Proceedings

X

World Congress of the Organization of World Heritage Cities

Quito 2009

8 - 11 September

Credits

Photographs by Jorge Vinueza © Jorge Vinueza

Editor
Françoise Descamps, Getty Conservation Institute

Assistant Editor
Michael Aronowitz, Getty Conservation Institute

Translation and copy-editing
Anne Marie Driss

Design
Soho Design S.A.
12 de Octubre N24-660 y
Francisco Salazar, Edif. Concorde
Piso 2, Oficina C
Quito, Ecuador
Telephone (593 2) 222 8270 / 254 6512
E-mail contact@soho.ec

Formatting
Michael Merjil

The Getty Conservation Institute works internationally to advance conservation practice in the visual arts-broadly interpreted to include objects, collections, architecture, and sites. The Institute serves the conservation community through scientific research, education and training, model field projects, and the dissemination of the results of both its own work and the work of others in the field. In all its endeavors, the GCI focuses on the creation and delivery of knowledge that will benefit the professionals and organizations responsible for the conservation of the world's cultural heritage.

Copyright © 2009, J. Paul Getty Trust

Every effort has been made to contact the copyright holders of the material in this document and to obtain permission to publish. Any omissions will be corrected in future volumes if the publisher is notified in writing.

The Getty Conservation Institute
1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 700
Los Angeles, CA 90049-1684
United States of America

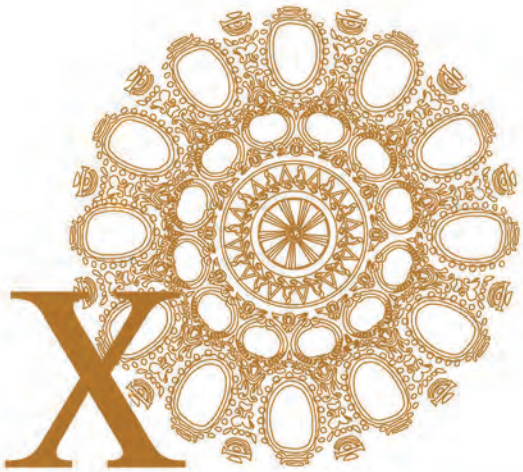
Telephone (1) 310-440-7325
Fax (1) 310-440-7709
E-mail gciweb@getty.edu
www.getty.edu/conservation

Organizing Institutions

Organisation des villes du patrimoine mondial
Organization of World Heritage Cities
Organización de las Ciudades del Patrimonio Mundial
Organização das Cidades do Património Mundial
منظمة مدن التراث العالمي

The Getty Conservation Institute

Quito Distrito Metropolitano



WORLD CONGRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORLD HERITAGE CITIES

Quito 2009

8 - 11 September

Table Of Contents

Message from the Mayor of Quito 7

Message from the Secretary General of OWHC 9

Introduction from the Getty Conservation Institute 11

Keynote Presentations 13

Historic Cities and their Survival in a Globalized World
By Francesco Siravo 14

Micro-Finance Programmes in the Old City of Aleppo
By Maan Chibli 36

Manila Intramuros: An Island of Heritage
By Augusto Villalón 46

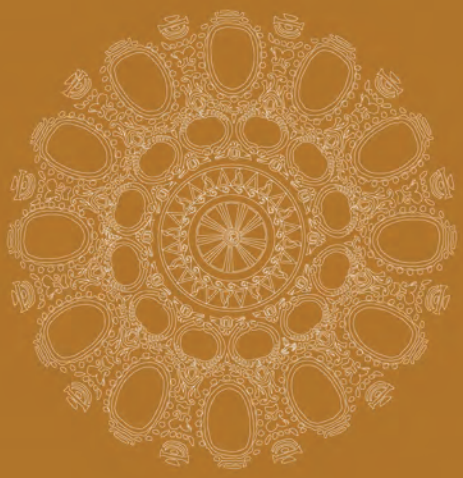
Sleeping with the Enemy? Private Sector Involvement in World Heritage Preservation
By Ron Van Oers 54

Report on the symposium and discussions
By Dinu Bumbaru 66

Steering Committee
List of Previous OWHC Publications 71

Steering Committee of the X World Congress of the OWHC 72

List of Previous OWHC Publications 72



X

MESSAGE FROM

The Mayor of the Metropolitan District of Quito

Quito and its people are grateful for having the presence of Mayors and delegates who honored us with their visit during the X World Congress for the Organization of World Heritage Cities - OWHC.

The central topic of this important event, the ***"Revitalization of Historic Centers: How to involve all the social actors?"*** reflects the policy of this local government towards the conservation of our tangible and intangible heritage. We believe in the consolidation of comprehensive and plural policies that allow us to strengthen citizens' participation identifying and revaluing our cultural heritage. UNESCO's acknowledgement in the year 1978 filled us with pride and generated a commitment from the authorities and citizens to preserve our identity.

We sincerely hope that the experience in Quito has been enriching and that it will contribute to generate new ideas to preserve your own spaces and historic monuments. We are confident that the visits you have made have been gratifying and that you have enjoyed the hospitality of the "quiteños and quiteñas".

Augusto barrera Guarderas
Mayor of the Metropolitan District of Quito

MESSAGE FROM

THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OWHC

From its founding, the primary objectives of the Organization of World Heritage Cities have been to promote the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, to encourage co-operation and the exchange of information and expertise on matters of conservation and management among its member cities, and ultimately to make a relevant, constructive and prospective contribution towards their holistic sustainable development.

Most mayors are not heritage experts although the responsibility for preserving or managing historic sites becomes partly theirs once they have been elected. To assist the local authorities in this difficult task, since 2005 a Mayors' Workshop has been introduced at our world congresses as a pre-conference session. These workshops, organised in collaboration with the Getty Conservation Institute, aim to raise the awareness and to enhance the sensitivity of mayors and decision–makers as regards heritage issues.

In an effort to preserve and manage a city's heritage, conflicts may arise between the local authorities and the community. It is therefore essential that members of the general public understand the importance of their cultural heritage and are thereby convinced of the need to preserve it and, where possible, to participate actively in the development processes.

In keeping with this premise, the theme of the OWHC 10th World Congress, 'Revitalization of historic centers: How to involve all social actors?', was chosen in order to demonstrate that through the synergy of the local community and relevant participants from the public and private sectors, our objectives can be achieved more effectively. We thank the Getty Conservation Institute for its invaluable contribution to the development of this theme.

It is with great pleasure that we present the Proceedings of the 10th World Congress held in Quito, Ecuador, in September 2009. We hope that this collection of presentations made during the congress will serve as a useful source of information and ideas for implementation in World Heritage Cities everywhere.

We would like to thank all of the contributors for making this publication possible. In particular, we would like to thank the City of Quito for its generous hospitality and tireless efforts to ensure the success of this World Congress.

Denis Ricard
Secretary General
Organization of World Heritage Cities

INTRODUCTION FROM

THE GETTY CONSERVATION INSTITUTE

Since 2004, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) has collaborated with the Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) on the organization of its biannual world congress, and in particular has taken on the responsibility for the structure and content of the scientific program. In close consultation with the host city, a subject of immediate relevance to the management of historic cities has been selected to be at the center of presentations and discussions. The X World Congress of the Organization of World Heritage Cities, taking place in Quito, Ecuador, from September 8 to September 11, 2009, focuses on the theme "Revitalization of Historical Centers: How to Engage All Social Actors?" These *Proceedings* include the four keynote papers presented during the congress.

The first International Symposium of World Heritage Cities took place in 1991 in Québec City, Canada. At that meeting, participants acknowledged the need to establish a network of cities with the objective "to favour the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and to promote co-operation and the exchange of information among members as well as with all other historic cities round the world." The result of their work, the Québec City Declaration, also committed technical support for any member city in the network willing to organize a similar meeting, and since the creation of the OWHC in Fez, Morocco, in 1993, a world congress has assembled every two years, bringing together elected officials and professionals from municipalities around the world engaged in the preservation of historic cities, particularly those inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. These encounters provide a unique forum where decision makers and professionals from a variety of backgrounds and disciplines can discuss topics of common interest. In a variety of different formats, participants are provided with the opportunity to share their experiences and learn about new developments and strategies for meeting the critical challenges associated with the conservation and management of World Heritage cities.

The host city of each congress is selected by the members of the OWHC in a meeting of the general assembly. A city's candidacy to host the congress is often related to a special event being celebrated in that city. This year is no exception. In 2009, the city of Quito is celebrating the bicentenary of its "primera revolución de Independencia Republicana" (first revolution of Republican Independence) as well as the 31st anniversary of its inscription on the World Heritage List. In fact, Quito, along with Cracow (Poland), was the first city to be named on the World Heritage List. Within this context, the general assembly of the OWHC, meeting in Kazan in 2007, selected Quito to host the X World Congress of the Organization of World Heritage Cities.

Since the 1960s, the conservation and preservation of the historic centre of Quito has been of primary concern for local and national authorities, as reflected by the "Normas de Quito" (Quito Guidelines), established in 1967, and the "Fondo de Salvamento del Patrimonio Cultural" (Cultural Heritage Safe-Guarding Fund, or Fonsal), created in 1987 after a devastating earthquake affected numerous monuments and buildings in the city. These dynamic and proactive initiatives have since 2000 been reinforced by strong municipal policies promoting identity and cultural values, and have been supported by efficient tools and operational structures. Numerous projects have been undertaken, allowing for the recovery of the physical and cultural fabric of the historic centre, as well as its urban function, providing visitors with a clear sense of place. Perhaps even more important, these projects have consistently promoted inclusion and the social values of the community, making Quito a source of pride and identity not just for local inhabitants but for all Ecuadorians.

The revitalization of historic cities goes beyond the preservation and conservation of their physical fabric. It requires a process that takes into account all of the cultural values embedded in a city's physical and spatial components, and involves residents and all other stakeholders, including both the public and private sectors, to ensure the appropriate and sustainable conservation and development of historic centers.

Within the context of globalization and a widespread economic crisis, it is crucial to bring together the combined strength and energy of all social actors in a way that coordinates their efforts in preserving the invaluable cultural history of a historic city while successfully integrating them into the city's development. At the same time, these efforts must be articulated in a manner that clearly identifies each actor's roles and responsibilities. Each one of us as individuals – elected representatives and professionals from all disciplines – has the task and the responsibility to undertake this ambitious goal.

During this year's congress, the theme will be addressed in a variety of ways in order to engage the participants in constructive and rewarding exchanges. The program includes a Mayors' Workshop in which Quito's experience will be the focus of site visits and serve as a catalyst to the discussions which follow; four keynote presentations which call for reflection on and examine possible responses to these challenges; a panel on the subject of public-private partnerships; as well as small group discussions and poster presentations of case studies.

The four keynote papers presented in these *Proceedings* and presented during the congress were conceived in a manner designed to encourage participants to reflect on the "why" and the "how" of preserving not only the material but also the social and cultural testimony of historic cities and, in so doing, bring forth their true essence and authentic spirit.

In conclusion, I would like to thank all of the organizations and individuals who have made the congress program and this publication possible.

First, I would like to direct my thanks to the authors of the four keynote papers, Maan Chibli, Francesco Siravo, Ron Van Oers, and Augusto Villalón; the participants who took part in the panel on public-private partnerships; and discussant Dinu Bumbaru, all of whom have so generously and kindly shared their insights and their time.

I would also like to thank the representatives of the city of Quito. Carlos Pallares, executive director of Fonsal, provided invaluable guidance and contributions to the preparation of the program, as did his many collaborators who dedicated time, creativity, and their in-depth knowledge of the city to construct the Mayors' Workshop and make our visits and preparation work possible: Juan Carlos Malfa, Franklin Cárdenas, Hector Vega, Gonzalo Checa and others too numerous to mention. I wish to also send my sincere thanks to René Pinto, Advisor for International Affairs, and his colleague Paulina Salazar for their welcomed attention and contributions to the preparation of the congress.

As with the Getty Conservation Institute's previous involvement at the Cusco (2005) and Kazan (2007) congresses, the constant and open-minded involvement of OWHC General Secretary Denis Ricard and interim General Secretary Lee Minaidis has eased the coordination of the numerous activities of this important event for the organization. Our thanks should be extended to the members of the board of directors and to all the members of the OWHC secretariat as well.

I would also like to express my esteem and gratitude to Rosa Alarcón and her team at Coordinamos for their immense contributions to the organization of the congress, as well as to María Isabel Molina and her associates at Soho Design.

And finally, I cannot forget to mention my colleagues at the Getty Conservation Institute, Jeff Cody, Gail Ostergren, Caroline Cheong and Michael Aronowitz, without whom the GCI's contribution to the congress would not have been possible.

Françoise Descamps
Coordinator of the Scientific Program
Getty Conservation Institute

Keynote Presentations

Historic Cities and their Survival in a Globalized World

by Francesco Siravo

Francesco Siravo is an Italian architect specializing in town planning and historic preservation. He received his professional degree from the University of Rome, La Sapienza, and specialized in historic preservation at the College of Europe, Bruges, and Columbia University in New York. Since 1991 he has worked for the "Historic Cities Programme" (HCP) of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the implementation of restoration and urban conservation projects in various Islamic cities, including Cairo, Lahore, Mopti (Mali), Mostar, Samarkand and Zanzibar. Before joining the HCP, he consulted for local municipalities, governmental and international organizations, including UNESCO, ICCROM and the World Bank. Previous work includes the preparation of conservation plans for the historical areas of Rome, Lucca, Urbino and Anagni in Italy, and for the old town of Lamu in Kenya (UNESCO). He has written books, articles and papers on various architectural conservation and town planning subjects, including "Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town" (1996) and "Planning Lamu: Conservation of an East African Seaport" (1986).

Abstract

The first plenary session will focus on the sense of identity and belonging represented by historic cities and examine the issue of their future survival in a highly interconnected world. This session will begin with a look at why historic cities are so important as repositories of social and cultural identity, and why they respond to a universal need for beauty and human permanence. We will then examine their differences in size, geographic location and cultural significance, and how they are all threatened by a combination of neglect and uncontrolled new development. The risk that these places may disappear or be irreversibly altered is not only real but immediate. In providing an overview of common failures and partial successes, the first plenary presentation advocates a major and urgent shift in approach, and outlines a radically different course of action to safeguard the essential values and long-term viability of historic cities in today's globalized world.

Expanding Cities

The 21st century is being called the "Urban Century". And in fact, not yet ten years in, new Guinness world records are being set by cities everywhere: as of 2007, for the first time in human history, half of the world's population of 6.77 billion lives in cities. And this trend will continue. By 2030, while the rural population will decline by about 20 million, urban dwellers will increase by an additional two billion, bringing the number of people living in cities to over 63 percent of the world's population[1]. This shift is the culmination of a process of global urbanization that has been under way for more than 250 years, since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe in the late eighteenth century. Today, the urban phenomenon encompasses all regions of the world, from the affluent Western countries to the poorer parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Four of the twenty greatest world metropolises are located in the world's more developed countries. Tokyo is at the top of this list,

[1] Eliott D. Sclar, Pietro Garau, Gabriella Carolini, "The 21st Century health challenge of slums and cities", Millennium Development Project, www.thelancet.com Vol. 365-March 5, 2005.

with over 28 million inhabitants. The other sixteen are located in the developing world, with an average of 12 to 13 million inhabitants and a median surface area of over 1,000 square kilometers (or 100,000 hectares).

The greatest cities of the ancient world pale in comparison with these dimensions. Suffice it to consider that imperial Rome, at its peak, housed a mere one million inhabitants and had a surface area of slightly more than 1,400 hectares, almost 80 times smaller than the surface area of any of today's metropolises.

A Shrinking Urban Heritage

As cities expand to ever-staggering dimensions, historic city centers, and the urban heritage they contain, continue to shrink in both relative and absolute terms. The global dimensions of this phenomenon are difficult to quantify, and we would be hard pressed to find reliable international data on our vanishing historic towns and city centers. Certainly we all know from experience that our urban heritage is shrinking. Yet, in spite of the many books and international symposia on the conservation of historic cities, we cannot really quantify the global dimensions of this worrisome trend.

Undoubtedly, the high number and wide dispersion of urban heritage sites make it difficult to provide a definitive and valid for-all-time answer to the question of how much of our heritage is being lost.[2] And yet, I firmly believe that some global answer, however tentative and subject to revision and refinement, must be provided. We began to care about the disappearing tropical forests and coral reefs, to name only two of today's major environmental concerns, only when the rate of their disappearance could be quantified and monitored through the use of satellite images[3]. Similarly, some international consensus on a global indicator of loss of urban historic heritage must be reached, and the data made available periodically, country by country, if we want to really understand the magnitude of this phenomenon and begin to counteract it. In the meantime, we can only offer partial and incomplete answers. But I hope to briefly show, through a number of examples, that our collective urban heritage is indeed shrinking, and at a rate which, in relative terms, is as staggering as the exponential growth of present-day metropolises[4]. I also hope to show that this is not a trend limited to a particular kind of city or to this or that part of the world. On the contrary, the shrinking of the historic urban heritage has been and continues to be a global phenomenon, which so far has proved unstoppable. Its effects are devastating the integrity of our older cities and the well-being of their communities.

The fundamental causes of this global trend can be addressed only through a profound re-evaluation of the way in which we plan and develop historic cities, both their inner cores and their expansion areas. It is a matter of great concern and urgency, and it calls for immediate action on the part of all who have direct and indirect responsibility: national and local politicians, city administrators, professionals, developers, builders, teachers and members of the community.

Our shared responsibility should not remain silent or concealed. We have all been rightly shocked by the destruction of the Banyan Buddhas in Afghanistan and condemned it as an act of unspeakable barbarism. But we must not overlook our own faults[5]. What we seldom recognize is that countless historic cities everywhere are losing hectares of invaluable and irreplaceable fabric, instigated by unscrupulous developers with the support and acquiescence of city authorities, administrators and planners.

A Partial Inventory of Destruction

Let us start by reviewing, however incompletely, the extent of destruction of the world's urban heritage in the last seventy years. The beginning of World War II seems a reasonable *a quo* date. Up to this time, cities had been relatively stable and contained in both form and dimension across the continents, unaffected by

[2] John Stubbs, *Time Honored. A Global View of Architectural Conservation*, Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009, p. 7.

[3] Certainly, investigating the lost urban heritage at a global scale requires a great deal more time and effort than the case of vanishing environmental resources. Nobody has had the resources or stamina to do it systematically by comparing thousands and thousands of old city plans (where they exist), as well as current aerial photographs to identify the extent of the original city fabric, and compare it with what is left today. It is also doubtful that the simple gathering and examination of the cartographic and photographic documentatio available would be sufficient. To produce credible data, no doubt much field work would be required in order to distinguish the extent and level of transformation of the traditional city fabric on a case by case basis.

[4] If not in strictly quantitative terms, for the quality and irreplaceability of what is being lost.

[5] Francesco Scoppola, *Profilo di storia del restauro architettonico e della conservazione ambientale, Gazetta Ambiente*, Roma: Editore Colombo, 3/2007, pp.213-214.

major conflicts[6] or the enormous social and economic transformations of our times[7]. A person born in the middle or at the end of the nineteenth century could still imagine for his children and grandchildren a uniform life, without major upheavals, lived "in the same country, in the same city and nearly always in the same house." "In their time," wrote Stefan Zweig before taking his life in 1942, "some war happened somewhere, but, measured by the dimension of today, it was only a little war. (...) But in our lives there was no repetition; nothing of the past survived, nothing came back."[8]

Loss as a Result of War

Stefan Zweig witnessed the global destruction of World War II, an absolute first in human history. Its effects, produced by aerial bombing as well as wanton devastation of cities on the ground, ravaged Western European, Russian and Japanese cities with unprecedented brutality. A few examples will suffice: German cities, whose historical legacy was largely unimpaired at the time, lost an average of 40 to 50 percent of their urban heritage.[9] Especially sorrowful is the case of Dresden, one of the largest and most beautiful cities in Europe, preserved practically intact since its Baroque heyday. Following two days of bombing in February 1945, Dresden's narrow streets and beautiful old buildings fed the fires that destroyed over 60 percent of the city's historic core, some 640 hectares of historic property, twice the size of historic Quito. It was a "deliberate act of cultural desecration"[10] carried out in response to the German bombing of Coventry in England four years earlier, which in turn had destroyed some 60,000 buildings, including Coventry's medieval cathedral and many hundreds of listed structures. Warsaw fared far worse in this respect: 96.5 percent of its classified structures were destroyed or severely damaged by the German occupiers.[11] French historic cities were hit hard, too, with Mont Saint Michel, Caen and Le Havre at the top of the list.[12] Italy suffered as well, with many historic cities, towns and cultural sites partially or totally destroyed. Naples and Monte Cassino are usually mentioned, the first with a loss of 10,000 historic buildings, and the second totally annihilated. But fewer are aware of medieval towns like Verona, Frascati and Treviso, reduced to half their original size by the allied bombings of 1943-1944.

These are not exceptional or isolated cases, but part of a long list of centuries-old European cities that never recovered their lost heritage. A complete inventory of the thousands of monuments and hundreds of thousands of historic buildings and vernacular structures lost during World War II was never made and it is probably beyond anybody's ability today, bearing in mind the lack of complete pre-war inventories. But the effect of this destruction on the future of European cities should not be underestimated, both in quantitative terms and for the role it played in their subsequent urban development.[13]

Loss as a Result of Ideological Conflict[14]

The destruction of urban heritage caused by war is only part of the story.[15] Let us focus our attention on a city which was largely spared by World War II, and which is generally considered fairly well preserved, and we will discover something quite surprising: the old city of Rome[16] lost an astonishing 25 percent of its historic street network and buildings, adding up to over one hundred hectares, between 1870 and 1970, when a ban on further demolitions was imposed.[17] More significant still is the disappearance of Rome's many villas, vineyards and archaeological areas, all contained within the old Roman walls and covering a staggering 1000 hectares. This unique heritage, which included the incom-

[6] Even World War I, a major human catastrophe by all standards (16 million deaths and 21 million wounded), did not have a great impact on cities. The worst destruction affected northeastern France and southwestern Belgium, while in Italy, the Balkans, Austria and Russia the fighting took place mostly in rural areas. In fact, the economic consequences of the war slowed down major urban transformations, at least in Europe. "By the mid-1920s most European cities had settled into a certain stability, though it was often saddened by recurring economic stagnation or shaken by a crisis." See M. Hohenberg, Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994*, Cambridge (Ma) and London: Harvard University Press, 1985, p.336.

[7] Although new planning methods and ideas were introduced by the Modern Movement in the 1920s, their extensive application began only in the 1930s in the United States and Europe, and not until the subsequent decades in the rest of the world.

[8] Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, London: Cassell, 1987 (p. 7).

[9] Paul M. Hohenberg, Lynn Hollen Lees, Ibid., p. 342.

[10] Anthony M. Tung, *Preserving the World's Great Cities*, New York: Clarkson Publishers, 2001, p. 82.

[11] Ibid., p. 82.

[12] Ibid., p. 309, Other bombed cities included Rouen, Orléans, Tours, Saint-Malô and Gien.

[13] See Francesco Siravo, "Il problema dei centri antichi e le ricostruzioni del dopoguerra in Europa" in *Il nuovo manuale dell'urbanistica* (Ed. L. Benevolo), Roma: Gruppo Mancosu Editore, 2007, p. A3.

[14] Anthony M. Tung used this title as the heading of one of the chapters in *Preserving the World's Great Cities*, p. 131.

[15] "Half a century after World War II numerous planners throughout Europe, including Germany, have concluded that far more architectural history was destroyed in the urban redevelopment that followed the fighting than by the tens of millions of bombs themselves." Anthony M. Tung, Ibid., p.17. According to Leon Krier, less than 15 percent of the German buildings spared by the bombing of World War II survive today. ("Architectura Patriae; or The Destruction of Germany's Architectural Heritage" in *Architectural Design*, Vol. 54 (July August 1984), pp. 101-102.

[16] Here defined as the part of the city contained within the Aurelian walls (271-275 AD).

[17] Leonardo Benevolo, *Roma da ieri a domani*, Bari, Editori Laterza, 1971.

parable Ludovisi Gardens,[18] hailed as the most beautiful in the world, was subdivided and developed into built-up areas in less than a generation. What remains is less than a quarter, with over 750 hectares "gone forever".

The case of Rome and its 'sventramenti'[19] brings us to what I call the 'pick-axe era', whose uncontested hero is Benito Mussolini, the dictator who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943. His urban policies were in many respects consistent with those of the pre-Fascist administrations, who had managed the city from the time Rome became the capital of unified Italy in 1870. But Mussolini added a new ideological twist, using the city of the past as a stage for the political propaganda of the present and the future. In the words of the man himself: "(...) it is necessary to free all of old Rome of its mediocre deformities, and next to ancient and medieval Rome we must create the monumental Rome of the twentieth century. Rome cannot and should not be only a modern city, in the rather banal sense of the word: instead, it must be a city worthy of its glory, a glory which must be unendingly renewed in order that it may be transmitted to future generations as the legacy of the Fascist Age."[20]

Today, there is no trace or memory of the many houses, streets and the life they contained that succumbed to Mussolini's pick-axe.[21] Already in 1936, the two quarters hit hardest by the demolitions, the *Rioni Pigna* and *S. Angelo*, had lost respectively 38 and 58 percent of their residents,[22] their inhabitants 'deported' to the so-called *borgate*, a disparaging term used to indicate a sub-standard settlement *(borgo)*, neither city nor countryside, miles away from the center of Rome, indeed a no-man's-land where the newly arrived had no hope of replacing the social network or the jobs they had lost in the city.[23] By the time Mussolini was through and the Fascist Age over, some of the most densely populated and lively areas of historic Rome had been completely voided, their residents gone or reduced to a mere few. In their place came pretentious public buildings and oversized roads that still convey a sense of void, a staged emptiness and alienation, which 65 years of wear and tear and city life have not been able to fill. In case you think that Mussolini's brutal demolitions are a thing of the past and that nobody would dare do similar things these days, let me mention Bucharest, the capital of Romania, whose center was razed to the ground by Nicolae Ceausescu and replaced with questionable modernist phalansteries only twenty-five years ago. Also in this case, the motivation was nationalistic pride coupled with mischievous propaganda. The area affected measured five kilometers long and one kilometer wide. Bulldozers flattened more than 250 historically significant hectares out of a total of 500. Almost 25 percent of historic Bucharest was wiped out within a span of five short years. This must have been the swiftest and probably the "largest peacetime urban destruction (...) in recorded history."[24]

More recent examples of autocratic urban policies, perhaps less bombastic and ideologically charged, but still aimed at the total reconfiguration of the physical and social context of venerable historic cities, include Samarkand in Uzbekistan and Kashgar in China. In the first case, an entire traditional neighborhood in the Gur-i Emir district,[25] comprising 22 hectares and more than 550 traditional mud brick structures, was demolished in 1997 to isolate monuments and create empty and rather sad gardens. In the case of Kashgar, considered "the best-preserved example of a traditional Islamic city to be found anywhere in central Asia,"[26] the scale of destruction is even greater. As we speak, 51 hectares, equal to 85 percent of the historic walled city, are being demolished, ostensibly to prevent the consequences of future earthquakes. After demolition, several thousand families of the Uighur ethnic minority will be relocated to concrete public housing in the outskirts of Kashgar.[27]

[18] So described by Hermann Grimm in 1886: "What traveller has not known the Ludovisi Gardens? What scholar, dreamer, painter, has not found his heaven here? Those immemorial pines, making twilight beneath them in the sunniest noon, those lofty walls of bays and of abustus, those dim, green, shadowy aisles leading to velvet swards and violet-studded banks, the family of peacocks spreading their purples, their emeralds, their gold, out in the glory of the radiant light, the nightingales singing night and day in the fragrant solitude, Sappho's angel in Corinna's gardens—who has not known these? Who has not loved these? And they are gone, gone forever; gone through the greed of men, and in their stead will stand the vile rows of cheap and staring houses: in their place will reign the devil of centralisation." Ouida, *Views and Opinions*, London: Methuen & Co., 1896, p. 98.

[19] Literally "disembowelment", a term used to characterize the drastic demolitions of historic quarters carried out during the Fascist period.

[20] Benito Mussolini, Speech of 21 April 1924 published in "Consociazione turistica italiana", *Attraverso l'Italia*, Milano: Bertieri, 1941, Volume IX, p.19 [My translation].

[21] Mussolini himself remarked with satisfaction: "When going through Via dell'Impero now, a considerable mnemonic effort is needed to locate the streets which have disappeared." Quoted in Daniele Manacorda and Renato Tamassia, *Il piccone del regime*, Roma: Armando Curcio editore, 1985, p.68 [My translation].

[22] Ibid., p.67.

[23] Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica*, Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1971, p. 145. On the post-WW II developers' sack of Rome see also A. Cederna, *Mirabilia Urbis*, Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1965, the essence of which remains valid to this day.

[24] Ioana Iosa, *L'Héritage urbain de Ceausescu: fardeau ou saut en avant? Le Centre Civique de Bucarest*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006.

[25] This is a densely populated area within the old Timurid City, located to the south of the central Registan square.

[26] George Michell, Marika Vicziany, Tsui Yen Hu, *Kashgar: Oasis City on China's Old Silk Road*, London: Frances Lincoln Limited Publishers, 2008.

[27] Michael Wines, "To Protect an Ancient City, China Moves to Raze It", *The New York Times*, 27 May 2009.

Loss in the Name of Progress

Such policies are today being applied widely in many countries undergoing rapid industrialization. They highlight a second aspect of the demolition doctrine, that which justifies the destruction of historic fabric on the grounds of safety, hygiene, facilitation of traffic, and social and economic progress. This practice has a long and quite noble tradition, going back to the nineteenth century when concerned municipal administrators and enlightened engineers, rightly dismayed by the condition of workers' housing at the height of the Industrial Revolution, rejected the existing city and recommended decentralization and improved housing conditions.[28] But they never went so far as to imagine the obliteration of entire traditional neighborhoods, the displacement of their residents and the radical substitution of their cherished and familiar city fabric. This is a much later development, which, in its most virulent form, can be traced to the urban renewal projects of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s in Europe and the United States, and which continues to be perpetrated under the infamous label of 'slum clearance' throughout the developing world.

We can begin our round-up of destruction in the name of progress by looking at Istanbul, Rome's eastern successor in the ancient world,[29] and the much-admired cosmopolitan capital of the Ottoman Empire of later centuries. Fire safety was the reason for obliterating much of the densely built up historic fabric of the Golden Horn, covering a surface area of 1500 hectares.[30] To these may be added the historic districts located to the north as well as those on the Asian side of the Bosphorus.

Look at historic photos and postcards from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and you get a glimpse of Istanbul's former beauty. A beauty and complexity echoed in the Pervitich Fire Insurance Maps,[31] which provide a wonderfully detailed record of the city at this time: a city layered with extraordinary monuments, small neighborhood mosques, bazaars, cemeteries, bath houses, public fountains, beautiful wooden houses and enclosed gardens. A city that, with the exception of its major monuments and covered bazaars, has largely vanished today.[32]

Its destruction began in the 1950s, spurred by massive rural in-migration and facilitated by the total surrender of public development controls to private initiatives , and all to benefit an aggressive minority of urban developers and property speculators.[33] Then as now, fire prevention and other potential disasters were used in good and in bad faith to demolish entire neighborhoods, rather than as a rationale to put in place reasonable preventative measures.[34] The result of these policies is that, of the over 150,000 timber houses standing in Istanbul in the 1950s, hardly one percent survives (some 1,500 structures), and only barely so.

This wholesale destruction of historic building fabric for fear of potential fire, earthquakes, floods, or landslides[35] can only be compared to the massive demolitions brought on by the social and transportation engineers of the twentieth century. Their zeal targeted precious city centers, with disastrous effect. Improving social conditions and easing motorized traffic were the preferred justifications for the huge re-

[28] See Bruce I. Coleman (ed.), *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

[29] Then known as Byzantium and later as Constantinople, the so-called "Second Rome".

[30] This is the surface of the city up to the 15th century, built on the southern shore of the Golden Horn and corresponding more or less to the area of ancient Byzantium / Constantinople. A surface area which was, interestingly enough, roughly equal to the extent of ancient Rome. This same portion of today's Istanbul is the area nominated by UNESCO to the World Heritage List (1985). The historic portions of Istanbul, however, are much larger and coincide roughly with the limits the city reached in 1922. These included the north side of the Golden Horn, with the medieval district of Beyoglu (Pera) and the 19th century district of Besiktas, comprising the later Sultans' palaces and the former villages of Ortaköy and Bebek along the western shores of the Bospohrus. To these must be added the districts of Üsküdar (ancient Chrysopolis) and Kadıköy (the ancient Chalcedon) located on the Asian side.

[31] Jacques Pervitich, Plan Cadastral d'Assurances, 1925-26 (Published in *Sigorta Haritalarında Istanbul: Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervitich*) Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayinlari, 2006.

[32] "According to the greatest living Istanbullu, the novelist and Nobel Laureate Orhan Pamuk, "these ruins are reminders that the present city is so poor and confused that it can never again dream of rising to the same heights of wealth, power and culture." And these reminders, says Pamuk in his memoir *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, "inflict heartache on all those who live among them." There's a Turkish word for this sadness "that is unique to Istanbul, and that binds its people together:" *huzun*, which roughly translates as "melancholy". Pamuk sees *huzun* in many things: "I am speaking of (…) the wooden buildings whose every board creaked, even when they were pashas' mansions (…) of ships' horns booming through the fog; of the crowds of men fishing from the sides of Galata Bridge (…)" Quoted by Nigel Richardson, "Istanbul, Magnificence and Melancholy", *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 September 2007.

[33] "In the last 10-15 years, innumerable Turkish houses have been destroyed with merciless obstinacy and persistence in an incomprehensible manner, which should strike terror into the breast of every patriotic citizen, while the destruction of the remaining houses continues with ever increasing speed and certainty." In Önder Küçükerman, *Turkish House, In Search of Spatial Identity*, Istanbul: Turkish Touring and Automobile Association, 1978, p. 9.

[34] "The Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul is considering large-scale urban renovation as one of the vulnerability reduction tools for the existing building stock. Different options for urban renovation are being evaluated based on community needs, safety and improved economic activity." Quoted from a recent flyer produced by the Disaster Coordination Centre (AKOM) of the Istanbul Municipality.

[35] These feared disasters actually have struck more heavily the poorly or indeed unplanned settlements hastily built during the second half of the 20th century, where greed, expedience or ignorance have determined the poor location of many recent urban developments.

newal projects implemented in North America, such as the redevelopment of large sections of New York City by Commissioner Robert Moses, from the 1930s to the 1970s. His undertakings are legendary and were amplified by his populist views and by the size and mass appeal of some of his projects.

The planning precepts applied by Robert Moses are largely discredited today, at least in North America, thanks in no small part to the relentless criticism of Jane Jacobs. Jacobs, through her social activism and influential writing,[36] strongly opposed the displacement of residents,[37] the clearance of old tenements and the construction of motorways meant to cut through the center of lower Manhattan like a 'meat axe'.[38] In fact, the scars these practices left on older North American cities remain, and the methods applied are still practiced around the world where congested traffic and social pressures continue to mount.

An instructive example of the negative effects of urban renewal policies is Boston, one of the largest and most valuable historic areas in the United States.[39] The planning practices introduced by Robert Moses in New York also took their toll here, when the newly established Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) decided in 1958 to demolish the entire historic West End, together with the nineteenth-century buildings around Scollay and Adams Squares. Guilty of being "shabby and tumble-down"[40] almost 23 hectares of historic fabric were condemned. A new highway, an array of residential high-rise buildings and a new government center and town hall replaced the dignified, though temporarily disheveled, neighborhoods around Scollay Square. As a result, between 1958 and 1960, 3,000 housing units were demolished and 10,000 residents forced to leave in spite of strong resistance and widespread protest.

The redevelopments in Boston became a symbol of all that was wrong with the urban renewal methods prevailing at the time. "This project (...) brutally displaced people, disrupted neighborhoods and destroyed pleasing buildings, only to create a vast approximation of a battlefield."[41] Boston's mayor at the time, John Frederick Collins, moved quickly to revise the plans and called in a capable planner and public administrator, Edward "Ed" J. Logue. Logue was an intelligent man and immediately realized that something was wrong with the Boston redevelopment plans. "Renewal and rehabilitation do not guarantee beauty. It is entirely possible to rebuild Boston in an unattractive, unimaginative way which will make people wonder whether the new is in fact better than the old."[42] But, being a man of his times, he quickly added: "It is the function of distinguished architecture and imaginative civic design to see that beauty is the hallmark of the renewed city. Beauty once flourished in Boston. It must again."[43]

But it didn't, in spite of Logue's best efforts and the hiring of some very capable architects to redesign the new civic core of the former Scollay Square.[44] The result, including a new government center, city hall and a vast plaza, allegedly modeled after Italian precedents, are universally considered an urban flop, as reviled as the Barbican Complex in the City of London. To its credit, the Barbican was built to fill in an area badly bombed during the Second World War and did not require any prior demolition of existing historic properties.

Why discuss Boston in such detail? Because Boston exemplifies one of the major recurrent blunders by city planners and administrators, one that seemingly is repeated over and over in spite of the abysmal results obtained. It is the belief that the existing city fabric--which is the result of a long, highly complex and intricate accretive process--can with a single stroke be erased and replaced with "distinguished architecture and imaginative design." As we shall see later, a sum of grand new buildings a city does not make. As Logue perceptively guessed, the replacement is almost always a disappointment, and it does leave people wondering whether "the new is in fact better than the old."

And this is not just a matter of aesthetics. In the case of Boston and New York, the high-rise housing developments that substituted the old city fabric were largely beyond the means of the former residents, who had to pack and go. This aspect was harshly criticized and eventually weakened the social credibility of the urban renewal programs in the United States and in Europe.

Loss Through Neglect and Small-scale Development

Not so in other parts of the world where widespread deterioration followed by compulsory acquisition, forcible relocation of

[36] Jane Jacobs' most influential book is: *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Modern Library Edition, 1993.
[37] Estimated to be in the order of 170,000 people for the city of New York.
[38] "When you operate in an overbuilt metropolis you have to hack your way with a meat axe". R. Moses quoted in Robert Cowan, *The Dictionary of Urbanism*, Tisbury, Wiltshire: Streetwise Press, 2005, p. 250.
[39] The original area of Boston is usually given as covering the roughly 300 hectares (750 acres) of the Shawmut Peninsula. This surface more than doubled during the nineteenth century as a result of land reclamation efforts, when the bays, coves and inlets surrounding old Boston were gradually filled in. For the history of Boston, and in particular the vicissitudes of the West End neighbourhood, see Lawrence W. Kennedy, *Planning the City Upon a Hill: Boston since 1630*, Amherst: University of Massachussets Press, 1994, pp. 157-192. For additional information on Boston's urban developments, I am indebted to John Avault, Chief Economist, Boston Redevelopment Authority.
[40] Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston. A Topographical History*, Cambridge (MA) and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 201.
[41] Ibid., p. 201.
[42] Ibid., p. 204.
[43] Ibid., p. 204.
[44] The architects involved included I.M. Pei and Associates; Kallman, McKinnel & Knwoles; Architects Collaborative of Cambridge; and Glaser Associates.

residents and total redevelopment are still the order of the day, all carried out under the disreputable umbrella of 'slum clearance'. But this definition can be misleading when applied to developing or rapidly emerging countries. Here, the so-called 'slums' often coincide with the historic parts of cities, centuries-old and with names that continue to resonate, such as Lahore, Cairo, Lhasa, Mumbai or Zanzibar, to cite just a few.

Over the past half century, many of these historic areas have gone through a debilitating and highly destructive process of deterioration, triggered by exploding demographics and failing infrastructure. Often, the abandonment of once flourishing cities by the middle classes, who moved to the newly developed expansion areas or fled as a result of political upheaval, has brought to an end both regular care of the buildings and public investment in the infrastructure. New groups take the place of the original residents, often people from the countryside, with low incomes and little familiarity with the requirements of maintaining an urban setting. The result has been a downward spiral of decay that has transformed these historic areas into marginal, increasingly neglected and dysfunctional sectors of the city. This process of deterioration has been accompanied by unregulated transformations of historic structures that are carried out piecemeal by residents to meet the needs of their growing families. In recent times, and of greater consequence, is the expulsion of residents and the outright replacement of valuable historic properties with ad hoc new commercial buildings by businessmen and small-time developers.

A few data from places where I have worked and know quite well will give a sense of the levels of physical deterioration and unregulated transformation sustained by these historic areas. In the case of Zanzibar, for example, the survey carried out in 1992 showed that approximately 85 percent of the buildings in the historic area were in deteriorating or poor condition. In addition, between 1982 and 1992, Zanzibar lost or saw substantially altered approximately 670, or 46 percent, of its 1,450 historic structures, as a consequence of inappropriate changes or structural failure determined by protracted lack of maintenance.[45] In Islamic Cairo, more than half of the registered buildings were lost during the second half of the twentieth century in the wake of uncontrolled urban development.[46] A detailed study carried out in 1998 in Cairo's historic al-Darb al-Ahmar district, showed that 64 percent of the buildings were in poor or deteriorating condition, with an additional 16 percent in ruins or abandoned.[47] Of the 1,400 registered buildings recorded within the walled city of Lahore in 1987, less than half survives today. More worrisome is the decline in the population in Lahore's historic area, estimated to have been 250,000 people in 1947 and today reduced to approximately 146,000 (representing a loss of almost 60 percent). This significant loss may be attributed to the unregulated expansion of commercial activities which brought about a massive exodus of residents. As a result, commercial uses and warehousing expanded tenfold over the past sixty years, from six hectares in 1947 to 63 hectares in 2007, out of the total of 200 hectares that constitute the built-up area of Lahore's historic walled city.[48]

Loss Inflicted by Tourism and Commercial Development

Against this already worrisome scenario of deterioration and uncontrolled change, tourism has spearheaded a new wave of transformations since the 1980s, often justified by the mistaken need to upgrade and 'beautify' historic places to better respond to the alleged expectations of foreign visitors. Tourism is in fact seen as the miracle solution that will underwrite the revitalization of historic areas. The benefits of tourism in historic areas are thought to be creation of employment, increased revenue from taxes and tourist expenditures, and, above all, private investment opportunities aimed at converting the use of land and buildings into profitable commercial activities. This last motivation is in fact the primary drive behind the recent and not so recent spate of transformations associated with tourism development in historic cities and towns around the world.

The advantages for local administrations and private businessmen are undeniable, but the corresponding negative repercussions on buildings and on residents' quality of life are rarely considered or quantified. These include increased traffic, congestion and pollution, enormous strain on local infrastructure and resources, a transformation of historic buildings and public spaces (so-called 'beautification'), an escalation in housing and living costs, radical changes in the kinds of commercial activities, loss of residents and, last but not least, deterioration in the socio-cultural values for the communities concerned. In social terms, the case of Venice, an international tourist destination par excellence, is perhaps the most illustrative. Here the loss of resident population in the historic area has been dramatic, with a decrease of 56

[45] Francesco Siravo, *Zanzibar. A Plan for the Historic Stone Town*, Geneva: The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 1996, pp. 96-103.
[46] Anthony M. Tung, Ibid., p.16.
[47] "Conservation Planning in the Aslam Mosque Neighbourhood", Geneva: The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, HCP, 1999 (unpublished report).
[48] "The Lahore Walled City: A Preliminary Strategic Framework", Geneva: The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, HCP, 2008 (unpublished report).

percent in forty years, from 136,000 inhabitants in 1978 to 60,000 today.[49] This decrease is aggravated by the abnormal increase in the age of the population, far above the national average, with over one quarter of residents above 65 years of age and more than one third of resident families without any children. These dramatic data regarding the decline in population and the aging of residents must be correlated with the data on tourism: an eightfold increase in annual numbers from 1.1 million in 1951 to 8.2 million visitors today, and an estimated number of 'day-trippers' per year in the order of 19 to 20 million.[50] In 1998, Venice reported a daily presence of 40 tourists for every 100 residents. Today, the estimate is more than double (86/100). This increase corresponds to a dramatic reduction in commercial outlets and social services[51] catering to residents, and a parallel increase in those serving tourists and day-trippers.

A survey carried out on a sample of Venice's residents in 1998 highlighted their dissatisfaction with medical and social services (over 71 percent were unhappy), and the lack of affordable food markets, cultural and nearby sport facilities and green areas (over 50 percent dissatisfied). Eighty percent of the residents interviewed also lamented the high cost of living, while 57 percent complained about the lack of affordable housing, and over 55 percent claimed dissatisfaction with an excessive presence of tourists. All of these perceptions explain the continued abandonment of the historic area by its residents over the subsequent ten years.

Venice exemplifies the risk many historic cities face today of becoming a mix of museum and theme park, deserted by their residents and besieged by hordes of visitors. It is a chilling prospect: a city bereft of its social base, its historical significance and image trivialized.

However distressed socially, Venice is able to protect its physical fabric with strict building regulations that impede demolition and substantial alterations. Other European cities, similarly affected by tourism and commercial development, allow greater latitude for change and transformation. In these cases, physical change can be measured in the disappearance and substitution of traditional commercial outlets and artisans' shops, generally followed by irreversible renovations, and the effects of so-called 'facadism'.[52] 'Facadism' describes a strategy for transformation that consists of "changing interiors and keeping the exteriors almost unchanged" in order to increase the value of properties and maximize flexibility in commercial use.[53] In short, it is the ultimate form of 'adaptive re-use', indeed adaptive re-use gone wild. These changes are harder to quantify because they are less immediately apparent, but their effect on the historic fabric can be profound. By divorcing the exteriors from the interiors of buildings, an historic city gradually is reduced to a theatrical stage set, and eventually it slides into insignificance.[54]

The champions of 'facadism' are the municipal administrations in Brussels and Paris, where extensive gutting of buildings behind shored up wafer-thin facades took place in the 1970s and 1980s. In the case of the Marais area in Paris, the combination of reconstruction behind historic skins, building substitutions and selective demolitions, spearheaded a process of commercial and social transformation that became one of the best known examples of gentrification. After the so-called *mise en valeur* of the Marais, more than 20,000 people, 25 percent of the residents, were displaced, and replaced in part by more affluent newcomers.[55]

Countless examples of 'facadism' and associated practices have taken place and continue to take place under various forms and for the same reasons in the United Kingdom, Spain, the United States, Canada, Australia and Russia. Considered a compromise, whereby, if not the substance, at least the veneer of the traditional city fabric can be preserved, 'facadism' feels to me more like a form of demolition in disguise. But you would waste your time going through specialized literature and magazines trying to find quantitative data on the cumulative effects of this practice. The truth is nobody has ever added up the toll of 'facadism', perhaps because it doesn't seem that bad after all.[56] Or, as planning consultant Richard Coleman says: "There's a lot that nobody ever notices or measures because it's behind existing facades."[57] I can only mention an example from personal experience. In 1979, while a student in Bruges, I watched entire blocks gutted and rebuilt to house un-

[49] Calculations based on the comprehensive survey carried out in 1998: F. Perego and F. Sbetti, "Vivere a Venezia: vita quotidiana e qualita dei servizi", Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia, 1998 (unpublished report).
[50] The so-called '*mordi e fuggi*' visitors are tourists who 'bite and run', i.e. day-trippers.
[51] These include schools, medical facilities, areas for sports and recreation, etc.
[52] Or 'facadicide'or 'facadomy', as some preservationists refer to this practice.
[53] Francoise Benhamou, "Who Owns Cultural Goods? The case of the built heritage," Matisse, Université de Paris I et Université de Rouen, Undated Paper.
[54] For a full discussion of 'facadism' see Jonathan Richards, *Facadism*, Routledge, 1994.
[55] Waclaw Ostrowsky, *Les ensembles historiques et l'urbanisme*, Paris: Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme, 1976, p. 325 For the case of Paris, see also Pierre Dufau & Albert Laprade, *La démolition de Paris*, Nancy: Berger Levrault, 1967.
[56] Better than total annihilation, in the opinion of many.

derground parking and commercial facilities next to the medieval market square. I had never seen skin-deep facades propped up and trying to put a brave face on what seemed to me a pretty hollow heritage scam. I surveyed the area for an assignment and measured the surface of what seemed the largest development, a deep crater encompassing several blocks, surrounded by dozens of the skin-deep facades on all sides. It was huge: 45,000 square meters, the size of nine American football fields strung together. I have wondered ever since: how many football fields would there be if we were to add up all the voids carved out of our cities' historic fabric and hidden behind these fragile stage-set facades?

Loss Caused by Mega-Events

There is however no need to wonder about the next and last case of our enquiry into the global destruction of urban heritage. Here quantitative information can be found quite readily-it just needs to be pieced together. What I refer to is the new frontier of tourism, commercial development, gentrification, staged happening, universal fair and international celebration, all rolled together into an instant and explosive mix: the Mega-Event.

The 500th Anniversary of Columbus' Voyage to the Americas in Santo Domingo (1992), the Seoul Summer Olympics (1998), the Hannover Expo (2000), the Athens Olympic Games (2004), the Beijing Olympic Games (2008) and the upcoming Soccer World Cup in South Africa (2010), to name a few, are all mega-events sharing the same characteristics: a high international profile and a fixed deadline and duration. Moreover, they generate enormous masses of tourists, create substantial employment and big economic returns, involve governments in a big way and, above all, can change the face of the places in which they are held.[58] And herein lies the crux of the matter. These short-term mega-events can have long-term mega impact on the cities concerned.[59] No doubt, mega-events can bring quick returns and immediate benefits for those directly involved; and sometimes civic pride, new dynamism and prestige for national governments and local communities. But they are also known for leaving behind a trail of social disruption and displacement, economic failure,[60] half-baked and unsustainable initiatives, hurried 'beautification' projects, as well as questionable attempts at instant and often disappointing 'modernization'. The human rights violations, especially in cases associated with the clearance of informal settlements in preparation for these mega-events, have been such that international organizations have been advised to establish a set of unequivocal compliance requirements prior to accepting any applications by cities wanting to host these venues.[61] But the effect these mega-events have on the cities in question and their historic heritage has never been sufficiently taken into consideration, and it is unlikely to become the source of compliance requirements any time soon. This is in spite of the loud protests and thousands of blogs by those who witness or suffer the insensitive policies that almost always accompany the preparations for these international events.

The Beijing Olympic Games of 2008 are a perfect illustration of the nefarious effect mega-events can have on the historic urban heritage and the city as a whole. The facts are plain enough: the old alleyways (*hutongs*) and courtyard houses (*siheyuan*) of Beijing have been part of the city's urban history for at least six centuries. They are associated with the area outside the main southern entrance of the city, known as "Front Gate" or *Qianmen*. In the sixteenth century, the area was incorporated into the city and surrounded by an expanded city wall built during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). After the seventeenth century, Qianmen became a vibrant residential and commercial area, famous for its shops, artisans and entertainment, when it was resettled by the Ming officials expelled from the Inner City[62] by the new Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty. Many large *siheyuan* were built in this period by important officials and wealthy merchants, houses with beautiful walled gardens, carved wooden pillars and painted roof beams. Although damaged during the Boxer Rising of 1900, Qianmen remained one of Beijing's most lively sectors until the 1949 Revolution.

A sense of what this area must have been like during the

[57] Quoted in "English Heritage 'obstructs' new anti-facadism report," *The Architects' Journal*, January 2002.

[58] These definitions are given by Harry H. Hiller of Calgary University in 'Assessing the Impact of Mega-Events: A Linkage Model', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1998).

[59] Here I am paraphrasing the opinion expressed by British sociologist Maurice Roche, "Mega-events and Urban Policy", in *Annals of Tourism Res.*, 21, 1994 (1, 1-2).

[60] In fact the positive economic impact and profitability for the host cities over the long-term remains to be proven and is often explicitly questioned. This is what two economists, discussing the likely impact of the UEFA Championship of 2012, have to say: "Although the event will attract a large number of spectators and television viewers, a simple cost-benefit analysis indicates that the costs of hosting the event will exceed the direct economic impact related to increased tourist spending by a wide margin (…). Sports mega-events may not be effective regional economic development vehicles in transition economies." See Brad R. Humphreys and Szymon Prokopowicz, "Assessing the impact of sports mega-events in transition economies: EURO 2012 in Poland and Ukraine," *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, Volume 2, Number 5-6/200, pp. 496–509.

[61] Solomon J. Greene, "Staged Cities: Mega-events, Slum Clearance, and Global Capital," *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*, Vol. 6, 2003, pp. 162-187. The article examines in particular the cases of the Santo Domingo Columbus Anniversary (1992) and the Seoul Olympics (1998).

[62] The Inner City was the concentric first circle surrounding the Forbidden City built by the Ming Dynasty in the 15th century.

first half of the twentieth century, with its street markets, temple fairs and neighborhood games, comes out vividly from the pages of Jasper Becker's delightful book on Beijing. He reminds us that a city is more than the sum of its monuments and buildings, and truly lives and thrives on the spirit of its long-established residents.[63]

A process of decay followed the 1949 Revolution. This led to the disappearance of many *hutongs* and associated buildings. By the year 2000, for example, the Xicheng District had lost approximately 25 percent or 200 of the 820 *hutongs* existing in 1949. This percentage is close to the percentages of loss experienced by other historic cities elsewhere. Beijing also went through a process of subdivision and transformation of its historic houses in ways that are similar to what happened in other old city centers. As proven by the results obtained elsewhere, however, the process of deterioration and loss of historic fabric can be stopped and even reversed if there is the political determination and will to apply sensible rehabilitation policies.

Not so in Beijing where the new millennium and the approaching Olympics mega-event unleashed a demolition frenzy without precedent in China and elsewhere in the world. In 2006, UNESCO estimated that, in the short span of three years, approximately one third of the central part of the old city had been destroyed. This is equal to a surface of over 2,000 hectares, or six and a half times the size of historic Quito. By 2008, 84 percent of the traditional *hutongs* standing in the early 1980s had been raised to the ground.[64] The social dimensions of this tragedy are equally staggering, with 580,000 people displaced and resettled, one and a half times the total population of Washington D.C.[65] The human distress that accompanied and followed the countless forced evictions can be judged by the spate of attempted suicides reported by human rights organizations.[66]

The official reason given by the authorities for what has been defined by *The Economist* as an "orgy of destruction"[67] is quite familiar. According to an official document, old, dilapidated houses are "dangerous" and must therefore be demolished.[68] The real reasons behind the demolitions, however, are the ones we have seen elsewhere and would expect. The Olympics represented a unique opportunity to generate the extraordinary economic returns that come with big construction projects, and to allow the capital of the country to take a giant leap toward modernity. This explains the compulsive, unrestrained will to eradicate a past which is seen as a source of shame and embarrassment. A past that has no place among the sleek new 'signature' structures designed "to transport a 2,000-year-old city into the future."[69]

But the Beijing case introduces a new paradoxical twist which would be laughable if the results were not so tragic. It is the fantastic claim that the destruction of the centuries-old historic districts of China's capital is a shining example of urban conservation. According to Liu Qi, the senior Olympics organizer, "This area is being protected. When it is complete, these will be Beijing streets from the late Ming or early Qing Dynasties that also have modern content."[70] It is a travesty of what actually happened, which "meant the loss of wonderful old houses and some wonderful architecture, and its replacement with fake things (made) of tile-covered steel and concrete."[71] Really, not much more than a 'fake antique' shopping mall built for the instant gratification of hurried tourists and the newly rich.

Going, going gone...gone the shared memory, gone the culture and gone the centuries of Beijing's urban heritage. Will China's lessons be learned in time for the world's next mega-event?

* * *

Where does this inventory of destruction leave us? The fragmentary and incomplete summary I have presented shows that, on average, between one third and one half of the historic urban fabric of our historic cities has been lost since World War II. I have only presented cases known to me either because I have read about them or actually worked on them. The evidence shows that destruction has occurred in all regions of the world. Even a cursory reflection on the cities we know personally will confirm that the same destructive forces are at work everywhere. While in some parts of the world, such as Europe, the rate of disappearance may be slowing down due to a greater awareness of our cultural heritage, in others the pace is accelerating. Indeed it may already

[63] Jasper Becker, "City of Heavenly Tranquility: Beijing" in the *History of China*, Oxford University Press, 2008.
[64] Reported by Mure Dickie, "Ancient quarter makes way for modern antiquity," *Financial Times*, 17 June 2008.
[65] Quoted in Sean Gallagher's "Beijing's Urban Makeover: the hutong destruction" openDemocracy Ltd. (12/06/06).
[66] Two suicides were actually reported. See S. Gallagher above.
[67] "The destruction of old Beijing. Going, Gone" *The Economist*, 31 July 2008.
[68] "The Protection Plan of 25 Beijing Historic and Cultural Protected Districts". Quoted in "Destruction of Beijing city center escalates", *Things Asian* (3/27/03).
[69] This is a direct quote from Albert Speer, the son of Hitler's architect, who worked on the plans for the Olympics and thus described his mission for the creation of a new Beijing. (Quoted in "The destruction of old Beijing. Going, Gone" *The Economist*, 31 July 2008).
[70] Mure Dickie, Ibid.
[71] Zhang Wei, resident and conservationist, quoted by Mure Dickie, Ibid.

have reached the point of no return. If this global trend continues, there is a strong likelihood that, within the next two generations, the vast majority of our cities' historic heritage will be irreversibly impaired or lost altogether.

Of course, for the reasons I have already mentioned, I cannot provide absolute and uncontestable data. And I am the first to underline the need for the search for reliable indicators if we want to move away from generic statements and begin to monitor and counteract what is today the unfolding tragedy of our vanishing urban heritage. But does anybody in this room doubt the magnitude of the phenomenon, or its pervasive and globalized nature? Can anybody say in good conscience, after considering the destruction observed in many cities, that the problem does not exist? Or pretend that the worst is over? Or deny that we are facing a global emergency? I think not.

Hard data have been gathered and have done much to raise awareness about global warming, the disappearing tropical forests, shrinking coral reefs, and polluted and diminishing sources of water. The survival of our much threatened historic cities and towns is equally relevant for the well-being of our present and future societies. As I will try to demonstrate, in spite of their current plight, historic cities are the only successful models of sustainable, balanced human settlement we have; and the only ones we can confidently pass on to future generations as the repository of an uninterrupted tradition of city building that continues to be relevant to this day.[72]

Cities as Works of Art

And, in order to go straight to the heart of the problem, let me ask: What is so special about historic cities and why do we care so much about them? Is it because they are disappearing, quite fast as we have seen, and becoming more and more a rare commodity? Or are there more fundamental reasons? Answering this question is important if we want to understand the core of the problem, and figure out what is to be done. Strictly speaking, the concept of historic city or 'centre', as it is often referred to especially in Europe, is a fairly recent construct. It never existed in the past. There may have been a central square, but never a separate entity within the city called the 'centre'. And this for the simple reason that there were no peripheral areas recognizable as separate parts of the city. The city was the city and that was the end of it. Often surrounded by high walls, it represented the limit of urban living, as opposed to life in the countryside.

The existence of a separate historic center begins to be perceived only after the Industrial Revolution, when demographics shoot up, productive functions diversify and eventually new transportation systems come into the picture. More and more countryside is gobbled up by the expanding periphery and the 'centre' grows smaller and smaller. The result is the disappearance of the long-established synergy between city and countryside. And the 'city' of our grandfathers, great-grandfathers and forefathers of many generations, ceases to exist, replaced by the shapeless metropolis and sprawl of modern times.

The paradox in all of this is that, while we proclaim the obsolescence of the past and the need for change, we continue to recognize the ever shrinking and increasingly besieged old centers as the only truly presentable parts of our cities. They are the only places fit to represent our culture, our identity and collective memory.[73] And no wonder: who wants to identify with the desolate peripheries and call them 'my city'?

We are not fooled by the glitz and glamour of a few commercial centers and residential enclaves. Places like New Cairo or Milano 3, the planned communities meant to attract the wealthy, eagerly publicized in the glossy real estate brochures.[74] These are hardly the places most people live in. For most urban dwellers, home is the amorphous and run-down periphery of our metropolises.[75] Peripheries that look alike: ugly, marginal, profoundly undemocratic, and devoid of significance and memory.

And without memory we are lost, as anybody who has a relative affected by dementia knows. Without memory, and the sense of identity that comes with it, we spiral into violence, as recent riots in the French *banlieues* have shown.[76] And finally, without memory there is no art, as the ancients knew all too well when they made Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, the mother of all the arts, personified by the famous Nine Muses of Greek mythology.

[72] "It is only ignorance that impedes most people from seeing how much we rely upon tradition (…) Because of the advancements in science and technology, our lives have been so overwhelmed by the new that this has created the misleading impression that the heritage inherited from the past is irrelevant today." Ernst H. Gombrich, quoted in Paolo Marconi, *Il recupero della bellezza*, Milano: Skira editore, 2005, p. 60 [My translation].

[73] Pierluigi Cervellati, "Centro Storico" in various authors, *Lessico dei Beni Culturali*, Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C., 1994, p. 16.

[74] Promoted either as the embodiment of a fashionable return to the past or as the new frontier of modern living, they appear to me more like the instant surrogates of a lost identity.

[75] An especially powerful description of the ugliness of our peripheries can be found in Hans Sedlmayr, The Death of the Light, III, 2 (1964), quoted in Umberto Eco (ed.), *Storia della bruttezza*, Bompiani, 2007, p. 340.

[76] For an analysis of the banlieu crisis in France see Franco La Cecla, *Contro l'architettura*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2008, pp. 63-65.

Indeed, memory lies at the core of the urban construct, undoubtedly the most complex human artifact, produced by the cumulative efforts of countless individuals across many generations. It is a "total mnemonic symbol" made up of monuments and memorials, public buildings and communal spaces, but also of immaterial events and rituals, such as processions, festivals and sacrifices, in which our ancestors identified themselves with their town, "with its past and its founders".[77] An underlying mnemonic thread that, judging by the many parallels and recurring patterns, seems to link all pre-industrial cultures and societies, from ancient Rome to India, China and pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, and that seems to exist at the very center of the universal urban experience.[78]

"I could tell you," Marco Polo says to the Kublai Khan, "how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the curving arcades, and what kind of zinc plates cover the roofs; but I know that it would be the same as telling you nothing. Not of this is made a city, but of relationships between the measures of its space and the events of its past." Zaira, the imaginary city of memory described by Calvino in his Invisible Cities, "does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of lighting rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls."[79]

Zaira can be seen as the universal paradigm of what we recognize as historic cities. Cities that show in their fabric the endearing signs of the wear and tear that comes with the passage of time. But mostly cities in which we recognize a sustained will to preserve across time and generations the memory of the past embodied in their houses and representative public buildings, and in the realm of their public places. This underlying will to build for continuity and in continuity is what distinguishes the cities of the past from their pale contemporary counterparts. It is what gives historic cities their beauty and ultimately makes them veritable works of art. Look at this row of extraordinary private houses in Genoa's Strada Nuova. So powerful is the want for beauty and continuity that the entire street was conceived as a state initiative in 1550 to house the merchant aristocracy of the city. Intended as a civic monument and supervised by the city's administration continuously over a period of 166 years, it is the result of a precise plan in which the purchasers of the building sites had to build houses of predetermined sizes aligned along straight lines. This did not impede invention and variety, but all were ordered around the ideal model of the courtyard palace and its recurrent elements: a rusticated basement, superimposed orders of columns and pilasters, monumental doorways, pedimented windows, loggias and upper cornices. What we see today is the product of a powerful initial idea, sustained by a public administration over a long period of time, and realized through the use of a consistent architectural vocabulary.[80]

I could show many other examples that exemplify the role of memory and continuity in traditional urban planning, from the sixteenth-century Sistine plan of Rome linking the great Christian sanctuaries inherited from Late Antiquity;[81] to the processional route[82] through Medieval Cairo punctuated by the funerary mosques built as family memorials by the Mamluk sultans; to the role played by the *plaza mayor* in many Spanish towns as the locus of public gatherings, festivals and civic institutions, codified in the Laws of the Indies and carried to the New World by the Spanish conquerors of the sixteenth century.[83]

All these examples show how cities were intended in the past to be the physical manifestation of shared meanings and memories, refined over long periods of time through the accumulation of small urban interventions, knit together by the use of recurring spatial models and architectural details.[84] Cities that were understood and cherished by their citizens as the embodiment of a common heritage, and regarded by their visitors as veritable works of art.

What Went Wrong?

And then, somewhere along the way, we seem to have forgotten the art of making cities, cities that "transcend mundane functions,"[85] embody shared cultural memories and respond to the deep aspirations of our

[77] Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town. The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*, London: Faber & Faber, 1976, p. 189.
[78] Ibid., p. 190.
[79] Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili*, Torino: Einaudi, 1972, pp.18-19.
[80] Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1999, pp. 192-193.
[81] See Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.
[82] This route was known as "the way of the sultan" (*al-tariq al-sultani*). See Various Authors, *Mamluk Art*, Vienna and Cairo: MWNF, 2001, pp. 96-125.
[83] Spiro Kostof, Ibid. p. 131. On the role of the central square and its relevance in later planning developments see also: Nina Varegge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes in the American Southwest, 1821-1900", undated paper.
[84] It is what architectural historian Joseph Connors, referring to Renaissance Italy, has called "incremental urbanism", a definition that can be applied equally well to the ways in which pre-industrial cities were built everywhere.
[85] David Mayernik, *Timeless Cities. An Architect's Reflections on Renaissance Italy*, Oxford: Westview Press, 2003.

societies. Worse still, we seem to have lost even the ability to appreciate and treasure the extraordinary legacy of our forefathers and to understand that, once destroyed, this legacy cannot be brought back to life.

What happened? When did it all start to go wrong? It is difficult to identify a single moment in history when our societies' ideas and approach to the making of cities changed once and for all. Rather, it is the result of many interrelated factors, spanning a period of more than 200 years. It is a process that is perhaps best understood by looking at Western ideas and practices of city planning, first because changes occurred initially in Europe and America, and from there influenced the rest of the world; and, secondly, because these changes are documented in the West better than anywhere else. We can note, for example, how already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the study of fortifications took on a life of its own and, in turn, had a strong impact on city-planning, a discipline which from that time onward became increasingly the prerogative of engineers rather than artists.

The Enlightenment in Europe did much to foster important ideas about health and décor in city planning, but also saw the beginning of the scientific disarticulation of the city. The holistic approach of previous generations was gradually abandoned in favor of the analytical interpretation of the urban phenomenon and the design of the city as a sum of separate and often unrelated elements. These ideas eventually led to the modern reduction of city planning to distributing functions in a given space,[86] and to organizing infrastructure and transport systems around them. The Industrial Revolution accelerated this process by introducing momentous changes in population densities, means of production, urban functions, and transportation systems.

But even more fundamental was the effect of the dismembering of urban land after the French Revolution, with its enormous consequences on city development that persist to this very day. After 1789, the land of the nobility and the clergy, as well as the vast areas from the communes and the state went into private ownership and became, like everything else, a sellable commodity. In the words of the Swiss planner Hans Bernoulli, who analyzed this historical passage with absolute clarity: "the land casually slipped away from the community and fell into the hands of prudent farmers and shrewd citizens, where it quickly became an object of true and real speculation (...) and gave proprietors an almost unbounded possibility to increase the value of their own lands."[87] This no doubt sounds familiar, but what we perhaps fail to see is that, together with the landed rights of the nobility and clergy, also went those of the municipalities. They forfeited in this very moment their long-established control over the urban land and its use and, with it, also the anchor and defense of order and beauty in our cities. From this moment onward, the priority was no longer that of creating comfortable and beautiful cities, to be admired as the demonstration of civic virtues and mirror the power and riches of their rulers and citizens, but that of maximizing profit through the maximum possible use of the urban soil and by increasing the height of buildings.[88]

One last historic passage remains to be examined if we want to really understand the current drift of our cities and the unremitting erosion of their historic heritage: namely, the rejection of the city of the past spearheaded by the Modernist avant-garde of the twentieth century. It is a rejection that has been repeated like a mantra for at least four generations of students in our schools of architecture, and one that has been cleverly exploited to justify the brutal demolitions and substitutions of entire historic neighborhoods. This view can be summed up in a single iconic and greatly influential image: Le Corbusier's 1925 Plan Voisin for Paris.

Our appreciation of Le Corbusier as a genial architect and master of the Modern Movement should not blind us to this simple truth: far from being a model of urban living, the city of the past is for Le Corbusier a cumbersome relic, perhaps suitable for contemplation and repose,[89] but thoroughly incompatible with the pace and needs of the modern age. His design for the new Paris is juxtaposed to the old fabric in a fairly crude and abrupt way. No compromise is possible and none is sought in this cut-and-paste preview of what he thought a modern city should be. It is a powerful statement about the new course of the city, as clear and simple as it could ever be. Le Corbusier's writings are equally uncompromising. His view is curtly summed up in his Modernist manifesto, *The City of Tomorrow*: [90] "The (old) city is crumbling, it can not last much longer; its time is past. It is too old. The torrent can no longer keep to its bed." And indeed, the banks gave way and the City of Yesterday, as we have so abundantly seen, is on the verge of

[86] Also known as zoning, a term defined by Jim Kunstler as "the systematic disassembly of the complex civic organism into less than the sum of its parts", quoted in Robert Cowan, Ibid., p. 458.
[87] Hans Bernoulli, *Die Stadt und ihr Boden*, (1949); quoted in Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1982, p. 153.
[88] Edoardo Salzano, *Fondamenti di urbanistica*, Roma-Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1999, pp. 35-41.
[89] And in fact Le Corbusier proposed in the Plan Voisin a separate monument enclave along the river Seine.
[90] This is the English translation of the original title, *Urbanisme*, Paris, 1925.

being swept away entirely by this mighty flood of waters.

Le Corbusier's writing and powerful images acted both as a prediction and as an added stimulus for what was to come; they have had an immense impact on subsequent urban developments and, up to this day, have never ceased to dazzle, with consequences that can only be deemed disastrous for historic cities everywhere. Perhaps the most damning criticism was expressed by Jane Jacobs in 1961: "(Le Corbusier's) vision and its bold symbolism have been all but irresistible to planners, housers, designers, and to developers, lenders and mayors too. (…) But as to how the city works, it tells (…) nothing but lies".[91] A view which is echoed by Thomas Deckker: "Le Corbusier's vision (…) contained no view on what constituted urban culture nor on how it was formed or transmitted."[92] If so, why are Le Corbusier's visionary plans so significant today, almost 85 years later? And why do they continue to be relevant even when the Modernist urban model is much criticized and oft rejected? Because, for the first time in history, the twentieth-century avant-garde produced with Le Corbusier the false idea that a ready made all-encompassing alternative to the traditional city could be realized, and almost instantly. It was this new prospect that justified the abrupt abandonment of a millenary tradition of city building. Worse, the city of the past could be downgraded to tourist attraction,[93] or simply obliterated with radical surgery as a crumbling remnant of an archaic and obsolete way of life.[94]

This new creed has been accepted ever since as a matter of fact. In the opinion of many of today's influential architects and planners, a new city, far more relevant and responsive to today's needs, is in waiting. From the "sublime chaos" imagined by Massimiliano Fuksas as the answer to today's urban challenges, to Rem Khoolhaas's "City of exacerbated differences"[95]]embodying the future megalopolis,[96] to Zaha Hadid's "layered city" of tomorrow.[97]

These extreme, dogmatic and purposefully obscure[98] new urban models, swallowed whole by administrators and professionals alike,[99] ignore two important facts: the first is that the avant-garde and post avant-garde models of the contemporary city are almost without exception an unmitigated failure. We would be hard pressed to identify recent successful examples, while I can think of hundreds of successful examples from the past. And not because of personal preferences, but because this preference is expressed by millions of visitors, who pay billions of dollars to travel to these cities every year;[100] and by threatened residents everywhere, who fight tooth and nail not to be relocated to the squalid peripheries of our mighty metropolises. And, secondly, because the model of the modern city foreseen by Le Corbusier——which remains the most structured and cogent to date——was in fact never realized. This model implied public controls at a scale so massive and so pervasive that it could never be realistically applied by any municipality, as shown quite dramatically by the disastrous experiment of the socialist

[91] Jane Jacobs, Ibid., pp.31-32.

[92] Thomas Deckker, "Brasilia: city versus landscape", in Deckker T. (ed.), *The Modern City Revisited*, London: The Spoon Press, 2000 Quoted in Robert Cowan, Ibid., p. 216.

[93] "The real city today is the suburbs" states Massimiliano Fuksas. "The central city is like the suburbs used to be because now it is like Disney." Quoted in Chris Mugan, "Interview with Massimiliano Fuksas", Design Build Network, 12 July 2006.

[94] Thus Le Corbusier: "The city is dying because it is not constructed geometrically. To build on a clear site is to replace the 'accidental' la out of the ground, the only one that exists today, by a formal layout. Otherwise, nothing can save us …. Surgery must be applied to the city center …. We must use the knife." In Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and its Planning*, 1929; quoted in S.B. Bekker, Anne Leildé (ed.s), *Reflection on Identity in Four African Cities*, African Minds, 2006.

[95] "The biggest challenge is how to deal with a world of six billion people, many of whom are moving every day from rural areas to cities. My answer is we have to work with chaos, rather than order. I call this *sublime chaos*" [My italics]. Quoted in Chris Mugan, "Interview with Massimiliano Fuksas", Design Build Network, 12 July 2006.

[96] This is the plan imagined by Rem Khoolhaas for China's Pearl River Delta, a new model of a megalopolis based on the coexistence of cities displaying extreme mutual differences. See Robert Cowan, Ibid., p. 66.

[97] Intended as a ground plane shaped "by carving, imploding and exploding; not just as a formal gesture, but as a way of dealing with the complexity of the programme——the social component in architecture." Zaha Hadid interviewed by Richard Burdett in *Cities, Architecture and Society, 10th International Architecture Exhibition*, Venice: Marsilio Editore, 2008, p.66.

[98] "As in the pseudoscience of bloodletting, just so in the pseudoscience of city rebuilding and planning, years of learning and a plethora of subtle and complicated dogma have arisen on a foundation of nonsense." Jane Jacobs, Ibid., p. 18.

[99] Often deceptively presented as the response to a new demand for participation and democratic expression.

[100] The World Tourism Organisation calculated that in 2007 there were over 903 million international tourist arrivals worldwide (1/7th mankind), and that they spent a staggering USD 856 billion on travel. I could not find aggregated figures on revenue generated by cultural tourism internationally, but a study carried out by the Norwegian Directorate of Cultural Heritage (NDCH) estimated that, since 2004, in the European countries alone--including EU, EEA and new member countries, revenue from cultural tourism is in the order of 338 billion euro per year.(This estimate was adapted by the NDCH from T. Nypan's 2003 paper entitled "Cultural heritage monuments and historic buildings as value generators in a post-industrial economy").

city '*à la Ceausescu*'. What is left of the avant-garde and of Le Corbusier's dream in our cities today is a sum of individual buildings, each more idiosyncratic than the next.[101] An array of show pieces that display the talents of individual architects, some good, most not so good, which however, taken together, do not a city make.[102] Of course, this post-Modernist model is eminently suitable for fulfilling the dream of any developer, small and large, honest and not-so-honest. And for the reasons so well explained by Beroulli: in the absence of significant public controls on the purpose and form of the city,[103] and this is the case in the large majority of cities today, developers and architects have been extraordinarily inventive in maximizing the value of every scrap of urban land, and in taking advantage of every development right in heaven[104] and on earth.[105]

If these simple facts were to be recognized honestly, and with them our attempts at city building, particularly over the past seventy years, acknowledged to have been largely misguided, we would urgently begin to consider and re-evaluate the principles and examples of traditional urban planning;[106] and humbly learn anew "how a city works", to quote again Jane Jacobs' sensible remark.[107] We would also pay extra attention to ensure that what is left of our urban birthright is not foolishly forfeited for a plate of lentils, knowing all too well that, once gone, it is 'gone forever.' We are beginning to see that the myths of everlasting economic growth and the infallibility of the markets are perhaps only myths; that global warming is not the fantasy of a few mad scientists, but a calamitous reality of our times; and that the environmental resources of this planet are finite and non-renewable. Perhaps it is also time that we recognize that a radical change of course is required in the way we plan our cities and that our historic urban heritage should take center stage in this effort, both for its intrinsic value and as a source of inspiration for the future.

Changing Course

A fundamental re-evaluation of the way we plan our cities is in order, and this re-evaluation should begin with our historic urban areas. The reason is twofold: without a profound and urgent change of course our historic cities will disappear; and, without this legacy, we surrender our chance of building better and more livable cities for and in the future.

It is not a question of economic development versus stagnation; contemporary versus obsolete architectural models; safe versus dangerous buildings; modern conveniences versus backward ways; freedom of individual expression versus bureaucratic control; local or national self-determination versus international dictates; or the will of the majority versus elitist impositions, as the champions of modernity and destruction would like us to believe. It is, rather, a question of survival of our urban heritage, a way to counteract the entropy and neoplastic disorder[108] in our cities, a deliberate, conscious effort to move toward a stable, manageable and sustainable model of urban development. One we can still appreciate in our historic cities, but have lost any hope of replicating in our maddening peripheries and dreary

[101] Le Corbusier did in fact conceive buildings in isolation, completely de-contextualized from their surrounding urban setting. The scathing critique of the traditional city on the part of the 20th century avant-garde is at the root of the current lopsided emphasis on individual buildings without consideration of their context.

[102] David Chippendale hit the nail on the head when he wrote with reference to the fashionable signature buildings: "While I am frequently made aware of the limitations of a contextual approach I am still more horrified by the idea of giving up and saying that each building is an autonomous entity with no relationship to another – that in the absence of a meaningful context you should stretch the budget, the client, the engineer and the programme in the hope of doing something extraordinary, something that might make something happen." And further: "There are two concerns that I have about those kinds of projects. The first is that they become the focus of architects' and politicians' ambitions while we give up any hope of engaging with our wider urban environment. The question they always raise is: does this project represent the sharp end of a more substantial urban change or is it irrelevant to the wider culture of making cities?" (…) "My other concern is related to the impact they have on people's feelings about the cities they live in. In a sense these are buildings you are discouraged from having strong feelings about. They are presented like works of art. We don't necessarily expect to understand them or to become endeared by them." (…) We don't expect them to represent us or our values, for what values do they represent?" (…) "These are buildings that tell us that society is something beyond our control. It is obeying forces that we don't have any bearing on. They are buildings that demote us to the status of voyeurs." Extracted from *Cities, Architecture and Society, 10th International Architecture Exhibition*, p. 60.

[103] Vitruvius' triad (*venustas, firmitas, utilitas*) can "still be used to express fundamentals in architecture and city planning" quoted from Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning: a Review of Past Efforts and Modern Aims*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1935, p.72. Reprinted in Legates & Stout and Legates & Stout staff, *Early Urban Planning* Vol. 9 Taylor & Francis, 2004.

[104] In the United States, under the Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) programs, property owners can sell their rights to develop so that, based on quantifiable measures, such as density, area, floor-area-ratio and height, other owners can develop more intensely their parcels of land.

[105] As candidly explained by Jacques Herzog: "(…) not only we—the architects—cherish the city as an object of desire, but conversely the city has rediscovered the architect and architecture as the driving force for its reinvention and rejuvenation. Both developers and ambitious politicians have discovered iconic architecture designed by architects of renown to be the most attractive, the most effective and the *most profitable tool* to build cities" [My italics]. Jacques Herzog interviewed by Richard Burdett in *Cities, Architecture and Society, 10th International Architecture Exhibition*, p. 70.

[106] A position intelligently expressed in Marco Romano, *Costruire la città*, Milano: Skira editore, 2004, p.271.

[107] See footnote 91.

[108] Francesco Scoppola, Ibid., p. 231.

urban sprawls. It is nothing less than a complete turn-around in our approach to planning cities that must begin with our historic areas——the parts most at risk and most directly affected——and gradually extend to the surrounding urban context and the hinterland beyond.

Ivan Illich's Snail, or Finite Growth as a Necessity and Opportunity

We are so stultified by economic stereotypes and mental habits that we never question the fundamental premise and mother of all urban disasters: the idea that growth should be unlimited, unending. We are so used to economists telling us that the rate of growth of a city (population, cubic meters, capital investment, gross domestic product, etc.) is something good in and of itself that we passively accept unbearable traffic and pollution, lack of amenities, underused or overused spaces, and all manner of ugliness in our cities. "The conceptual framework within which planners work has been designed to evade the issue of imposing any order of an extra-economic nature on the city. Fear of restriction often appears in the form of a fear of cramping an autonomous growth."[109] This is true not only for new development, where unrestrained growth is somehow taken for granted and expected, but also in the historic areas of our cities where, as we have seen, growth takes the form of building replacement, whether in it crudest form of demolition and reconstruction or through more sophisticated means, such as 'facadism' or the piece-meal gutting of the interiors.

Free-market economists, draconian planners and crafty developers' justifications are meant to shut up the growth-at-all-cost unbelievers, who are made to feel naïve and out of touch with reality. 'Growth is what cities need if they are to remain economically viable'; or, when talking about the economics of preservation: 'Unless the historic heritage pays for itself, it should not stand in the way of progress and necessary development.' Or else: 'Preserving heritage is a luxury that only rich countries can afford,' and on and on. I think we have all heard these and similar assertions. All this makes sense for about five minutes, until you start thinking: Who needs more growth? Aren't the levels of population and urban densification already unsustainable? Do we really need to cut into pieces a beautiful and perfectly viable piece of the city to pack in more people and cars? Is the cost proportionate to the benefit? Or is it the other way around - a huge expense that brings no benefit and adds more costs to then remedy a mess we should never have gotten into in the first place?[110]

At a certain point you begin to realize that there is something wrong, or perhaps willfully deceptive about these apodictic statements. And in fact, they are not based on a benign, if extreme, vision of city growth and development, but on the notion that the city and city-to-be are mere repositories of economic opportunity:[111] places and spaces,[112] old and new, built and un-built, which are to be expediently modified to maximize immediate returns, without consideration of the long-term consequences.

And here enters Ivan Illich's snail. "The snail", writes Illich, one of the most perceptive social philosophers of our time, "constructs the delicate architecture of its shell by adding ever increasing spirals one after the other, but then it abruptly stops and winds back in the reverse direction. In fact, just one additional larger spiral would make the shell sixteen times bigger. Instead of being beneficial, it would overload the snail. (..) Once the limit to increasing spiral size has been reached, the problems of excessive growth multiply exponentially[113] while the snail's biological capability, in the best of cases, can only show linear growth and increase arithmetically."[114] But the snail reserves other surprises: since Hippocrates' time, the snail has been known for its self-healing powers. In times of trouble, it produces a mucous secretion that protects and renews its skin when damaged by sun, injuries and infections and restores the outer shell when broken or damaged.[115] The snail's judicious growth and healing abilities are a good illustration of what we should aim for in planning today's cities, instead of foolishly pursuing the illusion of unlimited growth with its accompanying destruction and improvised re-construction. The snail accepts its pre-ordained limit and reverses its growth once it has reached its limit. It does not thwart its own growth and it does not stop it, but channels it in a direction that is sensible and manageable. The snail also knows that its body and

[109] Joseph Rykwert, Ibid., p.24.

[110] The environmental and social costs of unchecked city growth are well explained by Jared Diamond from the point of view of a resident of Los Angeles in: *Collapse. How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, New York: Viking, 2005, pp. 499-503.

[111] Luisa Bonesio establishes a direct relationship between the destruction of a place and its being considered a 'deposit of resources' in its most materialistic and lucrative sense. See L. Bonesio, "Conservare il paesaggio", Universitá di Pavia, 2001.

[112] A place is intended here as a defined space endowed with meaning and distinct character (historical, cultural, social, magical, religious, etc.). Spaces are the raw material from which places are made.

[113] It follows a geometric rather than arithmetic progression. A classic illustration of geometric growth in shells is the growth of the Nautilus shell based on the Fibonacci numerical sequence (1,1,2,3,5,8, 13,21,34,55, and on to infinity), whose ratio (1.618034), also known as the olden section, represents a recurring pattern in nature. See Mario Livio, *La sezione aurea*, Milano: Rizzoli, pp. 175-176; and Mario Curti, *La proporzione, Storia di un'idea da Pitagora a Le Corbusier*, Roma: Gangemi editore, 2006.

[114] Ivan Illich, "Le Genre vernaculaire", in *Oevres complètes*, vol. 2, Paris: Fayard 2005, p.192 [Translated by Ronnie Richards].

[115] Cassandra Quave1, Andrea Pieroni and Bradley Bennett, "Dermatological remedies in the traditional pharmacopoeia of Vulture-Alto Bradano, inland southern Italy", *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, 4:5 2008. See also Catkin Cottage, "A Snail Cream Gives Humans an Opportunity to Repair and Renew Our Skin Problems Just Like the Cute Little Slow Moving Creature Does", 8 June 2007. <http://www.magmall.com/articles/41894-creamsnail.php>

its home have to be maintained and repaired if they are to serve their purpose and continue to work efficiently.

The snail is a living manifestation of the so-called model of economic de-growth.[116] This model implies the abandonment of the irrational cult of growth for the sake of growth, which brings waste, depletion of resources and eventually its own nemesis in the form of permanent economic regression and social decline. Instead, de-growth advocates a rational model of controlled growth where people will live better by wasting less, saving more and building a more self-reliant, sober and equitable society: "Less but better" in the words of the French philosopher André Gorz.[117] A model that can be applied equally well to the city and its parts. These should not be allowed to become plethoric and inflated, and thus unmanageable, but rather brought under control by putting to better use our urban commonwealth, no longer considered as something to exploit for maximum growth and profit, but as a resource which can be maintained and improved in the best interest of citizens and users.

This should not be seen as the expression of some socialist utopia, or a naive call for the abolition of private property and the market economy. It is simply an acknowledgement that economics matters, but that it cannot be the only determining factor in shaping our cities in the face of diminishing resources and mounting pressures. The idea that markets must be directed and regulated has begun to be accepted in government and financial circles following the recent global economic crisis. Is it not time we also rethink some of the widespread and clearly distorted planning practices that affect our cities and historic areas so negatively? Are cities not as relevant as financial markets for the quality of our lives and the well-being of our societies?

We should also reject the fatalistic idea that a change of course in our city planning practices is some sort of idealistic, impractical endeavor that cannot be made to happen during our times. Let us imagine for a moment that we were given the freedom to intervene on historic cities, or parts of cities we recognize as historically significant, in the light of what we have seen and the alternative planning model we have discussed. I think we can all agree on what a reasonable course of action would be. It can be summed up in four sentences.

1. *Define the limit of what is historic, which should not be an opinion based on fleeting fashion or personal preferences, but a definition based on an objective assessment.*[118]

2. *Put a stop to unnecessary and gratuitous demolition and replacement, knowing all too well that the social cost cannot be justified and that the results will at best be a parody of what is already there.*

3. *Fix what there is with care and consideration, because it really is all you have. If lost, it will be gone forever.*

4. *Mend, adjust and match what has been spoiled, wrongly altered or left incomplete in ways that are calibrated to 'repair in kind' rather than 'intervene against' by using willfully contrasting elements.*

Throughout this process, what are wrongly perceived as restrictions or limits to unrestrained growth, become a necessity and an opportunity. Not the pursuit of some austere 'Franciscan' model of zero growth, not the "museumization" of the past, not a halt to meaningful actions, not a retreat from the challenges of the modern age. Quite the opposite: this alternative course of action calls for the rejection of wasteful change for the sake of change, the refusal to enter the maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and false renewal,[119] the obsessive search for ephemeral novelty in order to embrace the only modernity that makes real sense. A modernity based on the conscious and rational assumption of responsibility vis-à-vis our shared resources[120] and urban legacy. A responsibility that must go hand in hand with a reconsideration of the symbolic and physical foundations of our historic cities and landscapes and be aimed at the recovery and 'reparation' of what has been lost or unduly altered.[121]

Vishnu's Thoughtful Sleep, or The Primacy of Conservation[122]

In the beginning there was Vishnu,[123] the god and embodiment of the principle of conservation and maintenance. Not some sudden Big Bang, not some mother-earth generative process, not some 'out of nothing' primordial act of love, but, as the *Vishnu Purana*[124] tells us, Vishnu sleeping in the celestial ocean at the begin-

[116] Quoted in Serge Latouche, *Petit traité de la décroissance sereine*, Paris: Fayard, 2007, See pp.17-19 for a definition of de-growth and p. 33 for interesting remarks on economic growth and I. Illich's snail.
[117] Ibid., p. 18.
[118] These limits can be defined quite objectively on the basis of maps and field observations. The argument that all will become historic sooner or later is misleading, as it encourages the mistaken idea that the historic heritage is a renewable asset, which most definitely it is not.
[119] The so-called 'modernization'.
[120] First and foremost in our cities is land, by definition the most scarce and most irreplaceable of all resources.
[121] Pier Luigi Cervellati, *L'arte di curare la città*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000, p. 63.
[122] I am indebted to Francesco Scoppola for his insight into the myth and significance of Vishnu. See *Profilo di storia del restauro architettonico e della conservazione ambientale*, pp. 28-29.
[123] One of the three great gods constituting the *Trimûrti* or 'Triad' of the Hindu religion: Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.
[124] Also known as the *Puranaratna*, or 'gem of Puranas', the *Vishnu Purana* is one of the most important Hindu religious texts, recounting one of the principal creation myths of the religion.Founded by the botanist Federico Cesi, one of its first members was Galileo Galilei, the father of modern astronomy.

ning of the cosmic cycle. But Vishnu does not really sleep: he observes, contemplates, envisions and dreams of life to come. He holds in his navel all the elements of the world-to-be, the raw material of creation: even Brahma, the creator god, who grows out of a lotus plant which sprang from his navel. Vishnu's rest is not a brutish or mindless sleep, but an active and thoughtful state of contemplation, generating understanding and discernment, and eventually leading to the very act of creation.

The Hindu creation myth reminds us that there can be no invention without sustained study and profound understanding. The word 'invention' itself comes from the Latin *invenire*—to find, to discover, to source, to devise—all actions which presuppose a search for deeper insight and comprehension. Vishnu's sleep is guarded by Garuda, a bird-like creature with eagle eyes. Both the eagle and the lynx, another animal endowed with extraordinary vision, were adopted as symbols of the first scientific academy, the Accademia dei Lincei (Academy of the Lynx-eyed), founded in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century,[125] at a time when progress and scientific enquiry were predicated on the discovery of the past and an understanding of its significance for mankind.[126]

The eagle and the lynx can also serve as our companions in seeking a thorough understanding of our cities' historic legacies, without which serious conservation and recovery plans cannot be formulated. The eagle provides the broader, sweeping view; he helps us understand that no historic city can be perceived in isolation. The dynamics of the entire urban system and even the limit of what is historic must be clearly identified and understood before formulating a comprehen sive plan of intervention. Not only because, with a few exceptions,[127] the city of yesterday has become a small part of the contemporary city, and must therefore be understood in this larger context; but also because this context, which is yesterday's countryside and today's city expansion, preserves the traces of a past that is still relevant today. Historical maps and direct observation help us understand the evolution of these peripheral areas and identify opportunities for the future: ways to reinforce the distinct role of the historic areas and give back to the peripheral areas a significance that has been ignored or denied by the hasty and poorly conceived city expansions over the past seventy years.[128]

But, however important this broader reconnaissance may be, it is the lynx that will guide us in the close-range exploration of the complex stratification of urban spaces and uses that make up an historic city. In planning for conservation, the main objective is that of discerning, from among the layers of transformations, those elements that embody the authenticity and significance of the historic context.[129] The lynx helps us find, recognize and assess, not just monuments and historic buildings, but all of the many other elements that make up the historic fabric, as well as understand their interdependent relationships. The importance of this preliminary phase, aimed at achieving a simple and unbiased inventory and understanding of the physical context, can never be emphasized enough. It is the foundation that distinguishes a superficial and approximate plan from a serious one, and it is the indispensable base of all further actions.

Vishnu's myth also reminds us of the fundamental need for a plan, the premise for any decision to act, at a time when master plans are being put down as a thing of the past, as something that is obsolete and superfluous. 'Let our city thrive by itself'—we are often told—'the market will take care of everything.' Nothing could be further from the truth. Vishnu's contemplative status in his primeval incarnation tells us that any act of creation is not some sudden improvisation or unexpected explosion of 'creativity', but the result of forethought and careful consideration. As the custodian of *dharma*, the ultimate reality of the universe and the principle of law, order and harmony, Vishnu "holds the reins of the mind"[130] and preserves the balance of the universe through his foresight. And foresight, in the form of a plan, is what we so desperately need for our historic cities.

The plan is a necessity: without one it is impossible to formulate a program of action, and the subsequent implementation of any coordinated set of measures

[125] Founded by the botanist Federico Cesi, one of its first members was Galileo Galilei, the father of modern astronomy.
[126] Scoppola, Ibid., p.42.
[127] The principal exception are the so-called smaller historic towns or settlements, which are today affected by depopulation and decay.
[128] See 'Restauro Territoriale' (Territorial Restoration) in Pierluigi Cervellati, *Il nuovo manuale dell'urbanistica* (Ed. L. Benevolo), Roma: Gruppo Mancosu Editore, 2007, Vol.I, p. E 95.
[129] "The Nara Document on Authenticity' (UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, 1994) identifies the criteria for the recognition of 'authenticity' in the historic heritage. According to the document, three main criteria must be taken into consideration: a) the diversity of cultures and multiplicity of the historic heritage; b) the pre-determination of significant attributes to recognize 'authenticity', which may include several dimensions: artistic, historical, social, scientific, spiritual, environmental, related to tradition, etc.; c) the importance of identifying credible sources to validate 'authenticity'.
[130] "He who has no understanding, who is unmindful and always impure, never reaches that place, but enters into the round of births. But he who has understanding, who is mindful and always pure, reaches indeed that place, from whence he is not born again. But he who has understanding of his charioteer (intellect), and who *holds the reins of the mind*, he reaches the end of his journey, and that is the highest place of Vishnu".

cannot go forward. A plan is also a way to counter the fragmentation of the city into a series of individual interventions unrelated and without any correlation to a meaningful wider context.[131] The plan is based on the assumption of a collective responsibility towards our shared urban environment. And this is the fundamental reason for keeping the planning process firmly in the hands of public institutions.

But what is a plan, and how is planning different when applied to an historic city? Of course, the main difference is the fact that historic cities present a pre-existing, an established if often precarious and threatened, context. As such, conservation planning at its best is more akin to a balancing act, in which conflicting interests have to be managed and valuable resources maintained and regenerated for the foreseeable future. With this perspective, a plan will have to answer some fundamental questions: What are the problems and the main deficiencies in the present organization of the historic city? What sustains its economy, and what depresses it? Which trends should be discouraged, and which encouraged? Which economic activities are compatible and which ones should be phased out? Where is it necessary to put in place conservation measures and restrict new construction? Where and what kind of new development is acceptable? What are the opportunities for immediate action? What financial resources are available and how can these be mobilized?

In providing answers to these kinds of questions, the plan shapes a coherent vision for the future of the historic city, translating long-term objectives into a series of specific actions. Some will be physical interventions, while others will result in the enactment of fiscal or legal measures. Others again may involve defining new administrative or management procedures, a public subsidy initiative, or creating a mixed public and private investment program. A plan thus cannot be reduced to a single document, defined once and for all. Moreover, it can not be frozen in time, but should be considered an ongoing process in which past and ongoing programs and actions are woven together to achieve specified objectives. As such, the plan must be monitored, fine-tuned, adjusted and renewed over time. And this brings us to the last and perhaps most crucial lesson we can draw from the myth of Vishnu. His thoughtful sleep "invites us to consider creation from the perspective of time, the unfolding of the past into the present and the present into the future."[132] This *continuum*, which brings together the four dimensions of time (past, present, future and eternity), is not a linear progression, but a process of deduction from a set of established principles which pre-date the act of creation. In this cosmic perspective, 'memory'[133] is more than personal recollection, and more than the sum of the memories of our living peers. It encompasses not only our present lives, but also the cumulative 'memory' of past generations across time. A collective memory which operates in the present, is deeply rooted in the past, and is constantly renewed and projected into the future.[134] And herein lays the key to intervening in our historic cities and beyond, the assumption of the fundamental role of memory in the process of preserving and regenerating our cities and landscapes. This process is the opposite of the path followed so far, which, as we have seen, has favored unjustified demolitions and unregulated developments to the detriment of the whole: an array of piecemeal interventions, devoid of any vision or understanding of the context, and which, in the end, cannot generate a new urban identity, nor give a response to the needs of our communities.

Indeed, the answer does lie in a different direction: it requires accepting a sense of the finite and resisting the compulsion to develop scarce urban land if this compromises the integrity of our cities and landscapes. It means looking again at our peripheral areas and brownfields to make better use of what we have. It means avoiding physical dispersion and unnecessary sprawl. It requires re-knitting the new with the old, both in designing new urban expansions and in consolidating our historic cities. Above all, it calls for placing a full awareness and intelligence of 'places' at the center of our efforts, and returning to our communities the all-important sense of belonging that is denied by the current development trends, so wrongly exalted as the new frontier of aesthetics and urbanism. It is an alternative course which, as argued, advocates a greater role for the public sector in providing the direction and continuity without which cities cannot flourish, and their collective memory cannot be preserved. It is a course that can and should be actively pursued, based on the experience gained during the last sixty years of international practice in urban conservation, without fear of scaling down our

[131] See D. Chippendale's remarks on footnote 102.
[132] "The Sleep of Vishnu and Brahma's World Egg", 6 Jun 2009. <http://www.indiana.edu/~isp/cd_rom/mod_05/vishnu.htm>.
[133] "Memory in Sanskrit is usually smrti(or a related word such as smaratva, smarana, anusmrti, and so forth), from the root smr, "to remember," "to recollect," "to be mindful or alert." In Gerald James Larson, "The `Trimurti' of `Smrti' in Classical Indian Thought" in *Philosophy East & West*, Vol. 43, No. 3, July 1993, pp.373-387.
[134] Ibid.

ambitions and without fear of diminishing the prospects of our cities. There is certainly enough for a fully-fledged recovery program spearheaded by international bodies, national institutions and local administrations, and sustained by wiser forms of public and private investment and the widest possible participation of residents and users.

* * *

I have been asked to end my presentation with some relevant questions. And there are many which come to mind as I think of how best to preserve our urban heritage. But there really is only one overarching question: Are we going to sit back and let the mounting toll of destruction I have tried to document happen, or will we take on our share of responsibility? It is a call to each and every one of us, individually and collectively, as politicians, public servants, administrators, planners, architects, preservationists, teachers, builders, members of the community, citizens and global tourists. Will we decline or accept responsibility at a time when we can clearly perceive the problem of our vanishing urban heritage, and still have time to address it? Will we see that this responsibility goes beyond our respective national boundaries to encompass a common urban legacy? That it is both an immediate obligation toward the younger generations and a commitment to those still to come? One that demands we hand down our urban past, that we kick it firmly into the future? It is I believe a responsibility from which we cannot excuse ourselves. It is not that we lack the awareness, knowledge, methods, or the examples of good practice, or indeed the financial means. What we lack is the political will to change our way of thinking; the determination to reject the economic model that promises infinite development and brings instead the paroxysmic growth of our cities, the dissipation of our resources and the destruction of our heritage. It is our obsession, our reactionary compulsion for 'progress' that clouds our vision and confuses our minds. Indeed, we must act now to halt this senseless destruction and embark decisively upon the fullest recovery of our urban heritage. For, if we allow our historic cities to vanish, the collective memory and beauty they stand for will also be utterly and irretrievably lost.

Micro-finance Programmes in the Old City of Aleppo

by Maan Chibli

Maan Chibli is a Syrian architect with a PhD in urban planning from the "Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris" of the University of Paris Val-de-Marne. He is an associate professor of urban planning in the faculty of architecture, University of Aleppo, Syria. He has worked in the field of urban management, planning and environment with several international organizations in Syria such as the United Nations Development Programme, and especially in the historic context at the Old City of Aleppo with the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development. Mr. Chibli has been the mayor of Aleppo City in Syria since 2003.

Abstract

Urban rehabilitation is a complex socio-economic process that cannot be realized on the basis of laws, regulations or sanctions alone. Therefore Aleppo City Council embarked on creating favorable surrounding conditions for the rehabilitation process; legislative and regulatory frameworks combined with a system of incentives, such as loans and subsidies. The two most significant programs in the category of loans and subsidies are the Housing Fund and the SME Fund. These two programs helped to channel private investments and citizens' behavior toward private house renovation, and development of small and medium enterprises. Rather than implementing political goals by force, offering loans and subsidies created an enabling environment that is giving citizens the freedom to act on their own accord. This has consequently led to more sustainable results.

In this paper, I will briefly discuss two micro-financing programmes we are running in the Old City of Aleppo.

I will outline the rationale behind each programme, and then move on to explain the objectives and content of the work, the actors and their roles, and our implementation. Finally, I will talk about the actual experience and the lessons learned from embarking on each particular route.

Background

Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo

Dotted with hundreds of monuments and extending over 350 hectares, the Old City of Aleppo in the Syrian Arab Republic still boasts a community of 110,000 residents and provides over 25,000 jobs on a daily basis.

In 1986, the city was recognised as a World Heritage Site, and subsequently the Municipality of Aleppo sought funding to initiate a rehabilitation programme for its historical centre. In 1992, the German government and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development agreed on a joint effort with the Municipality of Aleppo. The German government assigned the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) to administer its contribution, while the Arab Fund limited its contribution to technical assistance. The Municipality of Aleppo established the "Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo" to administer the affairs of the Old City. Later, the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo (DOC), a special municipal department, was created and given this mandate.

The challenge

Challenges facing Aleppo include the pressures exerted on it by huge growth along with economic, social and cultural changes. Metropolitan Aleppo is currently the second largest city and the industrial centre of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Since the mid-20th century, Aleppo's population has increased from 250,000 people concentrated mainly in organically grown historical districts both intra- and extra-muros, to more than 2.5 million inhabitants within the city limits (excluding the entire metropolitan area population).

Since the end of the Ottoman period, urban development has mainly targeted newly built areas at the western fringe of the Old City. While in the early 1950s, 180,000 people still lived in traditional courtyard houses within the historical areas, the population of the Old City fell to 106,000 in 1994. At the same time, its social structure changed dramatically.

The powerful political and wealthy merchant classes who had inhabited the Old City for hundreds of years moved to newly built European- style areas. Today, a poorer class of mainly rural immigrants has settled in the Old City as well as along its eastern belt. Steadily declining public attention has also contributed to the decay of the technological and social infrastructure, alongside continuous out-migration of residents, insufficient maintenance, and inadequate use of the housing stock for commercial or other functions, which generally threaten the living and housing environment.

Until the 1970s, urban planning contributed to the demolition of entire neighbourhoods by allowing large roads to be cut through the urban fabric. In addition, high-rise buildings suddenly grew up, replacing traditional courtyard houses and dominating the skyline. The original housing stock was either partly abandoned or used inadequately for commercial or other functions. In general, the living, housing and business environment continued to deteriorate.

The situation required both an active and an integrative approach to urban conservation and development, combining a comprehensive package of interventions in order to improve the living conditions and the economic viability of Old Aleppo. This is now being achieved by an overall strategy that is explained below.

Rehabilitation strategy

The Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo set out its overall strategy in a development plan: a flexible planning system in which the emphasis was on defining objectives and strategies rather than rules and regulations. The planning approach concerned relating historic preservation issues to the various aspects of urban management, including:

- Physical development
  - o Renewal of technical infrastructure
  - o Improvement of public spaces
  - o Preservation and adaptive reuse of monuments
- Housing
- Traffic management
- Community development
  - o Provision of social infrastructure and social services
  - o Participation
  - o Awareness-raising
  - o Cultural events

- Environment
  - o Environmental protection
  - o Waste management
- Local economic development
  - o Economic initiatives
  - o Promotion of sustainable tourism.

Micro-financing

The Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo has two micro-financing programmes targetting house owners and small and medium-sized enterprises. Both aim to support the poor, who usually do not have access to the formal banking system.

Housing fund

Generally speaking, the housing stock in the Old City suffers from poor maintenance. In fact, structural conditions were such that public safety was becoming a major concern. An early programme was initiated to help residents with their home repairs, especially those involving structural work (collapsing roofs, sagging foundations and cracking walls). Revolving interest-free loans were issued along with technical assistance and exemption from permit fees and certain administrative procedures. The package was small but enabled many residents to invest matching funds and maintain their residences.

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) funding

The socio-economic procedures involved in urban rehabilitation in the Old City could not be achieved on the basis of laws, regulations or sanctions alone. The Aleppo City Council felt it must create favourable conditions in the surroundings by introducing a system of incentives to initiate socio-economic procedures. A specific financial support programme for SMEs is helping to channel private investments or the behaviour of citizens towards objectives such as private house renovation, environmentally friendly behaviour, and investments in business.

Housing Fund

Rationale

A survey conducted among Old Aleppo households in 1993 showed that approximately one-third of the total housing stock was in such poor physical condition that structural repair was urgently needed to avoid collapse, and the life of the residents was actually being endangered. Another 30% were simply in need of repair and renovation. The majority of residents living in these buildings belonged to the poorer group of Old Aleppo's inhabitants; they were hardly able to afford the costs of repair and regular maintenance. In the light of this, a micro-credit fund had to be set up to enable residents to undertake at least the most urgent repairs and maintenance work, and to encourage them to remain in the Old City. In addition, it was necessary to halt out-migration and the transformation of more courtyard houses into warehouses and storage areas for businesses stopped.

Our story

In 1994, a micro-credit scheme was established within the Directorate of the Old City (DOC). It was reserved for the most urgent repair work in residential houses (the "emergency fund", or EF). The main target group for the EF comprised families living in extreme poverty in the Old City who were also prime targets for out-migration, a problem perceived as one of the main causes behind the gradual disappearance of the residential character of the historical districts. All houses within the Old City borders, including the buffer zones, were eligible for the emergency fund.

In 1997, a second, larger credit scheme was established to enable house owners or tenants to engage in more sophisticated rehabilitation work (the "rehabilitation fund", or RF). Initially, this second fund was limited to the pilot areas in the project, for which detailed master plans had been drawn up (Action Areas AA). Regulations for receiving a loan from the RF were stricter because the amount of money available was greater than for loans issued via the EF.

In 2004, both funds were merged into one single "housing fund" (HF) and its area extended to the entire Old City to simplify procedures.

Objectives

- Eliminating dangers that threatened the general safety of Old City residents;
- Encouraging people to remain in the Old City by improving residential conditions;
- Preserving the Old City's urban fabric, with an emphasis on social responsibility;
- Saving historically valuable architecture;
- Preserving the residential function of the Old City; and
- Initiating a catalyst for the urban economy.

Housing fund profile

Fund characteristics	*Revolving fund*
Objectives	Mobilization of private funds for maintenance and rehabilitation of the traditional housing stock
Target groups	Old City residents, particularly the poor
Operating institutions	DOC (management), Bank (financial operations)
Total volume of funds 2006	SYP 18,064,149 (approx. 300,000 Euros)
Refinancing	Regular annual contributions from the municipality
Performance 1994-2006	1,000 units maintained/rehabilitated or applications currently underway; the fund has revolved four times

Services offered

The housing fund offers the following services to residential property owners in the Old City:

- Loans of up to SYP 150,000 (USD 3,000) without fees or interest for immediate repairs and restoration work on their houses;
- Grants of up to 25% of a loan can be issued for the restoration of architectural features that are considered of special public interest;
- Technical support: the loan-permit unit provides – free of charge – full engineering services to all loan-permit applicants, including a building survey, CAD drawings of the building, engineering proposals, tender documents, cost estimates, and a permit. These services have been provided for about 90% of applicants and almost always in less than a month.

The project has adjusted the building code to the specific local conditions in the Old City so that restoration work in traditional houses can be done appropriately. In addition, it has prepared special guidelines for restoration and modernisation in accordance with international restoration standards.

This has been done in close co-operation with the Antiquity Department and has been formally approved by the High Committee. The code and guidelines are applied during the process of issuing a building permit.

Loan Procedure

Stage	*Actor*	*Activity*
1. Preliminary inspection	Client	Provision of necessary documents, including a property ownership certificate, a cadastral plan and a detailed floor plan of the real estate to the DOC housing funds unit
	Client	1. Submission of a claim for inspection 2. Submission of a certificate that contains the salary of a guarantor working in the public sector 3. Payment of process fees
	Client/DOC	Making an appointment for inspection
2. Preparing case for qualification	DOC	Preparation of a record for the Technical Committee
	DOC	Verification by the local expert
	DOC	Submission of records to the Technical Committee. This would be followed by:
	Technical Committee	a) Either inspection of the parcel, or b) Rejection of the application; in certain cases the application would be referred to the permit section for further processing (for example, if the building needs to be torn down, or renovation work is so sophisticated that it needs regular follow-up which the engineers at the housing department cannot do), or c) Approval of the application
3. Contractual agreement for qualified cases	DOC	Contract preparation
	Mayor	Contract approval by the mayor
	DOC	Calculation of loans and fixed instalments for reimbursement
	Director for real estate	Puts a lien on the property in the cadastral records
	DOC	Issuance of the construction permit
	Client	Provision of promissory note against violation by the applicant (guarantees that he/she will not violate building regulations)
4. Cases under execution	Client	Beginning of construction work
	DOC/Bank	Payment of 1st instalment to the applicant: 25% of the total loan, upon evidence that construction work has begun
	DOC	Engineers follow up and supervise construction works
	DOC	Payment of 2nd instalment to the applicant: 45% of the total loan, after structural works are completed
	Client	Finalisation of construction works
	DOC	Payment of 3rd instalment to the applicant: 30% of the total loan, upon evidence of 1st reimbursement
5. Cases implemented	Client	Reimbursement of the total loan in 48 monthly instalments (max four years).

Administrative unit

The DOC Housing Funds Section is organised into three subdivisions with the following tasks:

Step	*Result*
1. Inspection, documentation and follow-up of applications	Decision on eligibility of each application
2. Monitoring of construction work	This is done to guarantee that the actual construction work is consistent with the building permit and the restoration guidelines
3. Bookkeeping of loan reimbursements	Monthly and quarterly reports from the responsible financial institution

Besides the core team from the funds section, a committee (Technical Committee formed by a municipal decree) is involved in issuing restoration permits. The committee is responsible for checking applications in regular meetings, identifying issues that need to be clarified during inspections, and agreeing or disagreeing on the application.

Information strategy

Information on the services offered by the HF is delivered to Old City residents and property owners via neighbourhood meetings, radio broadcasts, newspaper articles, leaflets, etc. Information campaigns are organised at regular intervals. In 2004, leaflets were distributed to every household in collaboration with the national census.

Financial sustainability

Since the HF issues loans to the applicants free of interest, its financial base has been gradually depleted due to inflation, a general increase in costs and prices (for materials or construction work), or incomplete repayments from the applicants.

The following measures have been taken to minimise losses:

- A monitoring system within the HF administration follows up on monthly instalments and unpaid obligations;
- Guarantors are carefully selected (usually they are public employees earning a salary that is significantly higher than the monthly instalment).

More than 90% of monthly installments due are paid on time. Most other clients usually follow up on their obligations when they receive a reminder.

Depletion due to the "zero-interest" policy and grant components is considered to be justifiable because restoring or maintaining privately owned houses is in the public interest. The fund must, however, be topped off before reaching a critical point.

Institutions involved and their roles

- The DOC manages the scheme, processes applications, and is in charge of accounting; the municipality also provides source funding of 7,500 Euros per year;
- GTZ/BMZ (The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) provided 300,000 Euros for operating the system, as well as expertise and technical advice for conceptualising and operating the scheme, and training HF staff;
- "Friends of the Old City of Aleppo" contributed with initial financial funding in the order of 35,000 Euros;
- Public banks are in charge of all financial transfers. Clients receive loans and pay back monthly instalments via the bank.

Achievements

During the 12-year period since its inception, the HF has revolved more than four times. A survey conducted in 2002, after eight years in operation, indicates very clearly that an overwhelming majority of houses (89%) are still being used for residential purposes, thus largely contributing to maintaining the residential character of the Old City.

Special guidelines were set up defining suitable materials and construction methods to preserve the traditional characteristics throughout the rehabilitation process and to control the quality of the procedure. Guidelines for restoration and renovation were introduced as a regulatory tool.

From 1994 to 2006, almost 800 families benefited from the HF, even though information was disseminated orally, especially in the initial rehabilitation phase. A further 200 cases were being processed in 2006. Successfully processed loan applications have risen from an average of 50 to 70 cases in previous years to almost 200 cases in 2006. This reflects an increasing interest and willingness of residents to preserve their houses, as well as a considerable increase in the operational efficiency of the HF unit. As a result, the real estate market has become significantly more dynamic today.

Lessons learned

Bureaucracy

Initially, the funding system was inflexible and characterised by tedious bureaucratic procedures. Applicants waited for months before obtaining the necessary approvals and loans. This discouraged other inhabitants from applying. Bureaucratic procedures were then restructured, simplified and shortened by establishing a one-stop-shop for obtaining permits and approvals. Today, the complete application process should normally not exceed 20 days. Subsequently, easing the procedures resulted in an increasing number of applications.

Property ownership

A high percentage of houses in Old Aleppo are facing legal problems resulting from the splitting up (fragmentation) of property or rental disputes. Fragmented ownership due to the current practice of property inheritance is a common obstacle to the physical improvement of houses. Since solving ownership issues does not lie within the fund section's capacity, a minimum percent age of 25% ownership was set as a margin for accepting applications. In the case of tenants, a certificate of approval from the landlord is sufficient to continue with the procedure.

Geographical boundaries

During the initial phase, the fund system was only tested in certain areas of the Old City (so called "Action Areas"). Since most of the houses in the Old City have similar problems, geographical boundaries were later extended to cover the entire Old City.

Available funding

The HF was established as a financial agreement between the German and Syrian project partners. It initially held (US$100,000), which was not enough to service all applications during one fiscal year considering the four-year reimbursement period. The shortage of funds was attributed to inefficient monitoring of accountant practices, and resulted in the depletion of the initial amount, the postponement of approvals, late executions, and in general a slow performance of the fund. Later, an improved monitoring system was introduced for consistently following-up on the late payments, and additional funds were allocated from various sources, among them "Friends of the Old City of Aleppo" (SYP 1,843,426), GTZ (SYP 11,726,723) and the Municipality of Aleppo (SYP 4,494,000 between 1994 and 2006). The total amount presently available lies at SYP 18,064,149.

Documentation

At the beginning, the records of each case were documented manually and were easy to lose. Obtaining the data was difficult and time-consuming, and any possibilities for analysing general information were limited. Later, the system for data collection was digitalised.

Management

As of 2007, the complete management of the funds – both the technical and financial performance – will be organised by means of a geographical information system (GIS). This will support the DOC by managing the funds more professionally.

Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SME) Fund

Rationale

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) are at the heart of growth and employment creation in the economy of the Old City of Aleppo. Despite their importance to the economy here, many SMEs find it extremely difficult to access finance services – more specifically, to acquire loans that fit their needs. Banks limit the size of loans they offer and have rigid repayment conditions which are not suitable for SME business activities. Many SMEs are either too small or have insufficient collateral to be able to secure loans and financing from commercial banks.

Our story

Between 2000 and 2001, Aleppo City Council embarked on establishing the SME Environment Fund within the DOC. It gives SMEs based in the Old City the opportunity to install environmentally friendly production techniques (for example, filters, solar panels, energy-effective heaters or machines, etc.). Interested SMEs were offered grants (subsidies) for up to 50% of investment costs, or a maximum of 5,000 Euros per request.

The objective of the Fund was to create pilot cases of environmentally friendly investments, and thus develop environmental awareness and commitment among the rest of the business community. In addition, the Fund aimed at withdrawing earlier plans drawn up by the public authorities to move some of the most polluting enterprises to the outskirts of the city. In this way, the Old City's structural and economic variety and mix of functions can be maintained as postulated by the integrative and participatory urban rehabilitation approach.

The Fund faced a big challenge – that is, the lack of a clear legislative or regulatory framework which could have put pressure on SMEs to invest in environmentally friendly techniques, machines or plants, without any direct foreseeable benefit.

In 2003, the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) launched the activities of the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance (AKAM) in Syria. The AKAM was initially operated in Aleppo, and it took over the SMEs' Environment Fund. The key objective of AKAM is to achieve sustainability – meaning, full cost recovery – to ensure the longevity of the programme and viability of its projects. AKAM became self sustainable in early 2004. Yet again the AKAM operation faced the challenge of a lack of enabling legislation to facilitate the formalisation of microfinance activities and support investment.

In 2007, the government of Syria acted to remedy this problem by establishing a legislative framework for the development of the micro-finance industry. The Central Bank of Syria issued a preliminary licence for the formation of the First Micro Finance Institution Syria (FMFIS). This new legislation will be instrumental in helping Syrian MFIs to meet the estimated demand of 260,000 poor households who need business finance, housing, education and healthcare funding.

This new framework will allow the existing AKAM microfinance programme to make the transition to a regulated micro-finance institution that will be able to accept deposits. This transformation has been under way since the beginning of 2007.

Objectives

The main goal is to transform the local economy into a sustainable one by working on several fronts:

- To break down barriers to credit and provide access to those who otherwise would be unable to obtain loans – and, in so doing, generate income;
- To tailor the micro-financing approach to the needs of the local community;
- To finance a variety of businesses, particularly those that have a beneficial impact on surrounding communities or spur job creation:
  - promoting small industrial enterprises;
  - promoting agricultural projects by financing procurement of agricultural machinery and equipment, such as sprinkler irrigation systems;
  - extending help in improving the production of local and traditional handicrafts;
  - helping to promote of small enterprises in tourism;
  - financing the renovation and repairs of houses in areas where renovation and rehabilitation of historic places and monuments is under way;
- To enhance fiscal responsibility and business acumen amongst local entrepreneurs;
- To help mitigate the impact of unemployment and, consequently, poverty; and
- To work with local producers to reach new markets inside and outside Syria.

Services offered

The SME Fund offers the following services to business owners in the Old City:

- Loans range from SYP 3,000 (US$ 60) to SYP 150,000 (US$ 3,000) and the period of repayment is between three and 24 months. If the borrower is consistent with repayments, he/she can renew the loan at the end of the period, for a lower service charge.
- Along with financial provision, AKAM offers business advisory services. The programme provides intensive training courses to community members for preparing business plans and other services as needed. Building these skills complements the development of fiscally sound businesses and small enterprises, ultimately fostering entrepreneurship and self reliance.

Loan procedure

Potential borrowers are allowed to submit applications for either individual or group loans and can request one of two types of loans: agricultural (seasonal) or commercial (monthly instalments). Within the last year, the programme has also provided mortgage finance and loans

SME Fund profile

Objectives	*To encourage growth of SMEs*
Target groups	SMEs in Aleppo
Operating institutions	Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance (AKAM) in Syria
Total volume of funds to end of 2008	Over SYP 375 million (US$ 8 million)
Performance up to end of 2008	5,200 loans in Aleppo
Average loan size	SYP 72,000 (US$ 1,500)
Average repayment period	10 months

for health and educational purposes.

Loan officers visit the local community regularly and talk to people to determine and respond to their needs. Potential borrowers are guided through the application process and helped to develop a viable business plan. Female credit officers have also been designated to meet with local women.

Achievements

By the end of 2008, AKAM had disbursed over 5,200 loans in Aleppo Muhafaza (Aleppo City and surrounding villages) totalling US$ 8 million for retail and trade, agricultural purposes such as drip-irrigation systems, and animal husbandry, service and transport, and the professions. Thus far, the loan repayment rate is high, exceeding 95%. Enterprises assisted include small farmers, shop owners and other retailers.

The percentages of the funds for various SME activities is as follows:

Agriculture	23.30%
Animals	43.63%
Fisheries	0.63%
Services	4.03%
Transport & Trucking	1.52%
Retail & Trading	17.54%
Workshops	7.38%
Professional	0.42%
Art	0.06%
Education	0.06%
Housing	1.42%

While an impact assessment needs to be carried out, in-house monitoring shows that many of the businesses have significantly increased their profits and borrowers claim they are now able to respond to changes in the market. To date, the loans disbursed by AKAM have led to the creation of many new jobs.

Although AKAM's activities provide significant individual short-term benefits, it is in the long term that the full scope of the programme's impact will be felt, especially at a community and regional level.

Last Word

In brief, this paper covers our 15 years of experience of micro-financing in the Old City of Aleppo. This experience has come in four 'flavours', the Emergency Fund (established in 1994), the Rehabilitation Fund (established in 1997), the Housing Fund (established in 2004), and the SME Fund (established in 2000). The Funds are well established now, are well known, and generate a steady stream of demand. Our Rehabilitation Fund gives high subsidies: zero interest, a grant subsidy of 25% of the loan, and free technical advice.

However, we have had several lapses and made mistakes, and are doing our best to learn from them through the feedback process. It is a daunting undertaking, especially as positive results do not appear immediately – it takes time.

Manila Intramuros: An Island of Heritage

by Augusto Villalón

Augusto Villalón is an architect and cultural heritage planner based in Manila. He holds a BA in sociology/history of art from the University of Notre Dame (US), M.Arch from Yale University (US), and PhD in humanities from Far Eastern University (Manila). His firm, A Villalón Architects, is involved in architecture, heritage conservation, and cultural tourism initiatives, undertaking projects for international agencies and foreign governments. Augusto represented the Philippines on the World Heritage Committee from 1989 to 2001, was a member of the ICOMOS Executive Committee until 2005, and is now member of the ICOMOS International Advisory Committee and president of its Philippine Committee. His completed Philippine projects include World Heritage nomination dossiers for the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, the Historic City of Vigan, and Batanes Cultural Landscape. Other work includes conservation and cultural tourism plans for historic settlements in Sichuan and Shandong provinces in China, Buddhist sites in Lumbini (Nepal), and the Heritage Impact Study for new urban development in World Heritage inscribed George Town (Malaysia). Augusto has written several books and continues to publish and present academic papers internationally. He also writes a weekly column for the *Philippine Daily Inquirer.*

Abstract

Once the heart of Spanish colonial authority in the Philippines, Manila Intramuros was leveled during World War II. Only the World Heritage inscribed 16th century San Agustín Church survived intact. Damaged fortifications, the Manila Cathedral, and a few clusters of 19th century traditional houses have since been reconstructed. Encircled by 16th century fortifications, Manila Intramuros is now an isolated urban island in the center of overpopulated, polluted Manila. Its planning and development is not integrated with the rest of the city.

Protective legislation in the 1970s envisioned Intramuros as an outdoor museum, a view that prevented building a strong resident population or attracting new business establishments into the area. Since most of Intramuros was never rebuilt after World War II, vast empty areas attracted illegal residents who squatted on private or state-owned properties.

There appears to be two sides to Intramuros today. One side is off the main streets in squatter areas where their vibrant community life spills out to open spaces and narrow streets. Activities are restricted to residents, discouraging non-residents and tourists from participating. The other side of Intramuros is its public face seen on the main streets and open plazas where non-residents, tourists, and office employees go. The underutilized and unappreciated heritage resources of Intramuros need re-evaluation to update the Intramuros Plan of the 1970s which does not include public-private initiative and cooperation, the attraction of permanent residents, or business activities to give life to Intramuros. Its unused public spaces should finally be integrated into Manila's daily activities to alleviate the serious lack of urban open space, to improve the quality of urban life and, more importantly, to introduce heritage to unaware citizens.

Summary

Situated in the centre of congested, overpopulated 21st century Manila, although isolated both physically and administratively from the dense urban fabric that surrounds it, Intramuros is a heavily fortified island of heritage. It is now trying to regenerate the lost architectural heritage which was never rebuilt following its total destruction during World War II. In spite of this, Intramuros still exists in the minds of Filipinos as the supreme symbol of 350 years of Spanish colonial presence. Its spirit lives on in the collective memory of the Filipino people despite the loss of most of its physical fabric.

It was levelled 5o years ago by massive Japanese and American bombing raids during the closing stages of World War II, which destroyed all of Manila, and Intramuros in particular. San Agustín Church (included on the World Heritage List) was the only building on Intramuros to remain intact following such devastation.

However, instead of rebuilding in Intramuros, residents abandoned the area after World War II, preferring to live and work in newer parts of the city. Eventually, illegal residents occupied vacant Intramuros properties, building slum communities of temporary homes on the idle inner-city land. These slum communities continued to grow in number over the years, and some houses evolved into solid, permanent structures. Over time, illegal residents became the de facto Intramuros community, although their status gave them neither stake nor an interest in the future of Intramuros.

The official stakeholders of the historic quarter are the handful of registered residents, businessmen and shop owners. At present, there is no cohesive stakeholder community able to influence the revitalisation or reconstruction programmes which are wholly determined, without consultation, by Department of Tourism authorities.

The main threat to Intramuros is the city of Manila that is poised to take over the heritage district, repealing its building guidelines and opening up the valuable real estate to market forces for rapid development. Consequently, in order to protect its heritage, Intramuros is maintaining itself as an island of heritage in the midst of an urban metropolis.

History and Background

The history of Intramuros is interwoven with the Spanish colonial era (1521-1898). The Philippines, the single Spanish presence in the Far East, was the most distant point of the empire away from Madrid. In 1572, about 50 years after the first Spanish landing on Philippine shores, the Manila Intramuros fortifications were erected to protect the city which was intended to be the capital of the young Spanish Island Dominion in Asia, and subject not to Peninsular Spain but to the Viceroyalty of New Spain in Mexico City. Following Mexican independence in the early 19th century, government administration for the Philippines reverted to Spain.

Located at the strategic confluence of the Pasig River and Manila Bay, Intramuros was the centre of Spanish government and religious authority in the colonial Philippines. Seen today as the supreme national monument symbolising 350 years of Spanish rule, the 64-hectare fortified bastion protected by six-metre thick fortifications, encircled by an outer moat, was further protected by drawbridges which restricted access to the non-Spanish population.

Intramuros was the eastern terminus of the lucrative Manila to Acapulco Galleon Trade (established in 1565) which traded goods and spices from China, India and other Asian countries. A fleet of galleons sailed across the Pacific from Manila to Acapulco, the trans-shipment point for cargo destined for Spain and the rest of Europe. By introducing products to the West, such as the Manila cigar, Manila hemp, Manila paper and the elegantly hand-embroidered silk shawl, the *mantón de Manila*, the Manila galleons earned vast fortunes for participating colonists and clerics. Their luxurious lifestyles resulted in the flourishing of Intramuros. When the Galleon Trade ended in the early 19th century, government and religious offices, splendid official residences, 12 churches, nine schools, hospitals, and homes all stood within Intramuros walls, reflecting the economic and social status of the residents in this area.

Although the neighbourhoods surrounding Intramuros eventually grew in economic and agricultural stature, Intramuros remained a government-religious-residential enclave restricted to the Spanish, and the dominant centre of power and influence.

Soon after Spain's ceding of the Philippines to the United States in 1898, Washington, the newly installed American régime, sent the eminent planner Daniel Burnham to the Philippines to replan and change the urban image of Manila. Burnham's 1905 plan was executed in the favoured 'City Beautiful' style of Washington DC, Chicago and San Francisco. He decreed that Intramuros remain untouched as a symbol of the Filipino past. Although some government offices remained within the walls, no new development was permitted there. Inaccessible to Filipinos during the Spanish régime, the American régime allowed these people free entrance to Intramuros

but the Burnham Plan further isolated Intramuros 'urbanistically' by not integrating it in the city of Manila.

Envisioning Manila as a city of parks and canals, the Burnham Plan laid out the Luneta (now Rizal Park) as the city's main park next to Intramuros, constructing important new Beaux-Art-style government buildings around its perimeter, in a monumental urban space modelled on the Mall in Washington DC. A broad, tree-lined parkway was constructed along the seaside ramparts in Intramuros, extending in a wide arc from south to north and following the Manila Bay shoreline. Interconnecting Manila neighbourhoods, a network of canals emptied either into Manila Bay or into the Pasig River which bisected the city. Small neighbourhood open spaces, mainly plazas in front of the churches, were enhanced by Burnham, who transformed Manila into a leafy, tropical coastal environment filled with greenery and open spaces. Nearly all of these were destroyed during World War II. Poorly controlled post-war reconstruction built upon many plazas until most of the network of open urban spaces had vanished. Such reconstruction killed the Burnham vision for Manila.

World War II proved to be the undoing of Intramuros. After the Japanese burnt it, the Americans bombed what was left. Manila was the second most war-destroyed city after Warsaw in Poland. Of the 12 churches in Intramuros, only 17th century San Agustín Church (included in the World Heritage List) survived intact. Post-war reconstruction efforts bypassed Intramuros. Although a few government offices returned there after the war, the majority of residents abandoned Intramuros for newer parts of the city. The community of residents with generational ties to Intramuros, and who could have constituted the core group of concerned stakeholders for the rebuilding of the historic centre had gone. Intramuros had lost its architectural fabric, its permanent residents, and its life.

Reconstructing Intramuros

The years after World War II saw Intramuros fall into decay. Attempts to restore the area were unsuccessful until the 1970s when the powerful Imelda Marcos tasked the Intramuros Administration with rebuilding Intramuros as a 'living museum' of restored plazas, monuments, rebuilt heritage buildings and houses, and a place for tourists to stroll about in an ambiance of period costumes, cafés, museums, shops and craft demonstrations. Hers was an idealised vision of late 19th century Philippine colonial life at the height of Intramuros grandeur.
To implement this vision, a presidential decree set up the Intramuros Administration as an autonomous body answerable to the Office of the President of the Philippines. Although removed administratively from the jurisdiction of the City of Manila, it was dependent on the city to provide basic public services. The primary function of the Intramuros Administration was to oversee reconstruction and to implement strict building guidelines specifying new structures must reproduce the architectural styles of the mid-19th-century Spanish colonial era.

The most misunderstood was the restriction limiting the height of new constructions to maintain the original two-storey (or nine-metre maximum height from eave line to street) historic urbanscape. Despite its location at the centre of the rapidly growing metropolis, Intramuros real estate values were not rising as rapidly as properties located outside the walls. The reason for this was attributed to the restrictive building guidelines. Discouraged by low real estate values, and shouldering the further burden of building guidelines which were seen as limiting the maximum utilisation of properties, there was no significant private construction within Intramuros.

Control of Intramuros Administration passed to the Department of Tourism which carried out Imelda Marcos' idealised vision of Intramuros as a tourism destination. Today, there are regularly scheduled tourism festivals highlighting different Philippine regions as tourism destinations. San Agustín Church has become one of Manila's leading wedding venues. Museums, promenades and parks have been built. Boutique hotels, restaurants and craft shops have transformed a small section of Intramuros into a gentrified tourist area. All facilities shut down at night leaving Intramuros lacking both people and activities.

On the other hand, it is precisely that idealised vision of Intramuros that preserves it as the historic centre of Manila it is today. Its strict building code regulates all construction within the precinct; its fully restored fortifications physically exclude the uncontrolled development, rampant in all parts of the city, from entering the heritage area.

Intramuros authorities have always seen their primary function as guarding its heritage from the threatened onslaught of urban development that integration with the city of Manila will bring, leading to strained relations with the city's authorities. Nevertheless, despite strained relations, the Intramuros Administration authorities prefer to keep the status quo, and to protect the area from unwanted modern intrusions. Because of this uncompromising stand against development, the authorities see no need to re-evaluate the outdated Imelda Marcos vision. Therefore, there is strong resistance to forging an understanding with the city of Manila to find ways of

synchronising Intramuros with the modern city around it and to develop new ways for each to benefit from one another.

Realities exist simultaneously in Intramuros today. One such reality is building up Intramuros as a tourism destination – which the authorities do extremely well – prioritising and funding tourism-oriented development along the lines of the original Marcos vision for the area. Cultural activities are scheduled regularly, campaigns to make promenades, open parks and plazas more attractive are being carried out successfully, areas have been developed for the public to use for large or small functions, and a major museum is being constructed to house the massive Intramuros Administration collection of Spanish colonial artifacts. Fort Santiago, the original Spanish bastion, has been developed into a large, landscaped park that connects up to a picturesque linear promenade atop the fully restored fortifications. Along the main street there are horse-drawn carriages, refurbished monuments, museums, shops and cafés either tucked into the fortifications or in little interconnected plazas within rebuilt picturesque heritage structures. Traditional festivals are also recreated. As a visitor destination, Intramuros is geared towards being a successful tourism venue, which it is set to achieve with its present programmes.

However, the tourism aspect does not serve another layer of reality in Intramuros: the large daytime population of university students and office workers who avoid the tourist areas, gathering instead around another group of shops and restaurants which cater specifically for them. There is little interface between this reality and tourism. Whether tourism or student-oriented, all establishments close at night when the daytime population leaves for hotels or homes elsewhere in the city, deserting Intramuros every evening.

A third Intramuros reality lies behind the touristic streets, the universities, and the offices. This concerns the illegal residents' community, whose population spills out of cramped houses, taking over narrow streets as communal recreational areas. Community entrepreneurs have set up a wide range of small makeshift businesses providing services in this sector. These range from butchers, fishmongers, produce and food purveyors, home supplies stores, barbershops and hairdressers, recreational parlours, internet cafés, and various other services, all of which are patronised by students and office workers who find prices here more affordable than in the tourist-oriented shops.
There has been no effort to integrate these three realities in Intramuros – that is, to merge the student, office worker, and illegal resident populations with tourism-oriented Intramuros development programmes. In fact, there are many opportunities for co-operation. The illegal residents are an untapped source of manpower already living in the area, and ready to be trained in the necessary skills required by the local tourism service sector, the universities, or business. And such a group could also be resourceful for social, economic and community revitalisation programmes. Excellent as they are, the tourism programmes currently under way in Intramuros only really attract participation from the few official stakeholders. This illustrates the need to develop and enlarge a concerned stakeholder base able to reach sufficient numbers of influential people so as to make its voice heard in the management of Intramuros.

The Intramuros tourism programmes deserve a second look. Who is gentrified tourism-oriented Intramuros catering for? Would the programmes be more successful if they offered different tiers of facilities, restaurants, shops, etc. which cater for budget tourists, local students, office workers and the informal residents in order to draw more sectors of urban society into Intramuros activities and reintroduce heritage to the uninterested, unconcerned Manileños?

Intramuros' underutilised and unappreciated heritage resources need re-evaluating by means of an update of the 1970s Intramuros Plan which, as a product of the era which created it, does not include public-private initiative and co-operation, or attracting permanent residents and business activities to give life to Intramuros, among other concerns. Instead of being developed solely for tourism, Intramuros' urban fabric, open areas and parks, and other undeveloped public spaces should be integrated with Manila to alleviate its serious lack of urban open space. Moreover, an Intramuros integrated with Manila would increase the awareness of heritage among unaware citizens, introducing it as not only a resource that can improve the quality of life, but also as an untapped resource for additional income-generation activities that would be so welcome to the informal resident communities in Intramuros.

But can Intramuros ever integrate with Manila?

The challenges facing contemporary Intramuros are complex. It has been deliberately cut off from the metropolis that surrounds it because the authorities and real estate developers there are waiting to swallow it up, to dispose of its heritage values and regulations, and to convert the area into lucrative high-rise real estate developments in the centre of a congested city.
Intramuros is a victim of city authorities and the market economy valuing income over heritage, and regarding preservation of heritage as an obstacle to profit-making.

The many programmes that could be initiated to establish Intramuros as Manila's vibrant, living heritage centre will have to wait. The first priority is to protect Intramuros as the last bastion of heritage in Manila.

The Intramuros situation

Rose Beatrix C. Angeles, a respected heritage lawyer in the Philippines, sums up the difficult Intramuros situation in her column published in the P*hilippine Daily Inquirer* on 7 July 2008.

"Alfredo Lim [Mayor of Manila] has said Intramuros cannot be fully developed unless the city takes over its restoration and management. He has made public his plans to build a mall in the Intramuros golf course [on the former Intramuros moat, filled in during the early 20th century under the American colonial government].

"In line with this, Intramuros Administrator Ana Maria Harper has disclosed that Congressman Amado Bagatsing is attempting to push a bill through the House of Representatives that will return Intramuros to the administration of the City of Manila – without consultation.

"According to the Intramuros Administration (IA), they received notice on 8 May 2008, of a hearing on House Bill No. 2571 to be held on 14 May 2008. Since Mrs. Harper could not attend, she sent restorations architect Augusto Rustia and one other representative to allow the IA's position to be heard.

"Upon arrival at the hearings, however, the IA representatives were not allowed to present their side, nor were they allowed to submit a position paper. Instead they were pointedly informed that since Mrs. Harper could not attend, IA could no longer be heard. Thereupon, the hearings were terminated and the bill considered passed at committee level.

"For legislation to be enforceable, it must reflect the needs of its constituency. Law must emanate from the people, who will be expected to conform to the values encoded in the legislative act.

"Despite the representative capacity of our legislators, it is necessary for them to make sure that consultations are conducted to ensure that the crafted law embodies what the constituency needs. For special laws that require expertise, expert opinions must be sought to ensure precision in the draftsmanship and identification of the interests to be protected by the law.

"This being the case, the passing of House Bill 2571, requiring all transactions in Intramuros to clear through [Manila] City Hall, has clearly not passed through the requisites of consultation. No heritage experts were asked; the Intramuros Authority, which has been managing the site since 1972, was barred from giving its opinion. [N.B. The columnist does not mention consultation with Intramuros residents.]

"Even more mystifying is why the City of Manila would want Intramuros back. Under current laws, Intramuros is managed by the Intramuros Administration under the Department of Tourism. IA is responsible for, among others, peace and order, safety, restorations, management of the sites, zoning and land use, and has its own permit system.

"These powers do not remove the mandate of the city government to collect real estate taxes, building permits, business licenses, etc. In other words, the city government is relieved of management and administrative duties without any loss in income. So why does it want Intramuros back?

"Mrs. Harper has a theory that some city government officials look at Intramuros not as a heritage site with a unique and important history, but as an increasingly tempting piece of real estate where high rises and malls can be built. Removing the Intramuros Administration will also put the management of heritage sites and other property within the area into the hands of city officials neither equipped nor inclined to include restoration and reconstruction in their own visions, if it can be called that, of the place.

"Seen this way, one can only conclude that allowing a local government-managed Intramuros would amount to the same kind of damage from World War II carpet bombings that left only San Agustín Church standing. This time what would obliterate history and its priceless ambience would be haphazard development, billboards, fast food restaurants, high-rises and an ever-growing, vote-rich slum area.

"Square foot for square foot, no other site in the country holds as much national historical interest as Intramuros. Even its very ground is unique as it holds artifacts that recount the ages of trade even prior to Spanish conquest. Every single conqueror of this country flew its flag over the Intramuros, and all – except the Americans – retreated to the safety behind its walls prior to ejection.
"The oldest fortified city in the country needs help. It needs increased funding to provide, among others, more restored sites, an appropriate museum for the Intramuros Administration's collection, removal of informal settlers, further archeological assessment and so on *ad nauseam*.

"The IA has been doing a valiant job despite its myriad internal problems but much of its work had been delayed by lack of funds and political will, just like nearly every other government agency. The last thing it needs is to keep fending off covetous government officials whose minds are far, very far, from heritage."

Therefore, for self-preservation, Intramuros must remain an island of heritage in the midst of urban Manila.

Sleeping With The Enemy? Private Sector Involvement in World Heritage Preservation

by Ron van Oers

Ron van Oers was trained as an urban planner (MSc, 1993) and specialized in urban conservation (MTD, 1996) at Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands, where he also received his doctorate (2000) on research into the principles of Dutch colonial town planning. For the past nine years he has worked at UNESCO's World Heritage Centre in Paris, gaining skills and experience worldwide in project management, program design and policy development. Since 2001, he has managed the US$ 2 million Netherlands Trust Fund at the Centre. Between 2003 and 2005 he was responsible for the Latin American and Caribbean Region as chief of unit. Since 2005, Ron has coordinated the Programme for Small Island Developing States and the World Heritage Cities Programme, spearheading the international Historic Urban Landscape Initiative. In January 2009, he became deputy-director of the World Heritage Training and Research Institute for the Asia-Pacific Region in China.

Abstract

This paper focuses on two cases of World Heritage preservation: The first on a concrete project that is being executed in the city of La Havana in Cuba, and the second on a proposal for development in natural and cultural World Heritage sites, some of them cities, where a collaboration between the public and private sector is key in achieving a financially sustainable practice of heritage preservation. Both cases will discuss approaches, principles, methodologies and modalities for promotion, support and public control. Central will be the role of municipalities to encourage private-sector involvement, maintain oversight, and evaluate partnerships and modalities of implementation.

Introduction

Way before the current financial-economic crisis, heritage preservation was already under increasing pressure from groups in society as regards the rising costs – real or perceived – of restoration, maintenance and management of historic monuments and sites. Seemingly paradoxically, at the height of the global economic boom during the 1990s and early years of this century, when piles of money were freely available, more and more questions were being asked concerning the need for governments to allocate public budgets to a variety of functions, among them heritage preservation. Ironically, now that the global economy is in dire straits, public funds in the order of trillions of dollars are being spent, on those functions too, which in the previous decade were not deemed worthy of government attention, in a frantic effort to rescue our financial system from meltdown. While some of this money is indeed being spent on World Heritage preservation[1], perhaps rather than rejoicing we should use the crisis as an occasion to take a fresh look at the discipline and the ways and means in which it operates, in particular the modalities of management and financing. In the developing world, a dilemma of paramount importance in heritage preservation involves the axiom that in general

[1] For example, under a 100-billion-euro economic stimulus package the German government has allocated 150 million euros to be spent in the coming five years on World Heritage. Source: "Das Erbe der Erde", in *Die Welt*, 14 March 2009. After a decade of neglect and near dismantling under the Bush Administration, the US National Park Service will invest $750 million in 750 restoration and protection projects in parks across the country, under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. The legislation passed by Congress in February 2009 includes an investment of $900 million that will help reduce the National Park Service's $9 billion backlog of maintenance and preservation projects, and address other park infrastructure needs. Source: press release by the Environment News Service (ENS) on 22 April 2009.

monuments and sites, including World Heritage, are still a "good of the commons", belonging to everyone and no one in particular. In reality, this means that no one in particular feels responsible for their day-to-day care, often resulting in a progressively decaying built environment, accompanied by ruthless exploitation by the tourism industry. Indeed, while ministries with specialised departments are responsible on paper, in spite of all their enthusiasm, motivation and the best of intentions, they are often ill-equipped and poorly financed (usually the worst of all ministries) resulting unfortunately in a de facto rather 'careless' situation.

In the developed world, something similar seems to be happening, but originating from a completely different process: the decades-long thrust for decentralisation, whereby the day-to-day care of historic monuments and sites, including World Heritage, has been pushed on to the plate of local governments. While alleviating central governments of this perceived burden, this increase in responsibilities and tasks for local governments is seldom accompanied by a corresponding increase in capacity, be it technical, institutional or financial. The result is a surge in conflicts between the importance attached to heritage, as expressed by national governments signing off on World Heritage nominations, and the municipality's need for urban development to support economic growth and job creation. The resulting conflicts also give the impression of a rather careless situation. After hailing and promoting the merits of integrated urban conservation, it would seem that all the progress achieved in this field since 1975 has effectively vanished as a result of this push for decentralisation, leaving practitioners feeling they need to reinvent the wheel.[2]

At a time when public funding for heritage preservation is unlikely to increase and, even if it did, there would be a need to explore new ways of managing and financing our heritage assets, in an increasingly complex world the success or failure of heritage preservation depends on a greater level of engagement with broader constituencies. Moreover, heritage assets play important roles in cultural development and socio-economic regeneration, not to mention as sources of national and local identities, and consequently should demand our fullest attention. A progressive body of knowledge and experiences is available to guide public policy-makers and professionals in setting up innovative conservation management mechanisms to engage with a wider variety of stakeholders. In particular, co-operation with the private sector is badly needed to create greater awareness, reduce conflicts and attract additional resources, in both the developing and developed worlds.

This paper outlines the role of culture within the development process, including the often overstated importance of World Heritage listing in generating direct revenues, and discusses two innovative mechanisms regarding World Heritage preservation. The first is part of an ongoing rehabilitation process in Old Havana, Cuba, which has been acclaimed internationally as a model of integrated management. A critical view is taken on the establishment of an enabling environment for the preservation of this city's extraordinary history and culture, in the face of two decades of near isolation and deprivation. The second is a concept under consideration at UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, wherein particular cities inscribed on the World Heritage List are viewed as assets harbouring a plethora of opportunities for the development of business ventures focused primarily on using cultural heritage to meet the needs of local communities and, in the process, to direct investment and private capital towards the preservation of these same heritage assets.

But before discussing these approaches, it seems pertinent to elaborate once more UNESCO's role and attitude towards heritage preservation in relation to local development, which is seen by the United Nations as part of the same continuum.

UNESCO's mandate

For over 60 years now, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has been recognised as the sole international organisation with a specific mandate in the field of culture, and in this capacity it has always been a leading advocate for increasing the role of culture in national development strategies.[3] During this period, it has developed normative tools on every significant aspect of culture – be it movable or immovable, terrestrial or underwater, tangible or intangible, stand alone or intricately linked with nature – in which operational actions have been recommended to foster sustainable use of these resources for the betterment of local populations. In this regard, im-

[2] Over the last decades, the proliferation of charters and declarations related to cultural heritage preservation is a direct result of this.

[3] The following sections have been adapted from the keynote speech written by the author for UNESCO's Director-General Mr Koichiro Matsuura at the international symposium 'World Heritage and Public Works' at the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan, on 29 August 2008.

portant milestones comprise the three key conventions of UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity[4]: the 1972 'Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', the 2003 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', and the 2005 'Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions'.

In the process, UNESCO has nurtured close relationships with development agencies – multilateral, regional and national – to co-operate on the integration of cultural and natural assets in strategies for socio-economic development. In particular, the world's cultural and natural heritage, the World Heritage, has proved a powerful vector for local economic growth, social development and the eradication of poverty. The co-operation between UNESCO and development agencies aims to achieve synergies in the execution of the core activities of development corporations, on the one hand – that is, to contribute to accelerating the economic and social development of their (regional) member countries – and of UNESCO on the other, which is to promote international co-operation among its Member States in the fields of education, sciences, culture and communication through the mobilisation of resources, the review of co-operation approaches, and the building up of multilateral action.

One such important partner is the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) which was arguably a pioneer in considering culture as a potential engine for the regeneration of cities and the revitalisation of local communities therein. UNESCO established formal co-operation with the IDB in 1967. Early in the 1970s, this bank began offering loans for projects based on an awareness of the importance of culture and heritage carried out in a variety of domains, ranging from primary rural education to cultural tourism. One of the IDB's flagship projects concerned the restoration and revitalisation of the City of Quito in Ecuador, which was among the first sites added to the World Heritage List in 1978.

The World Bank has also acknowledged the importance of culture, cultural identity and natural and cultural heritage as inherent elements of its development assistance. Over the last decade, it has financed over 65 operations that included these components, including the World Heritage cities of St Petersburg, Russia, and Fez, Morocco, among others. The World Bank has moved progressively beyond the 'do-no-harm' posture to fostering a growing awareness of the intrinsic value of culture. Besides being considered as assets for economic development, culture and its manifestations – which include an appreciation of the natural world for its inherent beauty and as a source of inspiration – are seen as elements that contribute to social cohesion and as heritage to be protected for future generations. Evidence of linkages between cultural heritage projects and poverty reduction amongst the operations undertaken by the World Bank over the last ten years is becoming clearer as the portfolio matures and baseline data collection becomes more rigorous.[5]

Culture in the development paradigm

Since the World Conference on Cultural Policies, which took place in Mexico City in 1982, and the summit of the World Commission on Culture and Development in 1995, as well as the joint UNESCO-World Bank Conference on 'Culture in Sustainable Development – Investing in Cultural and Natural Endowments' in 1998 in Washington, DC, recognition of the importance of culture in the development paradigm has been growing steadily.

Increasingly, culture is being seen as much more than knowledge coupled with creative ability. Today's definition of culture hinges on the distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society or social group which, in addition to art and literature, encompasses lifestyles, value systems, traditions and beliefs, as nurtured by the environment in which it is situated. In this, the reciprocal relationship needs to be emphasised: without culture to perceive, construct and foster, and without nature to supply, sustain and replenish, no development would be possible.

This course of reasoning is progressively being diffused. The participants at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002, emphasised the management of heritage as being an important tool for the promotion of sustainable development and reduction of poverty. One emerging notion was the insistence on the necessity for culture to impose itself as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, alongside the three original pillars of the economy, the environment, and social preoccupations.

[4] Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf

[5] Stated in the Bank's internal partnership proposal for Cultural Heritage-based Sustainable Development, circulated in July 2007, in which the author was invited to participate on behalf of UNESCO.

The Millennium Development Goals set by the United Nations address development challenges not as a separate, but as an inherent part of the global economy and societies. The goals encompass the holistic approach to development echoed in concepts such as the "human development index" and "livable societies". The full realisation of these goals necessitates innovative and cross-sector approaches to development and serious consideration of issues such as culture, environment and social advancement, as advocated and practised by UNESCO.

The costs and benefits of World Heritage

Perceptions abound on the positive or negative impacts of World Heritage listing, which are perpetuated by a media eager for easy subjects that are certain to attract wide attention. The latest example of such 'investigative' journalism, as labelled by the newspaper itself, concerns Simon Usborne's article in *The Independent* of 29 April 2009, which is so poor in quality that it hardly merits attention.[6] The reason for referring to it here is to illustrate a commonplace about the World Heritage label, which is not only based on a misunderstanding of the key elements in the process, but also on factual data that proves to be inconclusive according to recent scientific research, i.e., that the inscription as World Heritage by UNESCO brings about irreversible damage to heritage sites. Therefore, it seems important to briefly review recent research into the costs and benefits of World Heritage designation, before looking at innovative approaches to its management and financing, as they need to be analysed against the few known facts about the complex environment of World Heritage preservation rather than ungrounded populist preconceptions.

Whilst difficulties are encountered in general when producing evidence-based data on existing linkages, increasingly studies are appearing which focus on the direct and indirect socio-economic benefits of protected areas, be they natural or cultural. In recent years, researchers have begun focusing on the economic impact of heritage preservation, measuring for instance the impacts of the rehabilitation process on jobs and household income, the role of heritage buildings as incubators of small business enterprises, the incremental impact of heritage tourism, the contribution of heritage conservation in the revitalisation of historic city centres, and the impact of historic districts on property values, among others.[7] In the context of this paper, two recent studies that focused on World Heritage will be highlighted.

Ralf Buckley of the International Centre for Ecotourism Research at Griffith University in Australia has studied the effects of World Heritage listing on tourism in Australian National Parks.[8] His paper clearly outlines the "significant difficulties" encountered when focusing on a rather straightforward approach "to distinguish the marginal contribution of World Heritage listing to tourism, additional to the level of tourism activity which would occur without listing", a first step of which involves "to test whether World Heritage listing has any significant effect at all". He explains that the research examined "the overall effect of World Heritage designation as a bundle of attributes which includes heritage value, branding, marketing and often increased infrastructure funding". It did not separate out the branding effect alone, "since World Heritage listing processes and management practices are specifically designed to keep these attributes bundled, [...] it is this bundled test which is most valuable for both economic and policy considerations".

Surprisingly, the conclusions from Australia included:

1. *Past data on visitor numbers and origins are generally too incomplete to track historical trends except at the broadest scale;*
2. *Available control sites for Australia are too different from the World Heritage areas to identify specific effects of World Heritage status by comparing the two;*
3. *Most of the World Heritage areas considered received several times more visitors than the control sites, but it is not clear whether this difference is related to the World Heritage listing itself, or a host of others factors involved, such as accessibility, promotion, or attractiveness in terms of natural or cultural features they contain;*
4. *The proportion of international visitors seems to have grown steadily since listing at all the World Heritage areas studied. However, at some sites it was already growing prior to such listing; similar growth has also occurred at some of the control sites.*
5. *Insofar as can be determined from available data, any significant increases in the growth of visitor numbers at World Heritage areas seems to have coincided more closely with periods of major*

[6] "Is UNESCO damaging the world's treasures?", *The Independent*, London UK, 29 April 2009.

[7] Some of the findings of this research from both the US and abroad was presented at The World Bank, Washington DC on 22 April 2009 by Donovan Rypkema, President of Heritage Strategies International and author of *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guid*e, Washington DC, 1994.

[8] Buckley, R., "The Effects of World Heritage Listing on Tourism to Australian National Parks", in *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2004. The research involved the six World Heritage sites that had been listed long enough ago for both pre- and post-listing data to be available, and also had reasonably similar control sites: Fraser Island, Kakadu, Uluru-Kata Tjuta, Southwest Tasmania, Shark Bay, and the Central Eastern Rainforest Reserves.

environmental controversy rather than the date of the listing as such, although there are too many other factors and inadequate data to establish this pattern definitively. His paper ends by recommending that "there could well be a role for UNESCO in encouraging collection and analysis" of visitor statistics for World Heritage sites or other protected areas.

In the meantime, this has been taken up by the World Heritage Centre through various partnerships with universities and research groups. One such study, 'Les impacts socio-économiques de l'inscription d'un site sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial : Trois études', was commissioned to Rémy Prud'homme, Professor Emeritus at Université Paris XII. As stated in the title, it involved three separate studies: a literature review; an econometric study covering the whole of France (31 World Heritage sites at the time, with examination of 12 variables); and a comparative study between two WH-designated sites and two non-listed control sites in Turkey.[9] The central question analysed by Prud'homme and his team involved the relationship between the inscription of a site on the UNESCO World Heritage List and a subsequent increase in economic development, in particular economic activities and employment ("*l'insription sur la liste est une promesse et un instrument de développement économique, c'est-à-dire d'activités et d'emplois*"). The summary report, dated 10 July 2008, draws (provisional) conclusions for each of the three studies, which by all accounts are similar to those of Buckley's research.

The report states that the review of literature suggests that the link between inclusion on the World Heritage List and local economic development is uncertain and probably weak ("*la revue de la littérature suggère que le lien entre inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial et développement économique local est incertain et probablement assez ténu*"). The reason for this is that this link can be regarded as a chain consisting of several rings, the first of which involves the relationship between inscription and attractiveness of its heritage values; a second involves the relationship between heritage attractiveness and tourism; and a third involves the relationship between tourism and local development. Since each of these rings is weak and poorly recognised, it makes the whole chain weak and uncertain. World Heritage inscription is certainly a favourable factor for development, but a factor that is neither necessary nor sufficient on its own ("*l'inscription est certainement un facteur favorable au développement, mais un facteur qui n'est ni nécessaire ni suffisant*").

As regards the results of the econometrics study covering the territory of France, the summary report suggests that the impact of inscription on the site's attractiveness for tourism and on its development is weak or negligible, both in statistics (for 2005) and in evolution (for the period 1993 to 2005). The fact that a site is on UNESCO's World Heritage List, the report continues, does not in itself contribute to an increase in employment by tourism in the period under consideration, nor to revenues per inhabitant, nor in the level of salaries.

For the comparative study of the sites in Turkey[10], the analysis of the Ottoman heritage towns of Safranbolu and Beypazari revealed that the World Heritage label had not been an important factor in the local development of the sites. It had certainly contributed to the preservation of Safranbolu's heritage, making it more widely known and attractive to tourists, but it did not launch dynamic large-scale development of the site. On the contrary, for Beypazari the absence of the label did not prevent it from doing exactly that. The report contemplates that it may even be considered that the absence of the label had facilitated that dynamic development, in two possible ways: 1) it had forced the local politicians to identify other drivers of development; and 2) the absence of the label had also meant an absence of any constraints on certain development activities.

Although these results represent just two of the more recent studies, other studies and literature reviews also suggest much in the same direction[11], dispelling the myth that World Heritage listing per se generates significant positive impacts. Apparently, the evidence for this is difficult to extract from the scarce and incomplete data currently available from the multitude of forces at work and the impacts they generate, which are often interlocking and thus interfere with one another. If so, would this not also be true for any assumed significant negative impacts, as highlighted by our distinguished investigator-journalist earlier?

What seems to emerge very clearly from these recent studies, though, is that much hinges on the presence or

[9] Gravari-Barba, Maria and Sébastien Jacquot, 'Impacts socio-économiques de l'inscription d'un site sur la liste du Patrimoine Mondial: Une revue de la littérature', 2008, 61 pp.
Nicot, Bernard-Henri and Burcu Ozdirlik, 'Les impacts socio-économiques de l'inscription sur la liste du Patrimoine Mondial : Deux comparaisons en Turquie', 2008, 37 pp.
Talandier, Magali,' Le classement UNESCO favorise-t-il l'activité touristique et le developpement economique local ? Une étude écon métrique du cas de la 'rance', 2008, 49 pp.

[10] This is Safranbolu WH site, with Beypazari as the control site, and Troy WH site, with Pergamon as the control site.

[11] As part of a policy evaluation of World Heritage Site status in the UK, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) had commissioned PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP to conduct a literature review of the costs and benefits of UK World Heritage Site status, which was presented in June 2007, but the contents of which are protected under copyright laws and can therefore not be disclosed either in whole or in part in this paper.

development of an enabling environment in which the benefits from World Heritage designation can be nurtured and maximised. Contrary to popular perception, in the absence of such an enabling environment, little will take root and flourish. The World Heritage List includes a whole host of sites that, in spite of their designation, are witness to not having benefited at all in terms of generating significant returns on investment.

However, once such an enabling environment has been put in place, significant gains are indeed to be had by wise use of natural and cultural heritage as part of national programmes of integrated planning and development. Whilst not all such integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) have shown positive results, and critical voices have been heard over their limited achievements both in conservation and improving livelihoods, it seems necessary to bear in mind that attempts to accommodate development and conservation needs have not failed because they are contradictory, but because integration has been limited both institutionally and in terms of geographic scale. When applied consistently, with involvement of a wide range of partners and a broad spectrum of policies, over a sufficiently large geographical area, significant improvements can be achieved, as is shown in particular by the case of Old Havana in Cuba.

Havana: business as usual?

Havana was founded in 1519 by Spanish colonisers and by the 17th century it had become one of the Caribbean's main centres for shipbuilding and commercial activities. Today, it is a sprawling metropolis of 700 km^2 with 2.2 million inhabitants. It is the most important cultural centre in the Republic of Cuba, housing most of the government, cultural and scientific-technical institutions in the country. The urban structure comprises a system of squares of different sizes and functions, providing a polycentric character dating back to the days of its foundation. Its old centre retains an interesting mix of baroque and neoclassical monuments, and a homogeneous ensemble of private houses with arcades, balconies, wrought-iron gates and internal courtyards.

During the 1940s and 50s, the city's population increased significantly, resulting in an expanding urbanised area with new neighbourhoods for the middle and upper social classes.[12] After the Cuban Revolution in 1959, an Administrative Plan was developed for Havana which established different areas of development and prioritised the improvement of the population in the countryside. As a result, the physical growth of the capital was curtailed and the condition of the housing, particularly in Old Havana, deteriorated progressively to the extent that the Office of the City Historian, in charge of the city's conservation, has labelled Old Havana, including its historic centre, as "an emergency zone suffering from an elevated level of physical and technical deterioration".[13] Marked by more than a century and a half of marginalisation and overpopulation, the inner city is characterised by poor living conditions: half of the more than 20,000 dwellings are located in tenement houses, which means overcrowding, with inadequate supplies of running water, and every day two collapsed buildings of different magnitude are among the sobering statistics.

In 1967, Dr Eusebio Leal Spengler took over the Office of the Havana City Historian, founded by Dr Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring in 1938, and started restoration work on the Capitanes Generales Palace. A series of policy instruments and associated conservation actions were put in place as part of the integrated planning, among which:

- In 1944: the old city was declared as a protected zone;
- In 1978: Havana City Historical Centre and its system of fortifications were declared a national monument;
- In 1981: the Cuban State assigned an exclusive budget for the rehabilitation and restoration work of the Historical Centre, thereby starting the first five-year restoration plan. The Office of the City Historian is recognised as having coordinated the rehabilitation process, and the following year, in 1982, Havana City Historical Centre and its system of fortifications were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List;
- In 1993: Law Decree no. 143 of the Council of State widened the framework of authority and the jurisdiction of the Office of the City Historian, and the inscribed sector was recognised as a prioritized zone for conservation. Subsequently, in 2001, the same was applied to the typical shoreline of the traditional Malecón and later, in 2003, to the picturesque Chinatown, both in the nearby Municipality of Central Havana.

From 1981, five-year plans were established for the renovation of Old Havana, which were articulated with the actions undertaken jointly by the Ministry of Culture and the technical team of the Office of the Historian of Havana. Increasingly successful, the Cuban government

[12] The information in this section is taken from: 'A Singular Experience - Appraisals of the Integral Management Model of Old Havana, World Heritage Site', UNESCO, Master Plan (Office of the City Historian), 2006.
[13] Ibid., p.17.

decided to further empower the Office and authorise the creation of an independent executive agency for the development, funding, renovation and restoration of the old walled city. The first Master Plan for the Integral Rehabilitation of Old Havana was implemented in 1994 by a multidisciplinary team of experts, integrating its work with that of other agencies and institutions at the municipal, provincial and national levels, as well as with higher education and research institutions. Throughout the 1980s and 90s, UNESCO supported the rehabilitation actions through the technical and emergency assistance of the World Heritage Committee.

The functions of the Office of the Historian expanded together with the projects and the works in the entire area of Old Havana. Rehabilitation was structured through a Special Plan for Integral Development, bringing five fundamental policies together. Of particular importance in the context of this paper is the policy "to achieve an integral self-financing development which makes the investment in heritage recoverable and profitable".[14] To implement this policy, the Office has created an organisational structure with specialised directorates, departments and an enterprise capable of carrying out the process of strategic planning in its widest environmental view (economy–society–territory–habitat), including the organisation and implementation of an investment process to support it. The structure incorporates the management of tourism, real estate and tertiary sectors to generate financial resources for conservation.

Under this entrepreneurial-capitalist approach, the Office of the Historian of Havana has been able to generate funds that serve wider socio-cultural interests, supporting urban conservation and broader cultural activities. The results so far are remarkable, certainly when considering the particular politico-economic situation of Cuba. Since 1994, the exploitation of Havana's cultural, tourism and tertiary resources has generated a profit of US$ 216.8 million. With the implementation of a fiscal policy, an additional US$ 16.2 million have been collected. Economic decentralisation has allowed for the immediate re-investment of these resources, resulting in visible social and urban improvements in the short term, thereby generating positive externalities attracting more investments and interests, with a corresponding increase in visitors and people requesting services.

The reliability of the process stimulated the National Bank to expedite credits of US$ 61.9 million, to be invested in very expensive rehabilitation work, and the State to contribute 321.3 million pesos from the central budget. With 40% of the budgeted resources allocated to social works (real estate, housing, health and educational institutions), the introduction of social benefit policies and the rehabilitation of buildings destined to community services of the municipal administration, the mobilisation of US$ 16.1 million from international co-operation projects was made possible through co-financing schemes.

In ten years (1994-2004), through its management efforts the Office had achieved the recovery of 33% of the area of the Historical Centre and implemented five times the number of projects carried out in the previous periods. The Office holds a majority of shares in specially established tour-, travel- and real estate companies to reap the benefits of exploiting the city's cultural assets.[15] A critical note to be made against this innovative managerial and financial scheme, as viewed from within the Cuban context, is that currently little or no market competition has been introduced (yet) for the exploitation of these cultural assets. Instead of fully engaging the private sector, the Office holds a monopoly on this use of assets – which has been instrumental in and a real blessing for safeguarding Old Havana.

WHIP: A possible new form of financing?

With an ever-growing List of World Heritage-designated sites "the costs of the internal processes are bound to rise (more evaluations, monitoring and reporting will be needed), [and] the main possibilities for providing support and increasing the system's capacity to assist sites lies in the growth of other public and private contributions, and in the development of new forms of fund-raising and financing".[16]

Over the last two years, the World Heritage Centre has been engaged in the development of the World Heritage Investment Project (WHIP).[17] WHIP is a far-reaching initiative to attract private-sector investment in cultural heritage conservation as an engine of social and economic regeneration of World Heritage-designated towns and cities in developing countries. Moreover, it aims to do so in a manner that actively promotes local broad-based economic empowerment and social cohesion.

Ninety-five per cent of the world's urban population growth will be concentrated in the developing world's

[14] Ibid., p. 49.
[15] Respectively, the Habaguanex S.A. Tour Company, founded in 1994, the San Cristóbal Travel Agency, founded in 1996, and Fénix S.A. also set up in 1996. From: *A Singular Experience…*, 2006, pp. 57-59.
[16] Bandarin, Francesco, in the Introduction to 'World Heritage – Challenges for the Millennium', UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris, January 2007, p. 22.
[17] With the London-based consulting firm Horizon Strategies and managing director Humphrey Harrison.

cities. The rate at which these cities are already expanding – by more than 5 million a month – far exceeds their ability to provide basic infrastructure, essential services and formal employment. The resulting economic and social exclusion has given rise to a steadily growing unofficial or informal economy, equivalent to some 30% of official Gross Domestic Product in Asia and over 40% in Africa and Latin America. This huge informal economy is very inefficient and constitutes a staggering waste of human capital and market opportunities.

Carefully targeted and structured investments in the cultural heritage of selected World Heritage cities in the developing world could prove to be an especially effective and financially rewarding means of developing the vast potential of their informal economies. WHIP aims to structure, market and manage a variety of specialist investment vehicles targeting key sectors that will benefit disproportionately from the eventual economic upturn. It will co-venture with local authorities and other public and private sector entities in order to harness local expertise and nurture commitments to local involvement and economic empowerment (including equity participation), for both social and industrial reasons. The fields of investment will include cultural industries, tourism, real estate and specialised financial services.

The informal economies of many World Heritage cities include numerous commercially significant enterprises in such fields as music, media, fashion, traditional crafts and other forms of cultural expression, from sport and entertainment to technology and design. WHIP will seek to invest in local ventures that harness the creative energies of the urban populations in these WH cities and that can readily be scaled up without compromising their cultural integrity – i.e. without killing the goose that lays the golden egg, as often happens.

Many readily discernible trends within the global tourism market strongly favour the prospects for historic cities. However, tourism often takes a heavy toll on local economies, communities and the environment, for minimal gain. WHIP will seek to invest in tourism-related ventures that address the needs of local communities and the conservation of their cultural and natural heritage at least as much as they address those of foreign visitors. Nothing less would be sustainable.

WHIP will co-venture with various local interests to develop commercially viable property-related schemes that enhance heritage conservation and social and economic regeneration, including innovative ways of financing community facilities, such as informal markets and urban farms. Urban farming is of increasing strategic significance: it probably supplies a third of all food consumed in cities, creates numerous jobs and supplements the incomes of countless millions. However, it also poses a number of risks, and urgently needs to be put on a more efficient and sustainable footing in order to safeguard public health, food security, jobs and the local environment. The anticipated dramatic growth of many cities in developing countries means that areas that are today on the perimeter of the city will, in due course, become a hub for further expansion and may rapidly appreciate in value, especially if they are upgraded and re-zoned to reflect their more productive use.

WHIP will function very much as a business incubator for commercial ventures at WH sites. To this end, it will:

- Identify, research, evaluate and structure both new and established ventures;
- Source investors and joint venture partners;
- Provide the ventures (in which it will retain significant equity interests) with ongoing support and assistance in evaluating and developing commercial opportunities.

It will do so by means of three distinct mechanisms, specifically:

1. *Direct investments mainly in cultural industries, tourism, and properties.*
2. *Financial services, primarily commercial lending and leasing;*
3. *Other business services, including intellectual property management.*

A variety of groups have already undertaken extensive research into how similar activities might best be adapted to diverse conditions in cities across the developing world. Although much of this work has been development-oriented (as opposed to commercially-focused), it does provide a great store of insights and expertise on which WHIP can draw. In addition, a number of community-based organisations have developed elaborate grassroots networks which are capable of reaching millions of people. There are also many private-sector companies involved in developing innovative and often highly effective approaches to the 'grey' economies of the vast informal settlements in the developing world.

WHIP is currently in its start-up phase and will be registered as a not-for-profit organisation. Notwithstanding this, its long-term success will partly depend on its ability to remain sharply focused on its own commercial objectives, while collaborating with NGOs, multilateral agencies and others. Unless heritage preservation becomes part of an industry, generating significant revenues and returns on investment, it will keep suffering

from the charity stigma that currently overshadows its great cultural, social and economic potential and prevents commercial enterprises from engaging seriously.

Conclusion: towards broader engagement involving public and private sectors

Much has been written about the importance of World Heritage sites, and historical cities in particular. Much less is ever heard about their investment potential, especially as regards those in the developing world. Historic cities embody a variety of features that distinguish them from most other locations and which afford them distinct advantages in addressing a key challenge for the future: the means to generate their own sustainable economic development by harnessing the economic potential of their usually rich cultural heritage. In particular, the specific attributes of urban World Heritage sites present an exceptional opportunity to develop innovative ways of channelling the extraordinary resourcefulness and social cohesion of their informal economies into far more efficient and productive 'formal' enterprises. There is abundant evidence that heritage conservation and sustainable, broad-based development are mutually reinforcing, rather than the uneasy 'either-or' bedfellows of popular misperception.

While the World Heritage label certainly guarantees international recognition and attention, making it a powerful tool for marketing, promotion and co-operation, there is little evidence however that by itself it generates a process of economic development. Old Havana in Cuba is a case in point, where cutting-edge management and business approaches to urban conservation have saved the city from obliteration. Where its World Heritage status certainly has helped to muster international support for its preservation, its success is owed largely to the governance of the Cuban authorities through their establishment of an enabling environment by way of policies, procedures and institutions to initiate and facilitate development of heritage assets for wider socio-economic regeneration. Although the Office of the City Historian has been 'flirting', it has yet to give in completely to true private sector involvement!

More so than in the case of Cuba, the WHIP proposal focuses on attracting private sector funding to develop a variety of business ventures which, once successful, will generate local interest, support and participation – also through equity – into the preservation of cultural heritage assets. At first glance, it brings seemingly hostile concepts together: commercial exploitation of prized cultural assets. However, it is widely known that effective management of conservation areas, including World Heritage sites, requires support and input from all stakeholders in the area, and the management strategy for each conservation area should have shared ownership.

Therefore, any sustainable management of historic city centres must:

- Respect community life;
- Improve the quality of life;
- Maintain identity, diversity and vitality;
- Minimise the depletion of non-renewable heritage assets;
- Change attitudes and perceptions – the process of managing change involves wider interests and should involve different actors from the public and private sectors – property owners, investors, residents, and other community and voluntary interests;
- Empower community action and responsibility through involvement;
- Provide a suitable policy framework for integrating conservation objectives with the aims of sustainable development.[18]

In practice, the empowerment of communities to fully develop heritage assets means access to expertise, capital and markets – none of which is usually available to them. WHIP intends to make a difference in working directly with local governments and interest groups to provide specialised services in order to open up access to these resources.

Perhaps what is needed most is a change in attitudes and perception – towards heritage preservation in general, its commercial viability in particular, and the important roles that each stakeholder can play in the process. Often, and not in the least by some 'elitist' attitudes residing within the preservation community, the enemy is perceived to be the capitalist investor, the developer, as well as the entrepreneurial inhabitant, respectively. Practitioners in the field of cultural heritage preservation have shown a tendency primarily to talk to each other rather than engaging with these important groups in society – getting them onboard would mean real progress in terms of reducing conflicts and creating favourable conditions for conservation by discussing the best locations and opportunities for development.

Over the past 15 years, governments have increasingly turned to the private sector for the financing, design, construction and operation of projects, which could in-

[18] *Op. cit*. Worthing, Derek, and Stephen Bond, 'Managing Built Heritage – The Role of Cultural Significance', Blackwell Publishing, UK 2008, p.182.

clude heritage preservation. The right combination of private sector involvement, to take the initiatives and risks (leading to profits, if all goes well), and good governance by the public sector, through provision of policy frameworks, supervision and monitoring of processes, should be a win-win situation in heritage preservation, too.

These Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) have emerged as an important tool for improving economic competitiveness and infrastructure services. PPPs aim at financing, designing, implementing and operating public sector facilities and services, with a transfer of risk to the private sector. They refer to "innovative methods used by the public sector to contract with the private sector, time and to budget, while the public sector retains the responsibility for providing these services to the public in a way that benefits the public and delivers economic development and an improvement in the quality of life".[19] Broader engagement, with each actor focusing on the role that he/she can perform best, together with capacity-building, meaning raising awareness through education plus creating an enabling environment plus empowering communities through the provision of both technical and financial means, will be the only way forward for a system that is struggling to legitimise its operations and has, up until now, been largely dependent on handouts, almost in the literary sense of the word. New ways and models must be explored if the World Heritage system is to survive after celebrating its 40th birthday in 2012. Instead of keeping within our known and comfortable circles, maybe the time has come, with the economic crisis and imminent impacts of climate change, to set heritage conservation firmly back on the political agenda and to reach out to new partners in the process.

[19] From: *Guidebook on Promoting Good Governance in Public-Private Partnerships*, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations New York and Geneva, 2007, p.1.

Report on the symposium and discussions

by Dinu Bumbaru

Dinu Bumbaru is an architect trained at the Université de Montréal. He continued his studies in Architectural Conservation at ICCROM and at the University of York. Since 1982 he has been employed by the Héritage Montréal, an independent, non-governmental association dedicated to the protection of historical, architectual, cultural and natural heritage in a metropolitan context. He is currently Policy Director for this organization, one of the largest of its kind in Canada.

Mr. Bumbaru plays an active role with different organizations focusing on urban planning and development in relation to cultural heritage and the environment. He is a board member of several Canadian organizations dedicated to the protection of cultural heritage. Since 1995 he has been a volunteer member of the Planning Advisory Committee of the borough of Outremont, a Montréal neighborhood with a strong sense of identitiy, heritage, and architectual quality.

In addition, Dinu Bumbaru has been an active participant in the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Involved in the Canadian Committe of ICOMOS since 1989, he has served as ordinary member of the International Executive Committee of the organization. From 2002-2008, Mr. Bambaru was Secretary General of the ICOMOS.

Introduction

The Mayors' workshop, the symposium, poster sessions, site visits and other presentations all provided opportunities to present, discuss and compare experiences, questions, and models for solutions to address challenges faced by World Heritage cities.

No doubt Quito itself – one of the very first sites inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978 – was a key ingredient of that success. With its remarkable living heritage and outstanding setting, it provided a wonderful and inspiring venue for the meeting's events and reflections. Undoubtedly, Quito and its community of experienced leaders, professionals and institutions like the *Fondo de Salvamento del Patrimonio Cultural del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito* (FONSAL), was the Wise Elder and world-wide reference in view of its pioneering and on-going efforts to address the challenges of urban conservation.

The 9th Word Congress held in Kazan, Russian Federation, in June 2007 focused on *Heritage and Economics* drawing attention to the ways of addressing and assessing values and benefits and the issues of means and resources. The meeting also highlighted the opportunities tourism and the cultural economy can bring to heritage cities particularly those whose outstanding value has been acknowledged by inscription on the World Heritage List, and the need to ensure these activities are appropriately supervised so as to avoid turning an opportunity into uncontrolled development and a threat to the heritage value itself.

Since the economy is a process that is part of human societies, these discussions also touched on the linkages between actions and actors in relation to the conservation and development of heritage cities. Under the question. *How to engage the social actors?*, the 2009 Quito congress examined the issues of reconciliation between different expectations, of mechanisms and methods, and of remaining challenges. These are very relevant points considering the nature of cities and the growing need to make conservation a defining part of the collective agenda for their development. Cities are defined by the way people have shaped and now use space, and the joint mobilization of the various forces of society is necessary to support their development in a way that respects and enriches their heritage.

For centuries if not millennia, human settlements, villages, towns, cities and now metropolises have been the habitat of our societies. They built them for shelter and to connect farmers, artisans, merchants, pilgrims or soldiers through trade and shared beliefs. They grew and accumulated sophisticated buildings to house rulers, rituals or civic assemblies, market squares, schools, artisans or industrial neighbourhoods, even vegetable gardens and small-scale agriculture. By essence, cities are ecosystems – even cultural econosystems – of coexistence between different groups, their values and aspirations. In the case of heritage urban areas, memories, traditions and rituals define the distinctive essence of this living cultural ecosystem and its physical setting.

Heritage diversity in the city

Experiences like those of Quito or Manila underlined the importance of understanding the heritage city in its tangible and intangible, multifunctional and layered dimensions. The heritage city's cultural ecosystem of living buildings and spaces as well as its visual or archaeological layers, connects the individual and the collective in terms of memory, values and activities. The DNA of the heritage city is largely defined by the interrelation between the following five elements:

- **Structures** (individual buildings, designed spaces, monuments or engineering works with meaningful use and associated objects, archives and traditions)
- **Landscape** (topography, views, urban scale and texture, roofscape, soundscape, nightscape, traditional features or routes in the city);
- **Memory** (historical associations and sites, traditional uses and activities, rituals and ceremonies, toponymy, oral history, inscriptions and epitaphs);
- **Archaeology** (traces, material clues and other meaningful signs of past occupants and generations of the city itself or the site on which it stands or of individual structures)
- **Nature** (natural sky and land shape, geology, hydrology, flora, fauna, natural ecosystems, migratory routes).

The heritage city is the home of a real, complex and living society with its cultural patterns and rules. Many speakers and participants noted that properly addressing conservation and development needs in a harmonious way is not a simple task because of the various interests involved and consequent tensions and competition that arise between the components of such societies. The public authorities or investment sectors are often perceived negatively or as adversaries by the professional or non-governmental heritage sector. Citizens are often uninformed about the global significance of places they use in their everyday life or the reasons behind decisions they feel have been imposed on them.

The following keyword duos emerged from the presentations, the case studies and discussions. They provide some guidance on the range of issues involved in managing, conserving or developing heritage cities in a sustainable and engaging model.

- Identity and Quality of life
- Development and Revitalization
- Leadership and Partnership
- Regulator and Catalyst
- Planner and Doer
- Boundaries and Mobility
- Education and Communication
- Know-How and Science
- Continuity and Evolution
- Fragmentation and Convergence
- Individual and Collective
- Now and Future

Space, time, architecture and the social actors

Engaging the social actors calls for an understanding of the dynamics of the heritage city, its multifunctional nature and identity, and the relations between political leaders, scientists and professionals, inhabitants, users and citizens. The presentations and case studies assembled by the Organization of World Heritage Cities through a voluntary survey of its members, coordinated by Lyon, demonstrate the valuable reservoir of experience of city Mayors and their staff. These experiences are diverse but show a number of common trends focusing on the concept of revitalization rather than reconstruction or redevelopment.

In 1941, modernist architecture critic, Siegfried Giedion, published *Space, Time, and Architecture*, a major work that acknowledged the growing importance of cities and the need to restore intimacy and human scale in them through modernism and a functionalist approach. That book may have inspired many schemes which led to heritage cities losing their distinctiveness but the wording of its title is quite relevant for our own discussions about the revitalization of heritage cities as a collective and participative endeavour.

- **Space** is the fundamental matter of cities constituting real places with their historic core, neighbourhoods and their inner routes. Their space has a familiar shape with cultural rules, sometimes even rituals that define the particular order, between the

elements of centrality or collective identity and use, and those more private and personal to citizens. Nowadays, the space of the heritage city is where many conflicts arise, such as its abusive occupation by commercial activities to the detriment of dwelling space. The conflict between the heritage space and transport infrastructure – even the so-called green transports – is also evident and solutions are not simple as the heritage city also needs accessibility and is often central to larger metropolitan areas. The expansion of urbanized areas and the consequent blurring or loss of any meaningful delimitation of the historic town is another dimension of the spatial transformation of the heritage city. Space is also where the success of revitalization efforts is to become tangible and visible for the whole community.

- **Time** is the pulse and memory of the living heritage city. It can be short and intense as the market day or moments of worship at a sacred place, or it can be very long as in the very existence of the city, which is one of the most lasting human creations. Heritage cities are the physical records of the lives of many past generations. They live and change with the hours, seasons and years. Yet, they do so while remaining themselves over generations. Conservation is not about stopping time in the heritage city but about ensuring their future doesn't happen without these features, buildings and traditions that make them so distinct and valuable to their inhabitants as well as to the whole of humanity. Time is also the horizon for defining and implementing revitalization strategies with mid- or long-term goals, priorities and urgent issues.

- **Architecture** is more than a title only granted to the grand landmarks of a city. It is the way the city is structured, organized and built in the reality of its physical and cultural setting. Architecture is an act of trust, intelligence, foresightedness, conviction and leadership that is not the monopoly of architects and as such, is essential to the conservation and revitalization of the heritage city. History shows that the success of architecture rests not only in the designs of talented architects but also in the will of the client, the skills of the builders, the value given to the finished work by society and the continuity of their care and use. These days, the Starchitecture movement may look very exciting to some leaders but, in fact, it shows the dangers of isolated design projects created not for the city itself but in the vain hope of creating a sensation in international magazines. The successful revitalization of heritage cities can benefit from intelligent and even audacious new designs but ultimately it rests on a sense of collective effort. Not everyone is a talented architect and talent is essential to success, but all should engage their talents in being part of the architects' team for the revitalization of their city. The heritage city is a collective and sustained achievement and its conservation also calls for a concerted and sustained effort.

Strategies, threats and tools

Presentations and discussions underlined the need for well-informed strategies to conserve and revitalize the heritage city. They also stressed the need for the will, if not the courage, to implement them over time. The conditions are not always easily assembled for such successful strategies to emerge and achieve their goals. In order to carry out the studies and reflections and develop the appropriate proposals, heritage has to find a place on the political and socio-economic agenda.

This agenda is exposed to short-term crises or circumstantial needs or to new ideologies or trends like Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), developed originally to fund major infrastructures and their life-cycle. In Quito, a special panel examined the PPP formula and its potential application to heritage conservation projects. The discussion pointed to the economic dimension of conservation and converged with the efforts deployed by UNESCO to involve the real estate investment sector in the conservation process. It highlighted the fact that conservation in heritage cities already depends on public-private partnership, is not restricted to financial matters and actively involves civil society, academics and the voluntary sectors.

Understanding the city's issues is complex and requires science as well as a sense of its cultural codes. The process of defining and implementing appropriate strategies for its conservation and revitalization is equally complex and requires leadership and pedagogical skills. All this is rooted in the local reality, society and institutions while seeking to achieve benefits for the local, national and global communities. A heritage city is not a museum with its controlled environment but a living ecosystem.

This is particularly true for a World Heritage city with global commitments to the quality of management that ensures authenticity and outstanding universal value are preserved from various threats. Around the world, cities and their heritage are under unprecedented threat of destruction and irretrievable damage from a certain

perception of what «development» stands for or from global phenomena such as climate change. Beside these apocalyptic forms of destruction, threats are more diverse. They need to be mapped and addressed in an integrated and systemic way.

Physical decay requires regular maintenance and repair with adequate skills and materials, involving individual owners and the public as well as the voluntary sector. The risk of natural disasters calls for preventive measures to be taken based on traditional and modern sciences which need governmental strategies and the awareness of citizens. But threats like vandalism, destructive change or misuse require solid heritage legislation, public and civic monitoring, planning controls and more positive support, in the form of grants, tax incentives or professional advice. Finally, the threat of oblivion and indifference calls for education and awareness building actions which require the concerted efforts of institutions as well as families in a trans-generational approach.

Engaging social actors

Engaging social actors is the main question the Quito meeting sought to address. It relates to the World Heritage Convention's Article 5 a (*…To adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of this heritage into comprehensive planning programmes*). It echoes the many mentions of social value, residents, communities, indigenous people or local authorities in the ICOMOS doctrinal texts, UNESCO documents and many other laws or policies.

Roles and relationships are important to understand and build upon in any social arrangement. Political and community leaders play a key-role in the success of urban conservation. They need to solicit, respect and use expert opinion. Their capacity to act rests on their ability to engage their constituency and citizen base in the building and sharing of an understanding of values, issues, and long-term goals and choices for decisions, including those which may require sacrifice or patience. Such communication and collaborative processes of information, inspiration, discussion and negotiations can engage social actors and citizens beyond their legal obligations. As demonstrated by the rising field of social
economy, they can mobilize the resources of a community to accomplish meaningful goals even within a limited financial context.

Engaging social actors is not only the result of objective or quantifiable factors. The sense of belonging to a heritage city, its distinct and authentic identity, its traditions and agora, and the shared concern for a common threat can be powerful motivators. Schools, the media, specific alliances or more permanent advisory councils bringing generations of citizens, academics, business people and decision-makers together can foster such engagement and collective thinking. These will be more efficient when they connect in a constructive and respectful way those who lead and those who are to be guided.

The keynote lectures, round tables, posters, case studies and discussions in Quito touched on a broad range of issues. Their main teachings are in the form of a perspective on the relation between cities and their citizens, between the purpose of collective institutions and the needs and aspirations of individuals. It is a process that requires talent and leadership to balance and harmonize sometimes conflicting interests. This is also about changing the view over time, space and the architecture of the heritage city as a living cultural ecosystem.

Heritage connects the past, present and future by caring for human societies, their accomplishments and the places they shaped over time. Sustainable Development, Environmental Impact Assessment and Ecological Footprint are often presented as recent inventions but living heritage cities give tangible examples of sustainability and lasting relationships between land and people, the result of wise decisions and valuable actions by leaders, groups and individuals. Too often, today's decisions address short-term or highly specific issues. Social actors, leaders, developers, organizations and citizens seldom have to explain how they see their proposed actions contributing not only to the immediate needs but also to the heritage value of their city for the next generation, in 25 years. Predicting the future may be an impossible task but we can care for it and engage in making it better for the city and the heritage it offers its citizens and the greater human family.

Steering Committee
List of Previous OWHC Publications

Steering Committee

Françoise Descamps
Coordinator of the Scientific Program
Getty Conservation Institute

Jeff Cody
Coordinator of the Mayors' Workshop
Getty Conservation Institute

René Pinto Moreno
Advisor for International Affairs
Quito, Ecuador

Carlos Pallares
Executive Director, Fonsal
Quito, Ecuador

Lee Minaidis
Interim Secretary General
Organization of World Heritage Cities

Denis Ricard
Secretary General
Organization of World Heritage Cities

List of Previous OWHC Publications

Proceedings – Fez 1993 :
Financing Presentation Initiatives in World Heritage Cities :
Why, by Whom and How?

Proceedings – Bergen 1995 :
Communication – How to communicate and exchange knowledge, bearing in mind cultural and linguistic diversity and regional particularities

Proceedings – Évora 1997 :
Tourism and World Heritage Cities :
Challenges and Opportunities

Proceedings – Santiago de Compostela 1999 :
Innovation in the Management of World Heritage Cities

Proceedings – Puebla 2001 :
Prevention and Protection for the World Heritage Cities in Case of Disaster

Proceedings – Rhodes 2003 :
Keeping Heritage Alive – Education and training for the preservation and management of cultural heritage

Proceedings – Kazan 2007 :
Heritage and Economics

Others

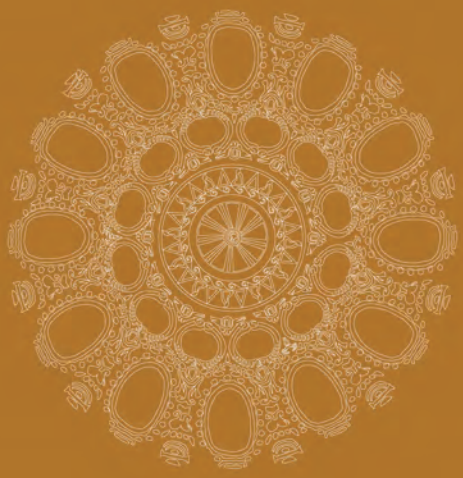
Management Guide of the Historical Cities

Cities of History, Cities of Memory

Collection of Charters and other Guides – Tourism and Heritage

For more information or to request a copy of these publications, contact :

Secretariat General of the OWHC
15, rue Saint-Nicolas
Québec (Québec)
Canada G1K 1M8
Tel.: (418) 692-0000
Fax: (418) 692-5558
E-mail: secretariat@ovpm.org
Web: http//www.ovpm.org
URBO Portal: http//urbo.ovpm.org



X

X

World Congress of the Organization of World Heritage Cities

Organisation des villes du patrimoine mondial
Organization of World Heritage Cities
Organización de las Ciudades del Patrimonio Mundial
Organização das Cidades do Património Mundial
منظمة مدن التراث العالمي

The Getty Conservation Institute

Quito
Distrito Metropolitano