning demographic and economic change.

9   Between 1951 and 1961 the population increased by 20 per cent to 600,000 inhabitants.

10   Ciancimino was arrested in 1984 and convicted in 1992 for his activities as a member of the mafia. Lima was shot the same year. It is largely considered that he was closely related to the mafia but there is no legal judgment confirming that he was a 'man of honour'.

11 From 120,000 to 30,000.

12 The same is true about shops: it is estimated that approximately 90 per cent of them are today racketeered by the mafia for an annual income of some one billion euros per year.

13 The Italian state sent 7,000 soldiers to Sicily in order to secure the island and let the regional police chase the murderers.

14 For example, the city successfully managed to obtain money from the EU urban programme between 1994 and 1999.

15 The number of tourist arrivals in the Province of Palermo increased by 35 per cent between 1996 and 2000.

16 For an account of cultural politics in Palermo in the 1990s by the person in charge, see Giambrone 2006. Concerning the cultural turn in urban policy in general, see Cochrane 2007: ch. 7.

17 For an analysis of Orlando's eventual failure to change local politics in Palermo, see Azzolina 2009.

18 'Recent policies of the City Council administration have been oriented in the very opposite direction, being extremely supportive of private investors and neglecting social and housing public policies' (Lo Piccolo and Leone 2008).

19 These elements are based on the analysis of 20 'artefact-biographies', elaborated through 20 in-depth interviews with architects or owners as well as 88 shorter ones with users of these places. Systematic photographic coverage was also realised.

20 Discussions with planners in Palermo have confirmed these categories as being the most important.

21 This comes out of a focus group with a series of foreigners established in Palermo in recent years. Its decayed heritage and the peculiar charm of its urban chaos were mentioned as factors of attractiveness.

22 The number of tourists arriving in the Province of Palermo increased by 40 per cent between 1996 and 2000, while the number of passengers arriving at the airport of Palermo increased by 87 per cent between 1997 and 2006.

23 Erasmus and Leonardo are the programmes of the European Union aiming at increasing the international mobility of university students and those following a vocational training within Europe.

24 Between 1997 and 2007 3,000 students from Palermo went abroad for one year or six months.

25 This is one of several examples in recent years of funding from the state for international events channelled by the city council for urban developments, in a situation of scarce local financial resources.

26 Interview in 'La storia siamo noi', documentary by RAI television in 2007.

27 These sculptures, made in ceramics by local craftsmen, are a glocal feature of the park.

28 They have become the two largest immigrant communities in the city during the past decade.

29 Oslo, Helsinki, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Rotterdam, Rosario (Argentina), Valparaiso (Chile), Rio de Janeiro, San Francisco, Cape Town, Incheon (Korea), Yokohama, Sydney, Genoa and Venice. A special space was dedicated to the city-ports of Spain.

30　*Coso* is one way of saying 'thing' and is a kind of joke: when you don't remember the name of a place you say 'andiamo lì, al coso' (let's go to that place there, whatever its name is).

31　On the notion and processes of commercial gentrification, see Van Criekingen and Fleury 2006.

32　When describing urban life under the mafia regime, different interviewees used the expression: 'it was like living underground', and explained how the Orlando years meant coming out to the daylight and up to the surface again.

33　Four were launched by the Orlando government, one by the new mayor. The first bids were only for landlords in order to keep the mafia out. The fifth was also open to building firms.

34　The *centri sociali* (social centres) in Italy are (generally) squatting buildings transformed by left-wing activists in cultural centres and/or places accommodating or supplying services to poor migrant communities, homeless or unemployed people of the neigh-bourhood.

35　*Expa* and *Palab* are two other such places created in the same years in Palermo.

36　Even cities in the lowest levels of the hierarchy of the world-city network show today an important degree of connectivity (Taylor 2004: 76–79).

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Chapter 11: Building Stone in Manchester

Networks of Materiality, Circulating Matter and the Ongoing Constitution of the City

Tim Edensor

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine how materials constitute cities, and how these forms of matter are continuously assembled and reassembled in changing configurations. Recent work on mobilities has undermined commonsense notions that places are discrete, self-contained entities. Instead, such work foregrounds how the city, as a species of place, is always in a process of becoming, re-emerging as the elements which constitute it – including knowledge, people, non-humans and materialities – circulate from and through the city, sometimes settling and sometimes moving outward. The relationalities between these elements, and their relationships with the city, mean that they are also continually produced anew. Precisely by investigating ideas which foreground relationality and circulation, we are able to 'disturb bipolar logics of . . . the mobile and the immobile, and suggest the co-constitution of embodiments, landscapes, and systems of local and global mobility' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 216). Here, I will exemplify this continuing spatial and material reproduction by exploring the continuing use of building stone in central Manchester. I will highlight some relationalities between the city and sites of supply, and show how these connections continually augment and complicate urban material composition and distribution. I will, first, provide a basis for the discussion by outlining recent ideas about networks and materiality, and the impermanent qualities of (building) matter, before more closely investigating the always changing distribution of building stone in Manchester.

MATERIALITY AND URBAN NETWORKS

Until recently, academic and commonsense understandings about places assigned to them a particular and enduring genius loci which distinguished them from elsewhere, compounding these essentialisms by assuming that places were bounded, 'space-envelopes' containing distinctive practices, cultures and

features. Authors such as Doreen Massey (1993) have critiqued these reductive assumptions in arguing for a more 'progressive' sense of place, and they have been further weakened by work that has foregrounded the city as a site within numerous networks. For instance, John Urry contends that the urban is 'economically, politically and culturally produced through multiple networked mobilities of capital, persons, objects, signs and information' (Urry 2006: ix). Consequently, rather than being conceived of as fixed locations, cities are better understood as 'dense networks of socio-spatial processes that are simultaneously human, material, natural, discursive, cultural and organic' (Kaika 2005: 22).

Although the city's existence relies upon the continuous circulation of money, materials, ideas and information, people and technologies, networked relations are precarious, only stable for various durations, and often highly complex networks drift into obsolescence and are superseded by new arrangements. Yet while this ongoing (re)organisation and sustenance of networks is central to the everyday, mundane reproduction of the city, it tends to be overlooked because of its invisible obviousness. Indeed, in many cases, the circulatory apparatus of the networks – the canals, sewers, electricity cables and radio waves, for instance – are either concealed or disregarded by most urban dwellers, but these conduits are continuously utilised and maintained (Kaika 2005). Similarly, the daily (re)assembly of the city's infrastructure and practical habits through the supply of goods, information and materials is taken for granted along with the extended connections they rely upon, including the sourcing sites from which these things originate and are fashioned. Despite this disregard, the daily reproduction of the city involves the incessant bringing together of regular and often contingent arrangements of people and matter through collective endeavour to produce a particular but ever-changing material fabric around which particular practices also change continually. In this sense, despite the illusion of fixity wrought through this endless reproduction, as Crang remarks, '(I)nstead of being a solid thing, the city is a becoming, through circulation, combination and recombination of people and things' (2001: 190).

Owing to the frequent volatility and fluidity of arrangements over time, it can be difficult to appreciate the temporal and spatial scales at which networked elements travel. One useful perspective is provided by commodity chain analysis, through which by 'following the thing' (Cook 2004) we might identify the connections between places and their histories, geographical scale and duration. As far as building materials are concerned, supply chains may be provoked into being by a range of factors including architectural fashion and style, the aesthetic qualities of the material, building techniques, cost, technologies of transport and quarrying and stone masonry, political decisions made at the sites of material supply and destination, labour supply, and the quantity and quality of the resource concerned, all factors that are part of what Braun calls 'imbroglios that mix together politics, machines, organisms, law, standards and grades, taste and aesthetics' (2006: 647). These networks, and the mobilisation of supply chains and the production of 'socio-natures' – through which nature is classified, trans-

formed and becomes entangled with the urban – involve 'tangled webs of different length, density and duration' (Braun 2006: 644; also see Latour 2005).

It is therefore crucial to identify certain qualities of the networks concerned – their volatility, expanse, stability and longevity – in investigating the origins of urban materialities. Most typically, as we shall see, supply networks of building materials change continually. The dropping of one source of supply requires new connections to be forged. These previous connections may disappear, along with the infrastructure that extracted, shaped, packed, transported and assembled the materials involved. Often however, traces of these obsolete networks remain, haunting the city with lost geographical connections, histories and knowledge. These connections, of course, also testify to the dependence of the city on multiple elsewheres, and the canals, workers' cottages and, above all, quarries remain as evidence of the networks within which they were entangled, for, besides producing the city, such networks produced rural economies, transport networks, labour relations and landscapes. Moreover, as Bakker and Bridge argue, within these networks, 'properties and meanings ... emerge from the interaction of objects with social processes' (2006: 12). Accordingly, and like other objects, (building) stone is fluid in meaning, value and function, and is the object of particular dominant meanings that change. In addition, its properties change by virtue of its position within a particular network, and later, as we shall see, by its location within a building assemblage in situ.

The historical recomposition of networks, the incorporation of new supply sites and the subsequent importation of new and different building materials contribute to what Massey terms the 'mixity' of the city. Within this mixity, existing matter which is currently not supplied evokes the city's former constitution and the myriad connections that have now disappeared. Massey shows how numerous connections are manifest in the architectural remains of Mexico City (1999), as particular materials and buildings have been differentially enfolded into the city over time, producing different mixities as they change in appearance and texture, get demolished, modified, repaired and replaced, in single buildings and across the city as a whole.

This mixity further underscores how bounded assumptions about place are confounded by how 'the spatial and temporal porosity of the city ... open(s) it up to footprints from the past (as well as) contemporary links elsewhere' (Amin and Thrift 2002: 22). By examining the flows of matter from, to and through cities, as Weiss declares, '(T)hinking with what are often transnational and unexpected vectors of material circulation allows the researcher to avoid the construction of bounded localities that capture only fragmentary understandings of material practice' (2005: 48). Yet despite the insistence that places are fluid and produced by their entangled links with people, routes and materials from elsewhere, it is also important to acknowledge that socio-technical building networks are achievements that are often able to bond people, technologies, materials and places together *for a while*. In this sense, as Sheller and Urry point out, '(N)etworks are on occasions tightly coupled with complex, enduring, and predictable connections

between peoples, objects, and technologies across multiple and distant spaces and times' (2006: 216), whereas at other times they are far more volatile. Recently, for instance, under conditions of economic restructuring, previously apparently solid connections become instantly obsolete and turn to air. Similarly, the recent 'credit crunch' has stalled the construction of many buildings, curtailing plans to supply materials.

As increasingly global capitalist relations of production and circulation expand, contract, incorporate some places and evacuate others, respond to short-lived crazes and unpredictable demand, networks become almost contingent, and induce conditions of flexibility and improvisation where new materials might be sourced from a plethora of providers. In this scenario, the production of place becomes inconsistent, susceptible to the disruption of its stable material fabric, so that new developments, restorations and demolitions rapidly add to the material palimpsest of the city. Nevertheless, most of the time, as Robert Sack asserts, the arrangement of places, despite the numerous processes and origins of materiality, is 'to have things come together in discernible arrangements' (2004: 248). The production of regularity and reliability is a necessary force that ensures some measure of ontological continuity and epistemological security in the physical world. While the gradual crumbling of an urban infrastructure can lead to sterility and lassitude, material change that is too rapid can be disorientating for city-dwellers. Accordingly, much of the mobilisation of networks of supply and extraction involves maintenance and repair, processes which provide an *illusion* of spatial and material continuity, by responding to the inevitability that the fabric of buildings is always threatened by entropy, as I will shortly discuss.

A further consequence of networks of supply is that building material is unevenly distributed across space. Certain urban centres possess a locally available and enduring source of building stone that provides a somewhat homogeneous material characteristic, and yet other cities incorporate a variegated palimpsest of stone matter from diverse sources. There are, of course, certain kinds of dimension stone that recur regionally, nationally and even internationally. And rural landscapes are usually dominated by the stone supplied by local quarries, yet in the UK, this stone may also recur throughout the region or across the urban landscape. For instance, in the northwest of England, the stone formerly supplied by the huge Runcorn Quarry recurs throughout the region. This underscores the material dimension of Robert Sack's claim that 'flows through space are the strands from places that are woven and re-woven to become elements in yet other places' (2004: 248). Most locales are thus constitutive of other places through architectural and material elements which resonate with those elsewhere to produce differently scaled, variously distributed 'interspatialities'.

THE ILLUSION OF URBAN AND MATERIAL STABILITY

I have discussed that a network approach reveals how notions which purport that cities are 'space-envelopes' separate and distinct from elsewhere are

mirages. Periods where little seems to change in our surroundings are sustained by the regular performance of unreflexive everyday routines around apparently stable fixtures, and these practices are complemented by repetitive and reified representations of place to provide a reassuring sense of predictability under conditions of rapid change, though of course, new phases of (re)assembling matter through urban construction may divert the habitual courses of pedestrians and drivers in the city. Ordinarily, however, a sense of constancy appears to be consolidated in the material structure of the city, and is particularly symbolised by rock and stone – matter symbolic of endurance and obduracy. However, the lack of spatial fixity discussed above is mirrored by the material unfixity of the world. As Yussof and Gabrys contend, '[W]hat we take for solid rock and hard ground, the supposed permanence of site, is no more than papier machè in the scale of geological time' (2006: 447). Different rhythms and geographical scales through which material is (re)distributed vary enormously. From the macroscopic to the celestial, every object, particle or other form of matter becomes redistributed over time and space, hastened by moments of rupture, turbulence and fluidity, and slowed down by periods of stability. In this context, buildings are generally less evanescent than other urban elements and processes, and consequently stone is important as matter that is moved to a place and stays for a while to stabilise it.

Nevertheless, in a larger temporal focus, buildings are amalgamations of materialities which result from, re-create and instigate changing circulations. They may be demolished or bombed, they erode, are used for different purposes and are aesthetically appraised according to contemporary tastes. They may be contextualised by modish extensions and the erection of adjacent contemporary designs. As Ingold appositely puts it,

> a building is a condensation of skilled activity that undergoes continual formation even as it is inhabited … it incorporates materials that have life histories of their own and may have served time in previous structures, living and non-living … it is simultaneously enclosed and open to the world (and) may be only semi-permanently fixed in place.
>
> (Ingold 2004: 240)

Similarly, the smaller building constituent of stone, like all matter, 'is not a fixed essence; rather matter is a substance in its intra-active becoming – not a thing but a doing; a congealing of agency' (Barad 2003: 828), an entity within which internal dynamic processes of change occur continually. Accordingly, a separate block of stone is variously subject to reconstitution according to multiple agencies, always liable to lose its distinctive and separate status as entity, and to meld and merge with other matter from which it becomes indistinguishable (Edensor 2005b). This processual fluidity is complemented by materiality's imbrication with social and cultural processes, focused upon taste, expression, cost, prestige and environmental impact, for example. To summarise, then, stone undergoes transformation at numerous stages: during its geological and geomorphological formation and recomposition, through its removal by quarrying, by its shaping and

dressing by stone masons, when it becomes a constituent in a built assemblage, when it decays, when it becomes entangled with other life forms, and when it is replaced, demolished or restored.

Thus matter does not stop being impacted upon, does not at some stage constitute a solid form. Rather it continues to change, albeit under different conditions to how it would have continued to change without human intervention. Biophysical processes continue in different environments after the fact of temporary transformation by human endeavour and during an ongoing accommodation within a different ensemble of dynamic agents. Stone's *emergent* qualities reveal the agencies of non-human entities and energies, yet crucially, these emergent processes and properties are contextual and relational, since particular eventualities happen to particular kinds of matter in particular places. Because this non-human action destroys stone if left unattended, buildings require human technical mediation. An endless spatial ordering takes place in the city to keep entropy, disorder and fragmentation at bay, and this includes this continual upkeep of urban materialities to provide the aforementioned illusion of permanence (Graham and Thrift 2007). This ordering, however, is always contingent and temporary for the preservation of material wholeness requires unending and constant vigilance to exclude matter out of place and also, to keep matter *in place*. As we will see, the multiplicity of repair solutions and their increasing sophistication continually calls for new technical fixes. This repair and replacement also demands that sources of stone supply are used, or old ones rekindled.

Yet despite the mutability of stone, it usually persists in place for a longer period than other building materials, and this seeming permanence relies upon the specific durability of stone over the human life course, in which other spaces, people, ideas and materialities are relatively more susceptible to decay and replacement, while stone lingers in the environment for longer. As far as building materials are concerned, we might compare stone to concrete (see Forty 2005) rather than the wood used for modern Japanese houses, which lasts for roughly 30 years, not several hundred. To appreciate the fluidity of stone, then, a longer temporal perspective than the human life-span is necessary, though endurance of material artefacts, including buildings, can always be threatened, whether by floods, the collapse of sea cliffs – as on England's east coast – (see Sebald 2002), or various social and economic processes, such as the recent collapse of property markets which curtails building projects and leaves unfinished buildings at the mercy of the elements, or industrial crises which result in numerous buildings being abandoned (Edensor 2005a).

In a context in which there is an ever-increasing diversity of available building materials, the continuous reconstitution of the connections between cities and places of supply is allied to an ever more complex material mixity in buildings and cities. I will now discuss the broad distribution of stone in the city, its dispersal, density, type and the ways in which it gets transformed, before examining the connections through which particular stone buildings are produced by and produce other places and times.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MATTER IN THE CITY

The distribution of stone in Manchester charts the expansion of the city's connections through which matter from elsewhere has come and continues to arrive to constitute the local environment. Manchester has not been blessed with a high-quality supply of local stone unlike other urban centres where good building material has been quarried locally. In these cases, the urban material fabric is of a more homogeneous constitution. This is most glaring in the city of Kapadokia in Turkey, where the city emerges from the rock, buildings carved out of the stone in situ so that material resource and building coincide in place. More typically, cities such as Aberdeen, renowned as the 'Granite City', because most of its coarsely crystalline silver-grey stone building material has come from the nearby Rubislaw Quarries since at least the seventeenth century, and Bath, composed mainly of the appropriately named Bath Limestone, provide a monotonal texture. These cities are here comparable to Paris, which has primarily been supplied by limestone quarries in the Oise, 25 miles north of the city, which prompts Rebecca Solnit's description: 'Everything – houses, churches, bridges, walls – is the same sandy grey so that the city seems like a single construction of inconceivable complexity, a sort of coral reef of high culture' (Solnit 2000: 196).

As Lott (2008a) explains, before the eighteenth century most British buildings were constructed using local stone from quarries close to the construction site, and the only quarries able to achieve wider distribution were those sited on or near navigable river systems or with access to the sea, such as at Portland and Bath. Accordingly, the oldest buildings in Manchester were, in fact, built out of locally supplied stone, the purplish Binney sandstone beds that lie roughly one mile from the city centre in Collyhurst. The ancient Roman Fort, and a trio of medieval remnants, Chetham's music school, the Cathdral and St Ann's Church, were originally composed of Binney, stone though this has been largely replaced.

The construction of the Peak Forest Canal Company, initiated by an Act of Parliament to enable stone to be transported to Manchester, and the expansion of more canals, and later railways coincided with the major growth of the quarrying industry around the embryonic industrial centres of the Midlands and the North, notably those quarries supplying carboniferous sandstone in Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire. This subsequent growth in quarrying involved the amalgamation of quarrying companies, a process that has continued, and numerous small quarries were abandoned as the industry was rationalised, transforming a rural landscape that was dotted with small excavations to one with fewer but much larger excavation sites. Until the end of the nineteenth century, much work utilised hand tools and required a large labour force of quarriers, cutters, dressers and merchants, more than 80,000 in 1851, which shrank dramatically with mechanisation (Spires 2002).

With the expansion of Manchester as an industrial city, the parallel growth in transport links and technologies, and the availability of more suitable building stone across the North and Midlands of England, the consequent diversification

means that today, as Simpson and Broadhurst proclaim, 'a walk through the city is a walk through a display of all the more important kinds of rock' (2008: 1). Unlike the aforementioned cities with steady and stable sources of stony matter, Manchester continually re-emerges as a varied composite. Like most cities, the distribution of stone is denser in the centre, and thins out in areas of middle-class and working-class housing, where brick massively predominates. In the centre, stone mixes with a host of other materials, including brick, slate, tarmac, concrete, mortar, wood, glass and steel, and now more than ever, owing to the continual emergence of a more complex palimpsest and the increasing tendency for mixed materials to be used in construction, the material mixity of the city is greater than ever. In fact, this diversity is also apparent in Manchester because regimes of cleansing buildings have removed much of the industrial grime and soot which coated the city, revealing a polychromism that was previously concealed. In order to highlight the changes in the increasingly complex distribution of stony matter throughout Manchester, I now take a closer look at some key buildings. More images and details about these buildings and others may be found on their website, 'Building Stone in the City of Manchester' (Edensor and Drew 2007[1]).

St Ann's Church: A Composite of Elsewheres

This church, commonly held to mark the centre of Manchester, lies amidst the contemporary heart of the shopping district at the south end of St Ann's Square, and is dedicated to St Ann, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and its simple rectangular style testifies to the influence of Christopher Wren upon its architect, probably John Barker. It was originally built as a second church to serve the growing population of Manchester and to supplement what became the cathedral, and was remodelled in 1889 by Alfred Waterhouse, architect of Manchester Town Hall. As I have mentioned, St Ann's Church, built in 1712, was originally constructed out of Binney sandstone from nearby Collyhurst. In contrast to the Binney sandstone used in the construction of other Manchester buildings, a large percentage still remains in the composition of St Ann's. The location of the church, closely surrounded on three sides by three- or four-storey buildings, means that these three sides have been less buffeted by the wind and rain than the more open façade, though even here, on the lower parts of the church, much of the original stone remains. However, on all sides and levels, much of this stone has been periodically replaced over the past three centuries.

Multiple agencies have assailed the building, including human wear and tear, the climate of Manchester with its rain and wintry freeze-dry seasonal processes, rising salt and moisture from the ground, air pollution, and the advent of biofilms following the removal of the soot which kept them at bay. St Ann's is now an extraordinary mosaic of sandstones from the North and Midlands of England. The current multi-coloured building has probably emerged over this time because of the thick air pollution in early industrial and Victorian Manchester which attacked the surfaces of buildings throughout the city. Manchester's

Figure 11.1
St Ann's Church,
Manchester. Photograph
by author.

buildings rapidly became discoloured, and the aesthetic imperative to source a colour match for that stone which had eroded was inconsequential, since any new replacement stone would also become coated in soot in due course. Consequently, it has only been since the evolution of a post-industrial urban context in which the practice of stone-cleansing has been deemed not only desirable but effective over a longer time-span, that the multi-hued character of the stonework has become apparent. The quarry at Collyhurst long abandoned, replacement stone has been sourced from several locations. Accordingly, the church is now composed of a range of other sandstones, including pale brown from Parbold in Lancashire, pinkish from Hollington in Staffordshire, yellow-grey from Darley Dale or other Derbyshire quarries, and dark red from Runcorn (Parkinson-Bailey 2000: 341). St Ann's is thus a combination of other places, a continuously changing material composite in which stone (as well as wood, plaster, interior memorials, lead, tiles, human bodies in the adjoining graveyard, as a search through the Diocesan archives reveals) has decayed, been replaced, supplemented or disappeared. This compendium of the elsewheres signified by stone has been recently complemented by restoration work carried out in 2001, where red St Bees sandstone from Cumbria and mellow grey Kerridge sandstone from near Macclesfield in Cheshire have been added to the mix.

The repairs carried out by successive generations of architects and stonemasons have required replacement stone from numerous sources. Accordingly old links with quarries that were used in the construction of other buildings in Manchester have been sustained or renewed, or not reforged owing to the purported unsuitability of stone or dereliction, and new links have been made through the restoration practices of the time and the desirability of making a good match in quality and colour. This one church provides an excellent example of the material mixity of the city, a mixity that is compounded by the numerous forms of concrete and mortar that have been used in repair and the restorative agents use to combat decay.

Figure 11.2
Runcorn Quarry, now a
country park. Photograph
by author.

Manchester Town Hall: Practical Solidity under Industrial Conditions

As I have inferred, by the mid to late Victorian period, architects and builders were able to choose from a growing range of stone sources. While no one stone predominates, some are more prevalent, including sandstone from Derbyshire quarries and Runcorn. Alfred Waterhouse made his mark on the city in designing the Manchester University complex, the Refuge Assurance Building and Strangeways Prison Tower, but it is his enormous and prestigious Town Hall, completed in 1877, for which he is most renowned. Combining a variety of gothic styles, according to Hartwell, its architectural language 'is less familiar now than when it was built' (2001: 73), but its sheer size, towering nearly 300 feet, means that it continues to dominate much of the centre of the city. Lying in Albert Square, with its collection of male statuary and frequent public events, the labyrinthine building, with its numerous corridors and winding staircases, contains a wealth of extraordinary mosaics, interior designs, other stones, artworks and sculptures, and is a huge testament to the promotion of the city's civic pride and prosperity.

Waterhouse moved away from the contemporary taste for producing polychromic buildings by combining stone types, in favour of the monochrome provided by the dun-coloured, durable Spinkwell sandstone from Bradford. The pragmatic Waterhouse realised that buildings 'were rapidly coated in velvety black soot from the heavily polluted atmosphere' (Hartwell 2001: 74) and so durability was the characteristic he most esteemed. Such a huge building necessitated the provision of enormous material quantities: 500,000 feet of stone, 14 million bricks, 1,700 feet of granite shafting, and 68,000 feet of polished oak (Parkinson-Bailey 2000: 112). In the latter stages of its construction, over 700

Figure 11.3
Manchester Central
Library. Photograph by
author.

stonemasons and other workers were preparing and installing the stone, a scene that is difficult to imagine. Unlike St Ann's Church, the unspectacular, mono-chrome exterior of the Town Hall has largely endured to date and the ornate carvings and pilasters are intact, and so little replacement stone has been neces-sary. The formerly huge Spinkwell Quarry was closed shortly after the completion of the Town Hall. Too close to the centre of Bradford, it is now the site of an urban nature park, though currently, large-scale extraction persists in the nearby Bolton Woods Quarry. While some quarry faces can be ascertained beneath the greenery, and the canal that was used to transport the stone still remains in the valley below, there is little sense of the importance and size of Spinkwell, a highly symbolic site for the making of Victorian Manchester.

Manchester Central Library: Prestigious Stone, National Interspatialities

Stone remained the principal building material in most of Britain until the devel-opment of mass-production techniques in the brick industry towards the end of the nineteenth century, the demand for which soon outstripped that of dimen-sion stone (Lott 2008a). Nevertheless, stone remained an important architectural material throughout the first half of the twentieth century, though tastes and trends changed. An important and symbolic building from this period stands at the northern end of the busy Oxford Road and dominates St Peter's Square, namely the spherical, neoclassical Central Library (Figure 11.3), influenced by Rome's Pantheon, designed by London architect E. Vincent Harris, and opened in 1934 to house Manchester's huge and growing collection of books, and to serve as a site for research and a theatre.

The library's underlying steel structure is clad in Portland Stone, an oolitic limestone (composed of concentric layers of spherical grains) extracted from numerous quarries on the Isle of Portland, Dorset and esteemed for centuries in the UK and beyond. Because Portland Stone has been so desired for its tough-ness and whiteness, it is found across the UK and beyond in grand state build-ings, museums and town halls, and includes St Paul's Cathedral, The National

Figure 11.4
Statue: 'The Spirit of Portland', Isle of
Portland. Photograph by author.

Gallery, The Banqueting Hall, the United Nations Building in New York, and the Cenotaph in Whitehall as well as countless war memorials and sculptures across the UK. Still the site of large-scale stone extraction, the landscape, culture, heritage and place-identity of Isle of Portland is dominated by its quarrying industry. Although the quantity of Portland Stone used in Manchester's public buildings is sparse in comparison to London, several other twentieth century buildings are constructed out of this material, which, happily for Manchester, becomes whiter when exposed and rain-lashed, standing out against the less bright stony tones of the city.

Bridgewater Hall: Reforging Links Anew, Stone Veneer in Mixed-Media Buildings

By the 1960s re-cast concrete began to compete with brick as the principal building material as the quantities of stone imported into building projects continued to decline. However, stone has not ceased to be important, but whereas the demand was previously for huge quantities of load-bearing block stone, as in the case of the Town Hall, the demand is now for unblemished, thin slabs that are used as veneer to clad core structures of concrete and steel. As Lott (2008a) stresses, these slabs 'have to meet increasingly tight testing specifications and need to demonstrate very different strength and durability parameters to traditional building stones'. Accordingly, the demand for stone has utterly changed. Most quarried stone material is now produced as aggregate for use in concrete, roads and gravel, but is also employed for minerals required by the chemical industry for cleaning, hygiene, food, plastic and medical products. Only one and a half tonnes in every 1,000 are used for buildings or walls.

The use of stone veneer may be found in numerous contemporary buildings in Manchester where architectural trends are to build new offices and flats

out of a combination of materials, including copper, steel, brick and glass as well as stone, and to foreground these materialities rather than concealing them as structural elements. This approach is well exemplified by the Bridgewater Hall, the city's large major concert hall and home of the Hallé Orchestra, completed in 1996 to replace the venerable Free Trade Hall. According to the Hall's website, it stands on 'a generous plinth of sandstone, and anchored by a thin, dark line of polished granite … the upper floors are cliffs of quietly-detailed metal cladding between cataracts of glass' (Bridgewater Hall Architecture 2008). This mixed materiality is further enriched by generous quantities of wood, concrete and Jura Limestone. The red Triassic sandstone has been extracted from Corsehill Quarry near Annan, Dumfriesshire, where buildings in the local environs are primarily constructed from this stone, though the dressing contrasts with the extremely smooth textures of Bridgewater Hall. The stone is particularly renowned as the source for many of Glasgow's nineteenth century tenements. The formerly vast site was completely effaced from the landscape by cramming the huge crater with landfill but a small area was reopened about 20 years ago and continues to be quarried, as the stone has once more become a modish material for use in cladding buildings like Bridgewater Hall.

The Arndale Centre Extension: The Global Sourcing of Myriad Stone Types

Although the market for stone dramatically increased with the expansion of transport networks in the nineteenth century, today the networks of supply are of a different scale altogether. The plethora of stones offered by contemporary stone supply companies include a comprehensive array of British stones but also an abundance of stone from further afield, including spectacular, high-quality material from many European countries, from South Africa, North and South America, China and India. As Robinson (2008) asserts, 'the world is literally open to the trade and architects are able to select from a wide range of colours and textures drawn from either Brazil, South Africa, or India whereas Scandinavia or Italy were 'exotic' but sixty years ago'. Neo-liberal trade policies and the opening up of new markets and suppliers mean that builders are able to order stone 'via the internet from anywhere in the world and, in some cases, have it on site, pre-packaged in polythene, within days' (Lott 2008b). In Manchester, details about the locations of many of these recent materials are depicted in Simpson and Broadhurst's *A Building Stones Guide to Central Manchester* (2008), which provides a far richer portrait of the city's building stone than I am able to provide.

The Arndale Shopping Centre was damaged in the IRA bomb attack on the city in 1996, an event which heralded large sums of European and British government funding to rebuild and revamp central areas of the city. The Arndale has been a much derided building because of its modernist blockiness and due to the unattractive reinforced concrete which girded its façades. However, the refurbishment of the centre involved not only recladding the Market Street side but also a large extension built to higher specifications and out of more prestigious material.

Facing the threat of the much larger Trafford Centre sited on the M60 motorway circling Manchester it was deemed imperative for the city centre in general, and the Arndale in particular, to retain a competitive advantage and continue to allure shoppers. Accordingly, the Exchange Court extension includes in its composition a range of high-quality stones from abroad. At the Corporation Street entrance White Carrara marble from Tuscany, Italy lines the walls. This celebrated material was used to build the Pantheon and Trajan's Column in Rome, Michelangelo's famous sculpture *David*, the Duomo in Siena, and closer to home, Marble Arch in London.

Beyond this entrance, the walls of the extension are clad in veneer slabs of grey Sardinian granite, Sardo Bianco, yet closer inspection reveals that it is only the first four panels which are made of stone; those that are higher, further from the eyes of shoppers, are trompe l'oeil panels, painted to resemble the marble. Another veneer used to clad the walls is Jurassic Jura Grey limestone from Solenhofen in Germany which is suffused with ammonites, belemnites and sponges along with other fossil forms. The floor is composed of Verde Maritaca, a Brazilian migmatite, and also features dark insets of Impala Black gabbro from South Africa. This whole extension has thus utilised imported stone, and this pattern is repeated in new developments across the city where, for instance, in the recently constructed Spinningfields Square, it has been considered preferable (and cheaper) to import a silver-grey granite from Jinjiang in China than use British granite for paving slabs.
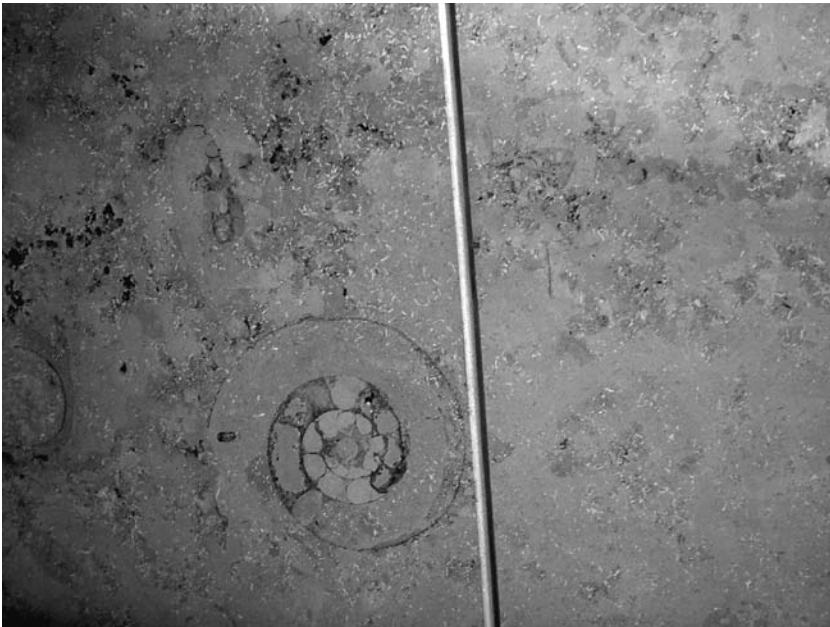
Figure 11.5
Ammonite fossil in Jura Grey limestone, Arndale Centre, Manchester. Photograph by author.

CONCLUSION

By using the examples above I have demonstrated how flows of matter are continually instigated or reactivated in accordance with tastes and desires to materialise prestige and make architectural statements, fashions in building design and building technologies, the availability and cost of supplies, the reach of transport networks, decisions about how to renovate and repair buildings, the physical qualities of stone, as well as other contingencies and adaptations. By focusing upon the networked supply of materialities we are able to undermine notions of the city as a bounded entity, refuting exaggerated conceptions of spatial fixity, while acknowledging the relative durability of (most) stone material and the furious work of repair and maintenance that goes into the temporary stabilities that often persist. I have also asserted that the destiny of matter is produced through the dynamic relationalities of urban contexts by offering 'a relational and distributed view of materiality that provides a way to unpack apparent permanencies and stabilities, and show how the competencies and capacities of things are not intrinsic but derive from association' (Bakker and Bridge 2006: 16).

I have also highlighted how the varied uses of building stone in Manchester produce rich interspatialities through which the stony elements of the city's materiality chime with those of other places, and that such geographical resonances are shaped by different patterns of regional, national and international distribution over time. Manchester serves as a particularly rich example of diverse stony materiality in contradistinction to places whose material composition is more closely tethered to reliable, local sources and historically enduring networks of supply. It is clear that a process through which stone supply has progressively devolved from the local to the global to the contemporary scenario in which tendencies towards expanding and complexifying networks of stone supply have accelerated. There is no doubt that the diversification of building stone enriches the material variety of the city, along with the tendency to foreground diverse materialities in contemporary architectural forms. The opportunity to see the colours, fossils and grains and feel the textures of diverse, often spectacular rocks from all over the world that line the city byways and walls adds to an aesthetic sense of urban cosmopolitanism (Binnie *et al. 2006*). However, it may also be argued that this cosmopolitan material diversity and stretching out of material relations can erode a sense of local identity.

We should be wary of exaggerating these new tendencies, since global flows are invariably grounded in local contexts where, notably in the case of stone, it mixes with a palimpsest of stony matter from other places and times. Such material consistencies can temper over-hyped notions of global fluidity for the everyday worlds which people inhabit, form their habits around, and feel and sense in reliable ways are characterised by material regularities within which new matter is supplementary. In addition, in most places, most building stone is still supplied by quarries within 30 miles, and in Britain, there are presently more than 350 quarries still in operation providing building stone, though not necessarily for

the most expensive and prestigious projects in urban centres. Nevertheless, it is important to ascertain 'how or why such assemblages are put together' and to identify 'the tensions and contradictions that make them so precarious' (Bakker and Bridge 2006: 17). In this context, it is evident that the velocity of material flows is speeding up, in tandem with other expansive capitalist tendencies, and it is clear that the tentacles of urban demand stretch out to draw in places of supply but are then apt to drop them, moving whimsically elsewhere, consequently fragmenting the city's materiality.

Huge quantities of often high-quality building stone are shipped from super-quarries in far-flung locations, ignoring supplies that are closer at hand on the grounds of cost, irrespective of the environmental impact of transporting these supplies – the carbon footprint – and the social conditions under which this stone is quarried. In the UK in 1900, 27 million tonnes of building stone were extracted from 5,000 quarries, with only a few big quarries employing over 1,000 people. By the late 1980s 300 million tonnes were being produced, a large percentage from super-quarries, each producing over five million tonnes of stone annually, as small quarries continued to close and production became concentrated in the hands of 12 large companies. Today, giant operations in Britain, such as the massive Glensanda Quarry at Morven in the Scottish Highlands, have exported millions of tonnes of granite worldwide, including to Kent for the Channel Tunnel. This is matched globally by the emergence of enormous quarries in India and China, for instance, that supply global markets.

Resistance to this situation seems to be growing as part of a renewed localism, which seems to echo Kenneth Frampton's renowned call for a critical regionalism in which often idiosyncratic 'elements derived indirectly from a particular place' (1983: 21) mediate the universalising, placeless effects of global architecture and building materials, and notably in which the 'specific culture of the region – that is to say, its history – in both a *geological* and agricultural sense' becomes 'inscribed' in the site (ibid.: 26, emphasis added). More specifically, Lott (2008a) argues that stone must be used 'not only to conserve our existing historic stone structures but also to build new stone housing, thus complementing and continuing a vernacular building tradition which has developed over several centuries' in order to maintain in many places 'a unique regional architectural identity . . . and not allow this rich heritage in stone to dwindle away'.

Alison Henry (2008) argues that '[W]e need to decide whether we would prefer a small number of "super-quarries" restricted to the backyards of an unfortunate few, but causing significant environmental impact and exporting tons of stone well beyond their region of production' or the reopening of abandoned quarries in the face of 'local opposition from local residents fearful of noise, dust and heavy lorries'. This shift towards the notion of *geoconservation* has been fuelled by the need to open disused quarries to provide stone suitable for the restoration of old buildings, as well as for the extraction of stone deemed stylish, as in the case of Bridgewater Hall. For instance, Duncome Quarry was reopened to provide stone for the repair of Exeter Cathedral and Caerbwdi Bay

quarry used once more for the restoration of St David's Cathedral. As the The Geoconservation Commission of the Geological Society of London (2008) opine, '[I]n the longer term there is a need to recognise that 'old' stone quarries may require statutory recognition as a 'heritage' resource similar to that for the built and the biological heritage.

Finally, I want to historicise these networked associations, to emphasise the perpetual becoming of urban materiality and to acknowledge the ineffable traces of former human and non-human agency towards which the stony palimpsest of the city inarticulately gestures. For the often faint traces of people and places in now vanished networks are absent presences, signs of prior life, that are usually overlooked and yet, as Avery Gordon declares, it is 'essential to see the things and the people who are primarily unseen and banished to the periphery of our social graciousness' (1997: 196). Such histories do not necessarily require scholarly documentation but can be sensed in the haunted spaces of quarries, foundations, and the very stones themselves, process and ageing etched upon their materiality (Edensor 2005c). I have mentioned the huge army of stonemasons who dressed and shaped the stone for Manchester Town Hall. While it is the architect's name that remains, at all stone sites the presence of the stones testifies to the quarriers, transporters, loaders, masons, builders and repairers who have dealt successively with this building material, and who have left traces – the scratches and scores of stone-cutters, mason's marks, thumbprints in adjoining mortar. The stones testify to the historical tendencies whereby the symbolic, textural and colourful qualities and durability testify to tastes, technologies and cultural values about building styles and forms, along with the skills and techniques required to work stone. They summon up relationships between entrepreneurs, stone suppliers, quarry workers, stonemasons and builders and all the other currents of power, knowledge and taste that generated the making of connections. And then there are the quarries, often dormant now, filled in, derelict, nature reserves or reutilised for other purposes, whose changing presence exists because of the urban demand for stone, and the transport links, perhaps mere traces on maps or now used for other functions, which show that all places possess intertwined histories.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTE

1   More images and details about these buildings and others may be found on the website; see Edensor and Drew (2007).

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Chapter 12: Conclusion – Seeing Through

Types and the Making and Unmaking of the World

Lynda H. Schneekloth

INTRODUCTION

Urban centers of today's world are ceaselessly transformed through the insertion and erasure of buildings and landscapes. Obviously buildings and places don't physically move, at least very seldom, but ideas about buildings are transported through the movement of people, ideas, imaginations and images. This circulation is dependent on the intellectual structure of type, and it is in this form of knowledge that buildings and urban structures move around the world where they are replicated and molded into new contexts, transform social practices and change local fabrics. Types and typologies are a way of organizing knowledge into categories of kinds of things: urban is a type recognized by human density; city is a part of a typology of settlement that includes agriculture, wilderness, and so on.[1] Although there are many forces that make cities, it is the conceptual framework of types that enables this feat of movement.

All places across the earth are continuously being re-shaped by natural processes and human actions. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, most global activity occurs in cities, as they have become the field on which global capital formations frame the typologies used to conduct the business of the international world. Cities are also the space in which local and cultural expressions transform new types and, at times, resist their implacement. Imaginations of globalization and its opposition, localization, tug at our built world, making and unmaking the urban landscape, accepting and deforming artefacts, incorporating and disgorging spatial practices.

Re-shaping Cities challenges static notions of place and the built environment in general. Architecture and urban form are not fixed and enduring entities; parts of them are always circulating and moving – through ideas, models, people, financial and power relations, professional practices and requirements for new uses. This book's proposition regarding the formation of urban space is a significant contribution to our understanding of the ways in which our world has become more 'flat' and less articulated. The chapters present a series of problematics

concerning the movement of urban artefacts such as urban space types, building types, elements of building, building materials, and/or new technologies. This process is an ancient one, but since modernity, the speed of movement around the globe has been exponential.

Although the circulation of buildings and spaces is familiar, how it happens is entangled in cultural, sectoral, power, financial and material conditions. Institutions and organizations, structures of governance, and imaginations of place accommodate and/or impede the re-shaping of the urban. Because of these interfaces, types are not randomly circulated; some kinds of buildings and landscapes move easily, others stay home; some places readily accept new forms; others resist.

This final chapter, 'Seeing Through,' contributes to the formation of this book about the mobility of urban buildings, landscapes and elements by addressing primarily two issues. The first is an exploration of the structure of types and how it operates in the shaping and re-shaping of cities around the world. In other words, what are the mechanisms, typologically speaking, that enable the circulation of ideas and material forms of buildings and landscapes from one cultural and physical location to another? If the first investigation attempts to illuminate the shaping of cities, the second investigation seeks to explore the consequences of this continuous making. What happens to places and people when we move things around the world? Making the world is only possible through a great unmaking, and attention to this aspect of urban mobility generates a problematic of human place, activity and purpose.

TYPES AND TYPOLOGIES: ASPECTS AND OPERATIONS

Types and typologies are conceptual frameworks built into human minds across many forms of knowledge, even if the structures are different and what belongs to which type varies.[2] The implacement of ideas, things, processes and experiences into types of things infuses them with meanings. Naming a place a 'city' is a shorthand for an enormously complex condition and the use of the word deepens our ability to communicate with others. Types and typologies gather scattered insights and information into meaningful relationships, whether it is young children learning kinds of animals, teenagers placing a new song into the world of popular music, or civil engineers categorizing types of best practices for stormwater management. The system of thought is comfortable and understandable to all, and is therefore an important area of intellectual inquiry.

The type, city, is constituted by many other kinds of typologies: geography, governance, economy, resource base, economic structure, cultures, places, and so on. These typologies weave generic ideas into particular urban structures that are both similar, in that we recognize them as a type, but also specific because of the combination of typologies and selection of types. Types are a deep form of knowledge, embodying multiple layers of intellectual, bodily and cultural significance. Types are a form of knowing that centers on a kind of a thing known for

its center rather than its edge, as in classification systems. Types *gather* understanding, unlike analytical structures that separate one thing from another. It is the very fluidity of type that lends itself to global circulation because the type can be molded and reframed while maintaining a connection to an ideal or practice.

Place Types

Place types define the spaces of our everyday lives: landscapes, buildings, infrastructures and artifacts. They render our world relatively stable, even though it is continually transformed through typological interventions. We recognize a place type as a building or landscape that has a loosely agreed-upon use/form/ meaning. That is, the type provides a structure for a spatial practice considered culturally important (such as learning or traveling); it has a recognizable form (this is a school and that is a highway), and it carries a socially constructed meaning that people either support or resist (we want an educated public or not; we want people to travel in cars or not). The high-rise office building, as discussed by Grubbauer (Chapter 4, in this volume) is a type of building named for its form and understood to accommodate a way of working in modern cultures, and it signifies business with its inherent political and economic structure. Speculative high-rise buildings are a successful new type and have traveled extensively in their short lifetime.

Place types, complex constellations of use, form and meaning, are recognized and 'named.' The types emerge from larger cultural discourses to accommodate existing or new spatial practices and they disappear when not needed. One would be hard pressed to find stables in most Western industrialized cities, but would have no problem locating many restaurants. One hundred years ago that would have been reversed. Periods of transition within cultures are often fraught with discord as members of a society either work to bring new practices and forms into existence or fight to exclude them.

Place types are intimately connected with space and the visible fabric of the world, and are intellectually characterized by three commingled aspects: material, conceptual and imaginal (Schneekloth and Franck 1994). Briefly, the *material* is the physical embodiment of an identified social need or spatial practice. It is grounded, physical, visible, and sufficiently understood within cultures that we can refer to 'a school' or 'a skyscraper' or 'national park' or '*qanat*,'[3] and everyone familiar with that culture will share an image of a similar place and activity. If we don't know the word or language, we do not understand what the practice, material, use or meaning might be.

There is also a *conceptual* aspect to place types – that is, there is intellectual work that organizes and presents information about them, and classifies them for purposes of description, explanation and/or regulation such as zoning, building codes and land use. They may also be classified as construction types, material types, form types, sector types, financial types, ownership types, and so on, categories used by professionals as a part of their everyday practice. Further, academics organize types to suit their purposes for investigation and intellectual

work, categories such as 'traveling' or 'foreign' or 'conceptual types', or, more discretely, 'global' rather than 'colonial' or 'rustbelt' cities. All of these conceptual types, through naming, order space and our thinking about it.

The *imaginal* is perhaps the most powerful and least understood aspect of place types as it is the foundation of motivation of what we want and expect places to be. These ideals or imaginations are often invisible to the makers and the culture in which they emerge. In the United States, the combination of the imaginal 'garden' coupled with the representation of the city as 'wilderness' has been the underlying force for the huge movement of suburbanization, while the imagination of 'village' is at the roots of the New Urbanism movement. The name 'city' has inspired humans across centuries to make places of dense settlement; the 'global city' has motivated many projects and movements of building types around the world as a representation of ideals of economic power. Associated with the global city imagination are myriad place types that define it.

These three aspects, the material, the conceptual and the imaginal, are embodied in all place types. When they cohere, as in high-rise office buildings, the use/form/meaning intersect into a clear cultural communication: material steel and glass, used as office, and carrying the imagination of corporate/economic power. Groups may resist the ideology of global capital as represented by this building type, witness the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001; nevertheless, there was agreement about what it was and what it did.

The Urban as Constituted by Type

Given that urban artifacts and places as spatial types are complex constellations of use, form and meaning, the interconnective webs that comprise urban typologies of buildings and spaces must somehow be disassembled before traveling, remembering that the buildings and landscapes themselves are not circulating. Each act of material construction across the globe, even if it is the same place type, will be transformed by its conceptual and imaginal journey through human cultures and natural systems.

A type has to be imagined and perceived to address a spatial practice currently not supported, or one not previously even imagined. This often occurs through the circulation of people, media or professional practices. If the type is desired, it must also be restructured within conceptual frameworks such as building codes and budgets, reconstituted in the material world either through local or imported labor skills and practices, and assimilated and accommodated within new cultural contexts. New spatial practices and their resultant urban artifacts are not easy constructs within a culture, and cross-culturally they are a complex array of contested and negotiated physical and metaphorical constructions of space and place.

The movements of people and their originating spatial practices are a major cause of circulation and integration of new building and place types into different and even foreign urban fabrics. In this volume, Chapter 9 by Leeman and Modan about Washington, DC's Chinatown describes subtle changes in the

material world of a small section of the city, modified through new spatial practices, organizations, and a new landscape of Chinese language, tiles and a Chinese-style street gateway. These spontaneous modifications were over time incorporated into a new conceptual framework of city planning, and subsequently the naming of 'Chinatown' re-shaped a part of the city. The intersection of the material and conceptual aspects of place type generated a new spatial form and imagination in a major US city, even while the population that initiated the change moved into the surrounding suburbs.

The additive process described above that transformed an urban space is quite different from the disassembly of a type's form/use/meaning. This process is evident in religious buildings across many scales – small evangelical congregations

Figure 12.1
The Church that isn't. The imposing Medina sandstone Asbury Methodist Church, Buffalo, New York built in 1876, is now used as a performance space and gallery referred to as 'The Church'. Photograph by author.
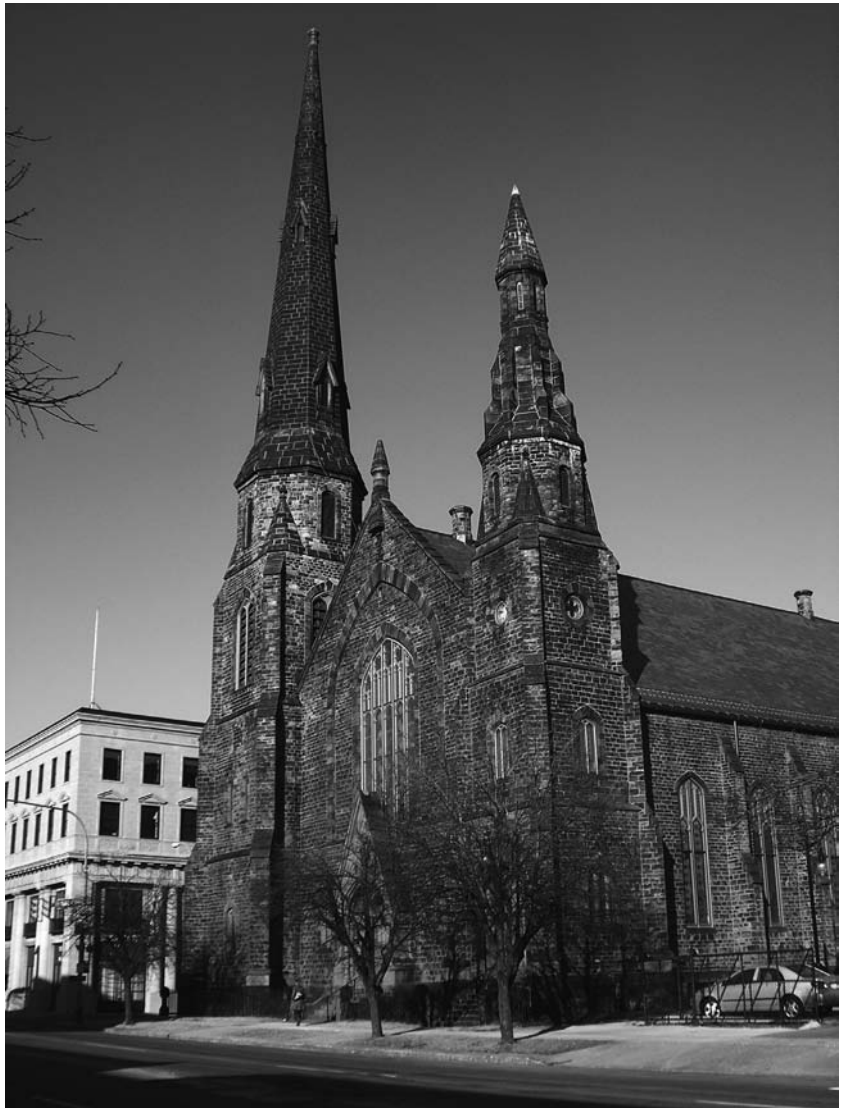
take over abandoned houses or commercial structures in older city neighborhoods, or Islamic populations arrive from the Middle East into Europe.

The adaptive use of former industrial buildings to accommodate the spatial practice of Islamic prayer and social gathering as described by Kuppinger (Chapter 5, this volume), confounds clear type boundaries: it still has a material structure in the old warehouse and a conceptual order (it is zoned and regulated), but there is a new imaginal foundation of sacred space. The 'partial type' confuses the meaning of the place type. Through this fracture, spatial practices can be instituted and adapted without confronting the dominant culture, concealing a rich community life and social institutions in a relatively protected sphere. This accommodating practice enables new communities to take hold and develop new ways of living in a foreign place, while, to some extent, it hides the foreignness of the practice itself. In this case, the fragmentation and coalescing of different types is a powerful tool to incorporate new practices.

New forms of knowledge and ways to incorporate them into a society also transform the urban condition as new building types are imagined and created to meet newly perceived needs and responsibilities. The emergence of large pavilion institutions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represents a radical rethinking of what disease and mental illness mean, along with a significant shift in responsibility from the domestic sphere to the state. A new type – constellation of form/use/meaning – was imagined, invented, named, designed and built. The professionalization of medicine and advances in public health and sanitation became embedded in the practice of science, transforming the spatial practices surrounding illness and producing the building type, the hospital. This new type was possible owing to the concurrent growth of the power of the state with new administrative structures and procedures for managing these responsibilities.

All buildings and constructed landscapes, such as the hospital mentioned above, come with intentions and agency. Within cultural discourses, the 'politics of needs interpretation' frames public expenditures as there are always negotiations, often among experts but also among the public at large, regarding what are legitimate needs, who gets to interpret them, and who gets to decide how they will be addressed (Fraser 1989). When spatial practices are moved from one 'responsible' sphere to another, such as did the care for the mentally ill from a private, domestic responsibility to a public one, a new place type is often invented to accompany that change. Once a type is invented, named, accounted for and implemented, its new form travels from here to there, where it also displaces other spatial practices. The coalescing of idea, power, finance and intentionality coincide to materialize the building or place type.

Regimes of power selectively acquire types of buildings and spaces to communicate an image or to position themselves within the global urban community. The recent phenomenon of the 'global city' represents a constellation of typologies envied and replicated by urban centers that aspire to be included as sites of international global capital exchange. The articulation of appropriate types is

facilitated by the replication of images widely circulated through media such as the Getty Images and professional magazines. These images are employed to advertise buildings, food, tourism, clothes, and an endless stream of goods and services supposedly needed. Regardless of the specific content of the message, more than anything else these images define the imagination of 'the good life' in global urban centers and post-industrial nations. Cities 'borrow' these images in planning the transformation of their existing urban fabric, financing and eventually inserting new types such as iconic buildings, public spaces, bars and restaurants, to gain access to the powerful imaginal urban. It is no accident that Palermo sought to incorporate cafés and public open spaces when the change of government sought to enter the global world as described by Söderström (Chapter 10, this volume).

This typological investigation has considered the constellation and disaggregation of use, form and meaning that suggests a mechanism by which the circulation of buildings and landscapes maintains a fluidity and the possibility of implantation in new urban spaces. As spatial practices emerge within cultures or are adopted from other cultures and socio-political conditions, they are concretized in material form in foreign places, sometimes willingly incorporated, sometimes fiercely resisted, sometimes initiated in appropriated guises. Type is slippery and, by its clear center and fuzzy edges, facilitates the circulation of buildings and landscapes.

This particular inquiry on the mobility of the urban has explored the usefulness of a typological strategy to explore the material, the conceptual and the imaginal aspects of type. The inquiry reveals the ways in which the intersection of the fabricated order with ideas and imaginations give rise to the desire to make this and not that, to put it here and not there. A typological analysis makes the circulation of buildings, landscapes and elements more legible because it uncovers who produces, uses and contests the incorporation of some types. What remains unclear are the consequences of this circulation, and the impact of this ceaseless activity.

THE GREAT UNMAKING: THE CONSEQUENCE OF RE-SHAPING CITIES

> To reconstruct the world, to rebuild or rationalize it, is to run the risk of losing or destroying what in fact is.
>
> (Le Guin 1989: 82)

What happens when we re-shape the city? With every act of constructing and re-shaping cities, something and somewhere are unmade. The unmaking is as global and profound as the making, given that it changes people's lives while it extracts and moves materials across the globe. This activity is seldom recognized as a part of the making, although without the unmaking, nothing would ever change. Unmaking is the great unsaid, the shadow of our fixation on our generative shaping and re-shaping of the world.[4]

Unraveling Spatial Practices

Spatial practices, as discrete networks of human activities, depend on material types for their enactment and also on the reproduction of the material type to reinforce culture. When the physical world changes, spatial practices shift as well, and their role and meaning in the culture changes. The change and constancy of cultures depends in large part on the presence of the physical world itself.

Life is always full and complete, and the insertion of anything always displaces something else. Before the invention of television, people were not sitting in their living rooms staring at a blank wall; they were doing other things that they no longer do – like playing outside, baking bread, attending a singing club or visiting neighbors. The movement of buildings and place types carries new ways of being into the world that overlay existing cultural practices, sometimes integrating and accommodating, sometimes erasing earlier forms of being in the world.

Neoliberal markets, because they are increasingly global, spare no place. Like most imperial expansions of the past, the imposing culture carries ideas, spatial practices, conceptual structures, representations and a new material world. However, unlike previous colonizations, the current circulation of modern culture and its artifacts reaches to the ends of the earth through representations, the movement of people, and the destruction and rebuilding of urban spaces.

Places across the globe are being unmade at a rapid rate, leaving us small museums such as DakshinaChitra described by Hancock (Chapter 6, this volume) to remind us of where we have come from. Often insertions of the new are welcome, such as infrastructure improvements to provide clean water to individual households, but most are unthoughtful in that there is little understanding of what it means to lose the social life of a community supported by a shared pump. Losses occur without notice until what was, is gone – and then we forget. Without reinforcement of the material world we have no reminders of what life was or even that it could be different. Spatial practices are woven into a whole fabric of culture, and if torn out by various mechanisms, the fabric develops a hole or unravels. How much unraveling is possible before the fabric is sufficiently torn that it is no longer the same thing?

> Water grows colder and colder and colder, and suddenly it's ice. The day grows darker and darker, and suddenly it's night. Man ages and ages, and suddenly he's dead. Quantitative changes suddenly become qualitative changes: differences in degree lead to differences in kind.
>
> (Barth 1956: 179)

Seen in this light, the opposition of local communities to new kinds of places takes on a different complexion. People sense that this small discrete act carries much larger consequences that they may not fully understand. And, perhaps, they are not wrong. Guggenheim's story of the resistance of some of the Swiss community to the minaret or official housing for assisted suicide may be seen as undemocratic and xenophobic, but their actions may also be interpreted as an

Figure 12.2
The unmaking of the
Buffalo Memorial
Auditorium. The Aud
was built in 1938 and for
years was home to the
Buffalo Sabres. It is being
demolished to create a
potential development
site. Photograph by
author.

intuitive understanding that these new forms cannot be incorporated into the culture without damage. They are fighting to preserve a way of life that, under the pressure of globalization, is slipping away. Although spatial practices as a category of types are flexible and malleable – prayers can be said in a former industrial facility – they are reinforced when encased in matter and a built form that announces their presence.

Unmaking Places

Each act of building and place construction not only makes the material world, the act itself is a great unmaking. Every time we design and put a building into the ground, we destroy what was there. This may be a good thing, because the site may have been distressed and the new making was an act of healing. On the other hand, the site could have been a lovely forest fragment, home to millions of creatures, that was ravaged quickly by the bulldozer; or the play space of the neighborhood children, nothing much to look at, but integral to the spatial practices of their homespace; or perhaps a 'slum' that inadequately housed many people but was better than no housing at all.

'The trouble with the eagerness to make a world is that, because the world is already made, what is there must first be destroyed' (Shepard 1995: 32). Every new project, every time we re-shape a piece of the city, we destroy something. These acts of destruction often engender acts of resistance, although these are most often ineffective as the process for the shaping has superior power and legitimacy in our current global culture. Even so, advocates for historic preservation scramble to make a cultural argument for keeping a specific building or

place; those interested in the environment argue against, and sometimes bring legal action to stop the removal of wetlands or flood plains on ecological grounds; people in communities fight the removal of their homes. But these actions are often ineffective or too late, and most frequently, the dance of building and demolition is performed without comment, without our even paying attention.

Moving Material

The site of implacement is not the only unmaking – each act of building in cities and elsewhere unmakes places across the globe as material is specified and gathered from elsewhere to here. In this sense, a building is not only a constellation of ideas, spatial practices, form and meaning: it is the organized construction of thousands of pieces of matter. Similar to the way images speed around the world, physical matter circulates from here to there, albeit a little slower.

Edensor's Chapter 11 on stone, its circulation from quarry to city and its re-circulation over time is a fascinating account of one type of matter constituting and reconstituting urban places. He addresses not only the human consumption of matter in the making of the world, but he speaks also to the worlds from which matter emerges – one of the unspoken aspects of the circulation of buildings. The material aspect of a place type is intimately connected, indeed, dependent on other places. Land, mountains, waters and ecological worlds are employed in the service of humankind, and for the most part, this results in the destruction of the places of origin as matter is moved, reconstituted and used somewhere else.

The paucity of our imagination regarding non-human life at this period of history is evident in our lack of curiosity about the things and material of the world. By limiting our perspective to how things are used, but not to what they are, we give ourselves permission to take and unmake without guilt. If we think of wood as lumber, how can we remember it comes from a living tree that is a part of an ecological system? Do we ask why a molecule of oxygen is transformed into a living thing as it flows through our blood, but not when it is the air? We co-inhabit the earth with so many things that

> are only transitory forms that are assumed by materials that are, after all, deeply other-than-us, materials that have alien histories in the depths of mountains or ancient forests or in the cores of blown-out stars and will have alien futures, once they have returned, as almost everything created by us does, into the ground.
>
> (Matthews 1996: 56).

In truth, our making activity is totally dependent on these 'transitory' materials. We breathe, ingest, walk on and inhabit them daily.

The knowledge and imagination that all matter comes from the earth is one of the most unexplored and problematic aspects of our making; it is an ignorance concerning the source of our material lives. We are amused when young children think that milk comes from the store, as the cow is rendered invisible in our modern food-gathering spatial practice. But we are as ignorant of the material

condition of our lives as they are. What is glass? Where does it come from? What is involved in making it, in transporting it, in installing it? What is involved in its maintenance so that it continues to support our spatial practices of inhabiting buildings? What else is moved around in the production of the material that enables us to see 'outside,' lets light in, and yet protects us from the elements? Unlike stone, glass as we know it is a new human making and it has vastly enriched our lives. But it is intensely foreign.

If we understood the scope of displacement and circulation of matter that we use to shape and re-shape our cities, it would be clear that we do not and cannot pay the full cost of any material we use from the earth. But rarely is this process considered, perhaps in part because the taking of matter for buildings most often occurs in places 'away.' If we reused local stone quarries as suggested by Edensor, the awareness of the unmaking would bump up against community life, since it would mean increased dust, traffic, noise, and the further destruction of adjacent lands.

Wasting the World

We do not attend to, or even know about the unmaking, and further, we barely notice what happens to materials once their useful life is over and they are transported to their new existence in landfills or places unnamed, and therefore unknown. The volume of the waste we generate is staggering, much of which is neither reused nor degradable into the cycle of materials. Moreover, the residue of much of the production, consumption and wasting of matter in modern cultures since World War II is hazardous to life, adding another layer of material on the earth that may or may not be metabolized through natural processes.

Given the enormity of the unmaking and the consequences to cultures, peoples and the earth itself, we must ask why the activity is so invisible or unproblematized. Our ceaseless making is unraveling the earth in ways we have belatedly come to understand, even if we still have no sense of what, collectively, we might need to do. We do know that we have entered a period of rapid global climate change that will disproportionately affect some cities and millions of people and other life forms. Beyond this potential dramatic change, we daily destroy places on the earth through extraction, desertification or flooding. When we remove 'their' homes and eliminate 'their' spatial practices, we fail to see that these places are also our home. The loss of habitat is death, and we are facing one of the greatest periods of extinction since the era of dinosaurs, as now we, not they, roam the earth in search of sustenance and habitat that support our way of life in a swiftly changing environment.

Reconsidering the City

One reason our unmaking and wasting of the world may be invisible is the scale at which it is unfolding. It has been less than 100 years that we have had the insight, technologies and tools to measure and understand the extent of our unmaking. We have learned that what appeared to be small discrete acts of extraction, dislocation and pollution are interrelated global issues.

Further, the fabricated order we have named *city* is in some ways beyond our ken. It is made through emerging and disappearing lands and water, diverse spatial practices of individuals, groups and cultures that share this earth and through millions of independent acts requiring the displacement and construction of matter from across the globe. The city as a type needs further consideration as it is, as a phenomenon, so vast and complex that we hardly comprehend its structure.

> [T]he fact that we are responsible for the creation of the elements of the fabricated order does not entail that we are responsible for the way that order turns out … the fabricated order is not, on a large scale, transparent to us, but is rather entirely beyond our control, as unpredictable and 'wild' as any other part of nature. We are choosing the steps, but the shape of the dance is dictated by forces beyond our ken.
>
> (Matthews 1996: 57)

Even if we accept the premise that the city as a type of fabricated order is not under our control, we might still turn to it as one of the best place types for our species. The urban, the greatest consumer of all of our unmakings, is also one of the most powerful and hopeful forms of human habitation. More than any other settlement pattern which humans have founded, the city has the potential to shrink our footprint on the earth, to give room to 'the others' to pursue their own lives. Cities could be the habitable ghetto for the burgeoning human population, leaving much larger areas of the earth for responsible agriculture and protected wilderness.

Humans are good in cities, because as Eisenberg (1998) says, we are social creatures, and smart ones too. Most humans like diversity and the moderate degree of risk found in urban living; cities are filled with many different kinds of people, physical edges, different districts, hybrids spaces and constantly changing fabrics. In other words, humans take to cities as a natural habit.

A question of concern for all urban apologists, indeed for lovers of the earth, is whether or not there are other ways of thinking about and shaping cities beyond the current preoccupation with the global urban space designed for the flow of capital. How might we reconceptualize the shaping of urban space if one of the considerations were that cities are the recipients of the great unmakings – of energy, water, food, materials – and a great generator of waste. Eisenberg outlines an alternative perspective when he suggests that a city

> must learn to live within certain ecological bounds. It must not strain the carrying capacity of the land or lands to which it is economically and ecologically tied. It must not take more from the earth than it can put back, and what it does put back must be digestible. It must not impinge too much on the wild places on whose ecological mercies it depends. Of the technologies and design forms that can help it live within these bounds, some may be based on the close imitation of nature, but others may abstract from nature in outrageous ways.
>
> (Eisenberg 1998: 374)

Some cities come closer than others in being ecologically balanced, but all require more of the earth than they return. Balancing the making and unmaking requires different kinds of practices, different intellectual structures, and new purposes such that 'cleaning and repairing and passing on the world might become as important as using and making it' (Lynch 1990: 41). How does the current global practice of consuming and discarding resources become sufficiently open to reconsider its current practices of making and unmaking? Is there a way that more nearly balances these twins, for example, a conservation paradigm or resto-ration economy[5] (Cunningham 2002)? What is the current mobility set up to do, who benefits and who loses, and is this the only vision of human urban life?

The power of types and typological thinking is that once in place, we accept and reproduce economic and form types as 'reality.' Alternative urban forms and activities could be circulated that would constitute cities differently; new types and typologies might emerge that could re-shape urban life without such a great unmaking – if we can see through the invisibility of unexplored typological structures.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Re-shaping Cities demonstrates that urban spaces are not stable but constantly changing and shifting through complex interactions of the material, political, economic and cultural domains. The chapters in this book enable us to *see through* these activities to understand the processes by which this occurs and the constellation of mechanisms employed such as the concept of type and typology. This deeply coded form of knowledge enables the mobility of the urban while the mutability of type to disaggregate use, form and meaning ensures that all cir-culating entities will be sufficiently reframed and adjusted in each new context.

The intellectual discourse on the fabrication of the cities through the circu-lation of buildings and spaces, however, has not yet sufficiently theorized the shadow of all this making – the unmaking.[6] It is as if there were a veil that con-ceals this particular aspect of human activity. No doubt it is preferable not knowing such things – the destruction of cultures and their spatial practices, the resistance of others to the imposition of 'foreign' buildings and landscapes, and the reciprocal power of places to make us. But unmaking, like making, is a powerful aspect of human inhabitation and demands difficult intellectual work.

We need rigorous research across multiple disciplines on the making and unmaking of urban spaces in order to support and critique the emerging global culture. Our disciplinary-based questions into *how* this shaping occurs could be expanded to include *why* this form of world making and unmaking appears to be the task of our species. All of us require a more profound understanding of the true cost of our collective actions, remembering that the circulation of the urban is neither 'natural' nor innocent.

Yet the vastness of our global enterprise resonates with Matthews' premise that the outcome of our collective world making is not within our control. She

does, however, hold us accountable for the steps and moves that choose one way over another. In this sense, we are responsible for the order and decisions made everyday that create habitable or dreadful cities.

The premise of this chapter's focus on unmaking – of spatial practices, of places, of materials – is that these activities almost always do harm, and therefore, if individuals, governments, intellectuals and corporations were aware of the consequences of their actions, they would be more thoughtful when deciding to unmake in the service of making. This may be naïve, as the new and transformative global urban culture is, in so many ways, beyond anyone's control. But we can be articulate about the consequences of the unmaking on our urban formations, not only on the life space of myriad human cultures but on the earth itself.

Therefore, we are compelled to ask: For what purpose are we creating the current form of global life and not another? We are so new at this worldwide enterprise and have only glimpses of what it means to live on a very small planet. But it is urgent that we learn and integrate this knowledge quickly at the dawn of the twenty-first century, focusing particularly on the mobility of ideas, types, buildings, structures and materials that gather people into supportive cities – cities that require less from everywhere.

NOTES

1 Types and typologies belong to the same kind of knowledge structure as classes, categories and taxonomies. They are different however, in that membership is not an either/or situation but a resemblance relationship. Types are specimens or essences that are understood by a kind of ideal condition, 'purely imagined backgrounds for understanding human experience' (Hillman 1980: 7). A type is always an approximation because no type ever totally encompasses all of the elements possible. Typologies are systems of types, like a category that relates and establishes relationships among categories of types. However, types are often used without typologies or with the typology inferred (Schneekloth and Bruce 1989).
2 'One question besetting type theory is this: Are types mental constructs that we impose on the world, or are types given within the world? Are they artificial or natural? Have they a logical-epistemological status or an ontological one?' (Hillman 1980: 10). For purposes of this discussion, I suggest these conditions are co-dependent and interactive; in other words, types are both given and made.
3 A *qanat* is a traditional water-management strategy from central Iran and refers to underground tunnels that collect water during wet seasons for use during dryer seasons (Pearce 2006: 241).
4 Unmaking is a powerful and unexplored consequence of the focus on urban shaping and this chapter explores the concept from that perspective. It could be argued as well that making/unmaking is, in itself, a typology central to any discussion of formal, material related types that frame urban, building, architecture and settlement theories. The work of Scarry (1985) is particularly relevant here. However, due to space limitations, this framework is not developed in this chapter.
5 Cunningham's proposal continues the current economic paradigm of capitalism with its mantra of 'growth' but suggests that the new frontier of growth is in the work of restoration, not new construction and making. He suggests that restoration can

support the continuation of the current practices of making while repairing and reusing the materials and places we have already moved around.

6   See, however, Scarry (1985) and Lynch (1990) for insightful discussion of unmaking and wasting the world.

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