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Shelter and Revitalization of old and historic urban Centres

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Mitglied

All contributions of this TRIALOG issue originate from the international congress on 'Shelter and Revitalization of old and historic Urban Centers' which was held jointly by TRIALOG, the European Network of Housing Research and five Cuban organizations in Havana, 30.3.-3.4.1998. This event, which was visited by some 300 colleagues from almost 50 different countries, dealt with many different aspects of inner city revival and will supposedly lead to a future book publication. The papers for this journal have been selected for the extremely positive feedback they received during the conference, and for their common aspect of reflecting potentials and risks of tourism as a driving economic factor for the urban and national economies in the countries off the South.

To correctly assess the impact of tourism it is certainly necessary to distinguish different types of tourists, their motives and how their visit is being organized. This is one of the issues taken up by **Peter Marcuse** in the first article, in which he calls for a realistic assessment of the real net benefits for the receiving country in both economic and social terms and suggests to increase the input of national resources in the tourist industry and to exploit the loopholes of specialized tourism like the political 'demo-tourism' in the case of Cuba. The whole point of cultural tourism is to see and understand something different from what you have at home all the time.

Diana Williams elaborates further on the case of Havana in Cuba, where she has empirically investigated the public opinion on the impact of tourism both expressed by the local residents and the tourists themselves. The first two articles frequently refer to the 'self-financing' provisions introduced in the restoration of Old Havana. An interview with the initiator of this process, **Eusebio Leal** - the City Historian, follow as Third contribution in this issue.

Just like Havana the colonial city of Santo Domingo on the neighbouring island has been declared World heritage site by UNESCO. As can be read from **Gregory Teal's** paper, the interests of the local population are much more difficult to protect in this market economy context, though the good will of the promoting agency is visible. The author discourages a perfect restoration of the historical center because as a tourist one expects to see and experience the attributes of an 'old place'. Apart from that, the available funds can be spread over more neighbourhoods and the probabilities of forced displacement of the poor are less.

The reasons why historic urban centres are decaying may vary considerably. At the same time these same reasons are probably the cause why these centres still exist and were not completely modernized in the first place. Nicosia in Cyprus stands for the example of a divided city whose future is even more undefined than elsewhere. **Babar Mumtaz** outlines options for integrated community-based revitalization strategies in three different neighbourhoods of that city. His specific case approach also underlines the rule that a standard recipe does not exist in urban planning, and less so when historic centres are concerned.

The remaining two articles introduce the Asian perspective, but they still deal with globally valid aspects of the theme. **Susan Roaf and Maureen Lines** show how historic sites and their environment can be exploited, preserved and protected at the same time through a comprehensive history trail programme in North-West Pakistan. **Ernst Reichenbach** similarly stresses the idea of historic urban sites being diligently exploited as a financial resource for the benefit of the whole community while stimulating a more human design of new building development at the same time.

Kosta Mathéy

Urban Heritage and Cultural Tourism Historische Stadtzentrum und Tourismus

Volume Editor: Kosta Mathiey

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Zu diesem Heft:

Alle Beiträge des vorliegenden Heftes wurden ursprünglich für die internationale Fachkonferenz 'Shelter and Revitalization' in old and historic Urban Centres' geschrieben, eine Veranstaltung, die von TRIALOG zusammen mit ENHR (European Network of Housing Research' und mehreren cubanischen Organisation im Frühjahr 1998 in Havanna organisiert wurde. Unter den nahezu hundert eingereichten Papers zeichnet sich die hier abgedruckte Auswahl u.a. dadurch aus, daß in ihnen der Aspekt der Tourismusförderung als Finanzierungsquelle von Restaurierungs- und Infrastrukturmaßnahmen in der Altstadt kritisch hinterfragt wird. So haben unterschiedliche Formen des Tourismus-Betriebs nicht nur andere Rückflußquoten der erzielten Einkünfte in das Ausland, sondern auch verschiedene Streueffekte des Einkommens für die lokale Ökonomie. Die vorgestellten Beispiele Havanna und das Kathmandu-Tal zeigen unter anderem, wie der Löwenanteil des Sanierungskosten im Stadtteil selbst durch 'Kultur-tourismus' erwirtschaftet werden kann, und gleichzeitig die angestammte lokale Bevölkerung davon profitiert und geschützt wird. Wichtig erscheint auch, die Altstadtsanierung nicht zu perfekt zu gestalten, da dadurch nicht nur ein Charakteristikum der 'Altstadt' verloren geht, das die Touristen dort vorzufinden erwarten, sondern auch, um sozialen Verdrängungseffekten durch größere Streuung der investiven Maßnahmen vorzubeugen.

Historic Preservation, Cultural Tourism, and Planning¹

¹ I want to acknowledge with thanks the help of David Fineberg, then a student in the Ph.D. program at Rutgers working on related issues, both in leading me to some of the literature and in commenting on some of the ideas in this paper, and of Susan Fainstein, whose recently published volume on tourism, with Dennis Judd, is one of the most stimulating treatments of many of the issues considered here that I have seen. It is "Tourist City" ed. by Dennis Judd and Susan S. Fainstein. New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming 1999.

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The historical city centre must not be viewed in isolation detached from its geographical and historical context (K. Mathéy)

Historic preservation, city planning, and economic development stand in a triangular relationship to each other—none can be well done without the others. This paper focuses (within the contexts of the present situation in Cuba) first on the relationship between historic preservation and city planning, then on the relationship between historic preservation and cultural tourism. It then makes some practical suggestions, with examples from experience in Harlem, New York, and concludes with some more speculative comments on some possible alternate approaches to tourism, perhaps something called „demo-tourism,“ connecting historic preservation and tourism planning with economic development in the unique situation of Cuba ² in the world today. There are four major points:

1. If historic preservation is seen solely as a museal preservation of the past, without regard to the life of the city around it or its economic impacts, it will be bad preservation and bad economics;
2. If historic preservation is seen solely as a magnet to attract tourism, and through it tourist dollars, it will likewise be both bad preserva-

tion and bad economics;

3. Cuba has not only a unique past but an even more unique present. Its treatment of historic preservation and tourism should not be oriented to reproducing and competing with the way these activities are handled elsewhere, but rather to reflecting its particular present social political and economic relationships in ways which might indeed pioneer in establishing a new meaning and role for both historic preservation and tourism.

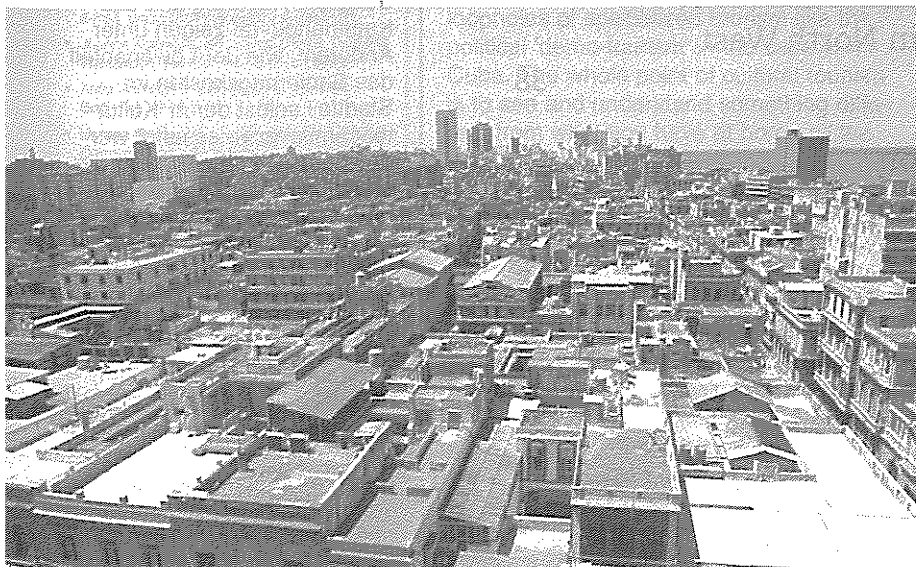
4. Demo-tourism, a tourism relating to and based on respect for people, just as eco-tourism is related to and based on respect for the environment, might provide an approach meeting the sometimes conflicting needs of historic preservation and economic development, and might be particularly appropriate for Cuba today.

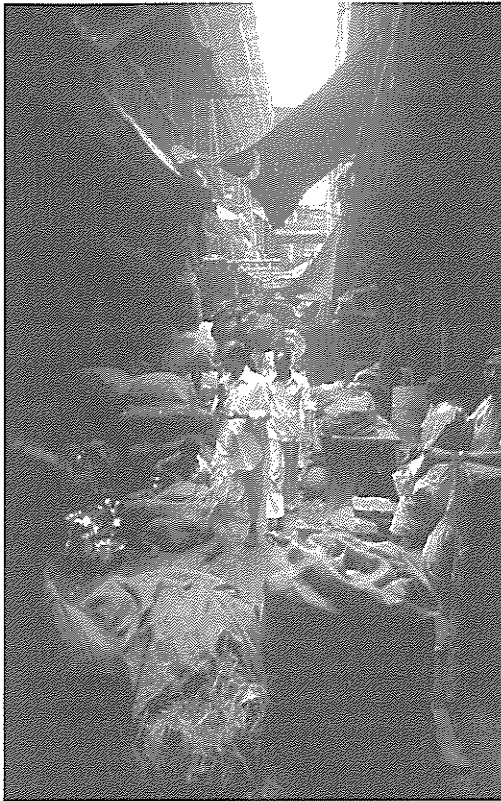
Historic preservation and city context

Preservation activities should be integrated with city planning, planning for the city as a whole.³ If the „historic“ section of the city is a mono-functional area, an enclave of history set aside to be preserved, museum-like, in sterile fashion only for tourists, its contribution to the life of the city as a whole will be limited. It will be historically inauthentic, because it will not reflect the changes of history in the life of the people. It will be only architectural history, not city history, not the history of memory.

Individual buildings indeed deserve careful restoration, of the type now being undertaken in Old Havana. Others should show the changes that history has produced in their functions, their structures, their uses. It is the preservation of the history of the city as a whole, of the past of all of the people of the city, that is involved. „Architectural quality“ is one, but only one, consideration in historic preservation.

If preservation is to be given its broadest meaning, its broadest appeal, it must look at the entire city, review its entire history, and seek





to preserve the memory of that history in each part of the city. It is after all, not just one small or older part of the city which is a component of the history of the city's people, although different parts have made different contributions and their preservation will take different forms. That, I take it, is the thinking behind expanding the concern with historic preservation in Havana beyond the Ministry of Culture and the traditional formal definitions of cultural value (although economic considerations clearly played a major role too). That means broader concerns in two directions: with history throughout time, and with history throughout space.

First, as to time: all of the history of people's lives, and the reflections of those lives in the built environment, needs to be shown. It is a standard feature of past periods of conquest that the work of the conquered is destroyed and only that which pleases the conqueror or reinforces his claim to legitimacy is preserved. We see this now in eastern Europe: streets named after anti-fascist heroes in eastern Germany are renamed, but not necessarily to their prior names, which were often of fascist leaders, nor to their early folk names, but rather to the names they had when the German

2
It should be clear in what follows that, as regards Cuba, I write from very limited direct knowledge. I have visited Cuba only twice, the first time over twenty years ago, the second time for one week in the spring of this year. I do not read Spanish and the literature on historic preservation issues in Cuba available in English is very limited, and in any event it would be presumptuous of a foreigner to presume to tell his hosts in another country what to do, where outstanding professionals have already done so much amid such incredible difficulties. So what follows should be taken as very general and preliminary comments only, intended to stimulate discussion rather than provide answers.

3
Amsterdam is perhaps one of the more successful examples of the possibilities.

Many different activities mark the urban centre - its physical appearance is just one aspect among many equally important ones. (Photo: K. Mathéy)

Zusammenfassung

Der Aufsatz beleuchtet das Dreiecksverhältnis zwischen Denkmalschutz, Stadtplanung und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung. Vier Grundideen werden vorgestellt und an Beispielen erläutert, wobei Havanna als Adressat der Aussagen zu verstehen ist (der Beitrag wurde in seiner ursprünglichen Fassung für einen Vortrag in Cuba formuliert).

Es wäre töricht, Denkmalschutz als isolierte und nur konservierende Maßnahme in den Grenzen der Altstadt zu interpretieren. Vielmehr kann die Bedeutung eines historischen Stadtzentrums nur dann verstanden und belebt werden, wenn der geschichtliche und räumliche Kontext gewürdigt wird und erfahrbar bleibt. Dies verlangt eine balancierte und diversifizierte Planung: das Leben einer Stadt erhält seine Qualität durch seine Komplexität. Auch gutgemeinter historischer Purismus und Monofunktionalität lassen es absterben.

Fast immer ist Altstadtsanierung mit der Erwartung einer ökonomischen Belebung durch den Tourismus verbunden. Allerdings gerade in den Ländern des Südens ist der im Land verbleibende, wirtschaftliche Nettogewinn aus dem Tourismus oft gering, insbesondere im Rahmen des üblichen Erholungs- und Massentourismus. Individueller 'Kulturtourismus' bietet in der Regel nachhaltigere Deviseneinnahmen und erlaubt einen besseren Streueffekt der wirtschaftlichen Gewinne.

Bestimmte negative Erfahrungen aus anderen Ländern und Städten sollten zur Kenntnis genommen und positive Lehren von dort können bei der Altstadtsanierung als Anregung dienen. Einige der Empfehlungen könnten sein:

- Auch öffentliche Investitionen sollten einer realistischen Kosten-Nutzenrechnung unterzogen werden.
- Der nationale Anteil bei der Einrichtung und dem

Betrieb von Tourismus-Einrichtungen sollte maximiert werden, um Devisen im Lande zu behalten und lokal Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen.

- Pachtverträge sind dem Verkauf öffentlicher Grundstücke im Allgemeinen vorzuziehen, da sie größere und langfristige Kontrollmöglichkeiten erlauben.
- Neben dem direkten Beschäftigungspotential sollten auch Möglichkeiten der indirekten Wirtschaftsbelebung evaluiert und genutzt werden.
- Bei der Bereitstellung von Infrastruktur für den Tourismus sollte ein gleichzeitiger direkter Nutzen für die einheimische Bevölkerung zur Bedingung gemacht werden.
- Historische Tourismus-Zentren haben eine geographisch-ökonomische Streuwirkung, die zwar zusätzliche Arbeitsplätze schafft, aber wegen des steigenden Bodenwerts auch soziale Verdrängung bewirken kann.

- Exzessive Modernisierung und über-Sanierung sind Gefahren erfolgreicher touristischer Zentren, denen man rechtzeitig mittels politischer Transparenz und Verantwortung sowie Bürgerbeteiligung in der Planung vorbeugen muß.

Der spezielle Fall Cubas stellt verstärkt die Frage nach den sozialen Auswirkungen des internationalen Tourismus im Lande: transnationale Einkommensdifferenziale können sowohl zur Bildung einer neuen Dollar-Bourgeoisie im Lande führen, wie auch (für Cuba noch rein theoretisch) zu Lohnsenkungen im internationalen Wettbewerb führen. Nicht zuletzt soll hervorgehoben werden, daß die jüngere Geschichte und augenblickliche Wirtschaftsordnung Cubas ein gefragtes Ziel für den Bildungs- und Solidaritätstourismus ist, der auch als "Demo-Tourismus" bezeichnet werden könnte und, da international konkurrenzlos, ein beachtliches Wachstumspotential beinhaltet.

Also in the historic centre old and new can coexist. Example from Vienna (Hundertwasser-Haus, Photo: K. Mathéy)

4

Indeed, in my preliminary review of the literature on the relationship between historic preservation and tourism, I have found an overwhelming preponderance of concern with the possible negative impact of tourism on the ability to preserve, in this sense a defensive attitude towards tourism, rather than a quest for how tourism may enhance both the possibility of preservation and the appreciation of the meaning of the history being preserved by more people. I may be mistaken.

Callejon de Hamel in Central Havana: a street pedestrianized and completely transformed into an open air art gallery and afro-cuban cultural centre by its residents (Photo: K. Mathéy)



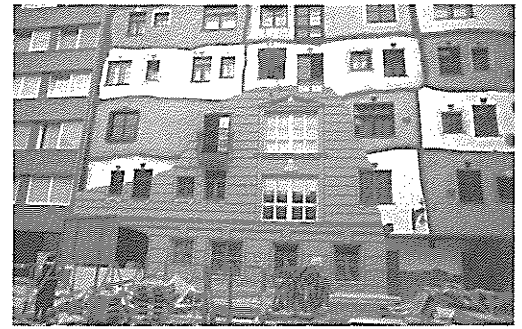
empire was in flower, under the Kaisers. Buildings are torn down because they played a symbolic role in a previous period, antithetical to the politics of the present establishment: a Palace of the Republic is closed and threatened with demolition, not because it could not remain a useful place for people's enjoyment and/or business, but because it was identified too closely with its prior use. Ideology drives and displaces practicality. Havana on the other hand, combining practicality with necessity, has long understood that the centers of prior regimes, the showplaces of the defeated Batista regime and its wealthy supporters, can be as well used for administrative and cultural functions of an entirely different regime.

Of course, where a structure is only ideology and nothing more—a monument or a statue, say—historic preservation does not demand its preservation for its own sake. In some cases, monuments to a by-gone and rejected age may be preserved as components of a historical reckoning, requiring interpretation rather than demolition. In other cases, demolition may be entirely in order, to make way for symbols of a new period.

Second, as to space: all of the history of a city is not limited to one area of its center, although often the oldest part of a city is indeed in its middle, sometimes indeed clearly circumscribed by ancient walls or fortifications. Over time, even within this space, there were changes: Vienna protects its Ringstrassen, built where the old fortifications were taken down, not those fortifications. And cities grow;

they do not remain confined to their original ground. Each successive phase of city history is reflected in its built structure, often in a radial pattern in which movement in time is visible as one moves in space out from the center of the city, or in one or both directions along its river front or ocean front or mountain limits. Along the way many changes will have taken place, many different activities have occurred and a great variety still occurs. The preservation of history does not mean the freezing of these changes, these activities, but rather the selective preservation of outstanding examples, sometimes the best, sometimes only the typical, often the ones most laden with specific meaning because of their use or their context.

In New York City today, this is



an approach that is still controversial. New York's Landmarks Commission comes from a history of concern with the preservation of what have been called „architectural treasures," the grand buildings, the mansions, the towers, the ornate structures that represented the wealth of the elite of the past. But others argue that every community has its history, its buildings meaningful to its residents and to their parents and grandparents, its centers of its culture and its past and its processes of change. So now poor communities as well as rich, middle class as well as elite, are „into" historic preservation.

I believe this is a good development, but it requires careful thought and planning to implement. As with gentrification, with which historic preservation is often connected, some may be a good thing, but much may be a bad thing. Everything that exists (or has existed for more than X years) should not be preserved, nor can everything younger be destroyed, replaced, or modernized. The balance can neither be struck according to a formula, nor can any community or part of a city be viewed in isolation and apart from the whole. This is why city planning as a whole is so important, and that is why I believe historic preservation can best be undertaken in the context of historic planning for a city as a whole.

There is a further and more pragmatic reason for planned and diversified preservation. Quality historic preservation attracts visitors, but an excess of visitors, or poorly planned visiting, can harm the building being preserved and ultimately destroy it⁴. There is a limit to the „carrying capacity" of any site, even though modern technology and intelligent planning can often expand it considerably. The dangers of excess use, too heavy traffic, are well known to preservationists. By increasing not only the number of attractive preservation sites but also spreading out their location, the pressure on any one or any one location can be reduced, and their long-range viability protected.

The process of planning itself can have a significant impact on the extent to which historic preservation will be successful, both in preserving history and in benefiting the community. If the community itself; those that live in and

near the historic sites, those coming into contact with visitors to them, are involved in the planning and preservation process, the likelihood of meaningful and long-lasting preservation is substantially enhanced.⁵ Absent such involvement, the danger of negative social impacts from visitors to sites of historic preservation, and generally from tourism, are much greater; given such involvement, the benefits of visitors can be much enhanced.

Further, the world (and a city) is not divided between „the historic“ and „the not-historic.“ Every part of a city constitutes and reflects a part of that city's history: what is built today, what was built yesterday, as well as what was built long ago. Each part affects the other; an island of isolated history in a discordant sea of what is treated as non-history, does not have the same meaning as a celebration of historic preservation placed in the context of related and respectful change around it. Even what is experienced in remote locations affects how historic preservation is perceived. A visitor coming to a new city and housed in a Holiday Inn looking like every other Holiday Inn in the world will experience the historic buildings of a city quite differently from one whose first experience is in accommodations related (if in changed and modern but sympathetic form) to that older history. So architectural, design, and planning concerns must be brought into all major construction, all major change, in the city, not just to what happens in one separate part of it designated as officially „historic.“

The potential benefits from tourism

Preservation activities should be integrated into economic development planning for the city as a whole, and specifically into planning for cultural tourism.⁶ We would be fooling ourselves if we were to pretend that we preserve history and historical structures for their own sake alone, in any city in the world, and particularly in a city like Havana which can use all of the economic boost it can get. The whole point of Habaguanex S.A.⁷ is to recognize and take advantage of that fact.⁸ Tourism is often claimed to be the fastest-growing industry in the world, and the competition for tourists is hot. It is critically important for Cuba, as Fidel already recognized in his speech of July 26, 1989, and by 1994 tourism already eclipsed sugar as Cuba's major largest industry.⁹ Viewing planning historic preservation in Cuba than as related to planning for tourism in Cuba in general is a necessity if either is to prosper in an increasingly competitive tourist market.¹⁰ So we must ask, cold-bloodedly and in non-ideological economic fashion, what are the dollar costs and benefits of historic preservation. And in that reckoning, the dollar benefits are indeed likely to be in the dollars of tourists, at the moment more foreign than domestic,

tourists who come to see what has been preserved or stay longer to go deeper into a history to which they have once been exposed.

There are again two aspects to the relationship between historic preservation, tourism, and economic development: Maximizing the net economic benefits from cultural tourism while minimizing its destructive or inauthentic aspects and then seeing that the distribution of those benefits in fact goes to those most entitled and/or in need of them.

First, as to maximizing benefits and reducing costs: In-and-out tourism certainly produces benefits. Visitors who come on a packaged tour, are taken to see the „major sights,“ which will include artfully preserved historic structures of obviously visible interest or recountable history, spend money on the way, pay admissions charges, may buy souvenirs or crafts, and if the number of such sites is more than can be encompassed in one day, may extend their stay another. Even if the primary purpose of their visit is different: if they come for business, or to enjoy the beaches or the other pleasures of a Cuban visit, the impact of multiplying the number of historic „sights“ can still be substantial. Cultural and social characteristics were judged second in importance [in determinants of the attractiveness of a given region, after natural climate and beauty], followed in order by attitudes toward tourists, accessibility, infrastructure, price levels, sport/recreation facilities, and shopping/commercial facilities.¹¹ If the increasing analysis of the globalization of tourism and tourist facilities is followed,¹² historic preservation as a way of uniquely identifying a destination will be increasing even further and is entirely consistent with local ownership and control.¹³

But cultural tourism can go beyond the rushed visiting of selective sights. It can induce longer visits to explore a city, a history, a set of architectural styles, a story of the development of a city, a people and a culture. This may not be done from a hotel at the fringes of the city, but more likely from a location near its center. It can involve enjoyment of the daily life of the city, seeing the way people today spend their time, joining in everyday activities, seeing the variety of life, not just the way it was once lived, but the way it is lived today, enjoying the cultural diversity of all sections of the city and the histories of all communities in it, not just the oldest or the most „historic.“

That will also have a significant impact, secondly, on the distribution of the benefits from tourism. For it will involve longer stays, more daily purchases from the normal stores in the neighborhood, more interaction with people in that neighborhood, less concern for imported luxuries and imported cuisine and

5 See Karen Cooke. 1982. „Guidelines for Socially Appropriate tourism Development in British Columbia,“ *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 21, no. 1, Summer.

6 Paul Goldberger makes a somewhat similar point in a recent article, but on a rather different basis; he simply argues that there are buildings worth preserving outside of the old city as well as within it. He is willing to come to quite firm conclusions after what also appears to have been a very short visit. See „Bringing Back Havana,“ *The New Yorker*, January 26, 1998, pp. 50ff.

7 See following two articles by Diana Williams and Eusebio Leal.

8 See Segre, Coyula, and Scarpaci, below, p. 303. and a similar effort in Trinidad, eloquently described Rosa Lowinger in „Old Havana Reborn,“ *Preservation*, September/October 1997, p. 49ff.

9 In 1994, tourism earned \$850,000,000, compared to \$720 for sugar production. Schwartz, Rosalie. 1997. *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln, Nb: University of Nebraska Press, p. 206.

10 Ashworth, G.J., and Tunbridge, J.E., 1990. *The Tourist-Historic City*. London: Bellhaven Press.

11 J.R. Brent Richie and M. Zins, 1976, „Culture as Determinant of the Attractiveness of a Tourism Region,“ *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 5, No. 2, April/June, p. 260. It must of course be remembered that the order of priorities is different for different types of tourists; the quoted priorities are a general average.

12 See for instance T. C. Change et al. 1996. „Urban Heritage tourism: The Global-Local Nexus.“ *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 284-305.

13 A. Poon. 1988. „The Future of Caribbean tourism-a Matter of Innovation.“ *Tourism Management* 9:213-220.

Five-star Hotel 'Santa Isabel' operated by the City Historian's Office contributes to paying the cost of restoring Old Havana. (Photo: Celeste Vargas)

imported accommodations, more money, ultimately, that is spent and kept in the city. For if all the profits from tourism leave the country, if they are captured by foreign hotel chains, suppliers of imported food and drink, construction countries from other countries using workers brought in for the purpose the net benefit to Havana and the people that live in it will be minimal.¹⁴ Moreover will promoting local goods decrease the attraction of a visit for foreigners; after all, people do not come to Cuba to drink German beer or each Swiss chocolates or eat Argentine beef, even if all of these commodities are what most high-class hotels elsewhere offer.

sent home to a foreign country, and how much will remain in Cuba.

- Increase the domestic content and the domestic return of investment over the long haul, not just short term. This applies to both services and goods.
- As to services, training of Cuban workers and managers should be an essential component of any public investment or public-private partnership. A timetable can be attached, with specific goals for how many persons in what category and skill level will be trained and given permanent jobs in what periods of time.

[The Disney Corporation recently wished to open a multi-purpose store and entertainment center on 125th Street on the main commercial street of Harlem. In order to get favorable tax treatment, the corporation asked for the endorsement of the city's quasi-public empowerment zone corporation. They were told they would only receive it if they agreed to hire 60% of their staff locally, pay them adequately, and train them so that they could advance up the job ladder. The Disney Corporation refused. The empowerment zone corporation said good-bye. Four days later, Disney came back and agreed.]

In economic terms the leakage of travel expenditures from their intended beneficiaries should be minimized and the local multiplier effects maximized.¹⁵

Some practical measures

On the practical end there are concrete measures, probably already well known here as they are among those concerned with local economic development elsewhere, that can be applied [examples, drawn primarily from experience in Harlem in New York City, in many ways an interesting comparison with problems in less developed countries, are provided in square brackets]:

- For any public investment, does a cost-benefit analysis, comparing the investment to be made, properly amortized over the useful life of the investment to the benefits adhering to the local community as well as the state.

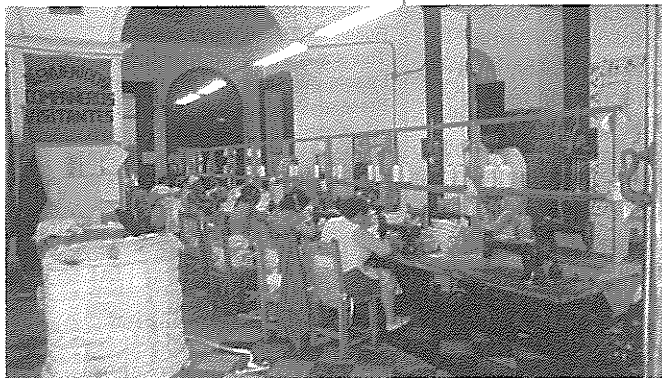
- In any such calculation the proportion of the return

on investment that goes abroad needs to be deducted from the benefit side of the equation. That so-and-so many dollars will be spent in a given hotel, for instance, is not very useful information if one does not know how much of that money will then be

- As for the goods, to take the construction industry as an example, a foreign firm building in Cuba may well use its salaried architect, or a firm which it uses to build hotels around the world, to prepare its plans. That is likely to include the specification of materials and parts in which the foreign architects are familiar, but which need to be imported-while equivalent local-produced materials and parts could as well be used, if local architects and designers were involved in the construction. In some cases, where quantities permit, local industries could be encouraged to go into production of the wanted items, as part of a concerted effort to stimulate and diverse local industry. At the extreme, a „local content“ provision might be written into every construction or supply contract.

[Recently in a Mexican economic development effort, and proposed new hotel asked to hold a fair, before plans were completed, in which it would lay out in detail the materials and goods it would require in the course of construction, and local manufacturers were invited in to see which they could supply, or supply in modified form, or convert their processes to supply. Both local suppliers and the hotel builders were surprised at how much more could be done locally than they had thought.]

- The leasing of land, rather than its sale, is generally favorable, as is already well known.



Tourists are interested to learn about the local culture and way of living: Manufacturing workshop in Trinidad, Cuba (middle), Trova music in Santiago de Cuba (bottom) - Photo: Kosta Mathéy



But the terms of such leases can provide that not only a fixed rent but a share of the profits of a joint venture should go to the public. A lease can control many aspects of operation, and might, for instance, contain specific provisions dealing with labor policies, environmental policies, community services. And it should be obvious that all risk should not be assumed by the public, as is sometimes the case where state guarantees are provided for private construction or operations.

[The terms of outstanding, if complex, arrangements for such sharing of control and financial risks and returns in contracts such as those used for developing Battery Park City, in New York City, might be examined for ideas and sample provisions.]

- Indirect concomitants of tourism should be reviewed to see where opportunities exist to leverage local economic activity that will benefit both the quality and extent of tourism and local workers and suppliers.

- Infrastructure investment is a major necessity in any long-range plan for tourism promotion: roads, efficient telephones, sanitary facilities, and so forth. Investment in infrastructure should help both local residents and tourists and tour operators.¹⁶ It should not be distorted from what normal city planning would suggest in service to the city's residents, simply in order to service tourist facilities better, nor should an investor be allowed to provide infrastructure, e.g. access roads, that serve only that facility, when modifications could broaden the use to include local residents also.

[Rail access from the center of the city to the airports in New York City has long been desired by the airport managers and the airlines. The favored route now being considered is along the median of the highways already serving the airports. The airport managers which to have any service that is built only be used to

get to and from the airport, not to serve the communities along the route. Yet the routes could help expand the opportunities for hundreds of thousands of those that live along its routes. Such single use projects, benefiting only travelers but not local residents, should not be allowed.]

- Where historic districts, or concentrations of historic preservation sites, are involved, careful attention must be given to the immediately surrounding area, the „gateways“ to both preservation and tourism. On the one hand, they can often capture positive externalities for such activities: visitors can have their meals there instead of returning to their hotel, both souvenir-type gifts and ordinary purchases can be stimulated, entertainment, art galleries, commercial displays, may find customers. On the other hand, where land prices (sale or rental) are responsive to market demand, prices in such gateway areas can also increase rapidly, to the detriment of people living there and having to compete with higher-income newcomers or businesses for space.¹⁷ Both the physical and the economic aspects of gateway development need to be dealt with.

- Finally, there is no need to reiterate today that the balance between preservation and modernization is a difficult one to maintain. At the moment, the danger of excess modernization is slight, although apparently there is some criticism of inappropriate or tasteless improvement.¹⁸ That may change over time, as Cuba's attractions draw an increasing level of foreign investment. There is no magic solution, but transparency and public accountability, including public participation in the major planning decisions, is a sine qua non.

Tourism and Socialism

Finally, there are several issues of a more speculative nature, particularly relevant to what is specific and unique to Cuba today.

Tourism, and historic preservation that contributes to tourism, has a class effect. In a pioneering study, Patrick Mullins concluded that on the Australian Gold Coast, where tourism is the preponderant economic activity, it has encouraged the rapid growth of a petit bourgeoisie.¹⁹ That large foreign corporations, who will often be by far the largest beneficiaries of tourism development,²⁰ will strive to make as high a profit from tourism development as they can, and that there will be downward pressure on wages for most workers in the industry, are both well-known facts, and a socially responsible would clearly pay attention to preventing exploitation of workers by such corporations. The position that should be taken to the small shopkeepers, individual entrepreneurs taking private advantage of the need of tourists for

Infrastructure investment is a major necessity for tourism promotion. (Photo: K. Math  y)

14

A recent estimate is that hotels in Cuba import 50 to 60 percent of their supplies, mainly from Canada. Imports from Spain in 1995 are estimated at \$417,000,000. If the embargo were lifted and present policies continued, it is estimated that United States exporters would capture of market of between one and two billion dollars. Mark M. Miller and Tony L. Henthorne. 1997. *Investment in the New Cuban Tourist Industry: A Guide to Entrepreneurial Opportunities*. Westport, Conn.: Quorum books, p. 101-2.

15

For a solid analysis of these issues applied to Edinburgh, see C. Bratton and G. Richards. 1996. „The Economic context of cultural tourism,“ in Greg Richards, ed., *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, Oxon, G.B., CAB International. Among the many analyses that conclude that leakage is great, see M.V. Levine. 1987. „Downtown redevelopment as an urban growth strategy: a critical appraisal of the Baltimore renaissance,“ *Journal of Urban Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2., pp. 103-123, and Shaw, G., and A. M. Williams. 1994. *Critical Issues in tourism: A Geographical Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell. While neither focus on historic preservation, there is no reason to believe such a focus would change the general conclusions.

16

For examples, see Shaw and Williams, supra.

17

Fainstein, Susan S., and David Gladstone. 1997. „Tourism and urban transformation: Interpretations of urban tourism,“ O. K  lltorp et al., eds. *Cities in Transformation-Transformation in cities: social and Symbolic change in Urban Space*. Ashgate Publishing co., particularly at p. 123, raise some of these issues, including residential displacement. I owe several of the references in this text to this valuable overview article.

18

See Lowinger, p. 50.

19

Patrick Mullins. 1991. „Tourism Urbanization,“ *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 591-608.

20

Certainly United States examples such as Las Vegas, Atlantic City, or Orlando are classic examples.

21

In earlier times one might even have toyed with the idea of a form of tourism appealing to a new class of Yummies, young upwardly-mobile Marxists, but that does not seem a strategic market today.

Pre-revolutionary slum in Old Havana - a historical monument? (Photo: Kosta Mathéy)

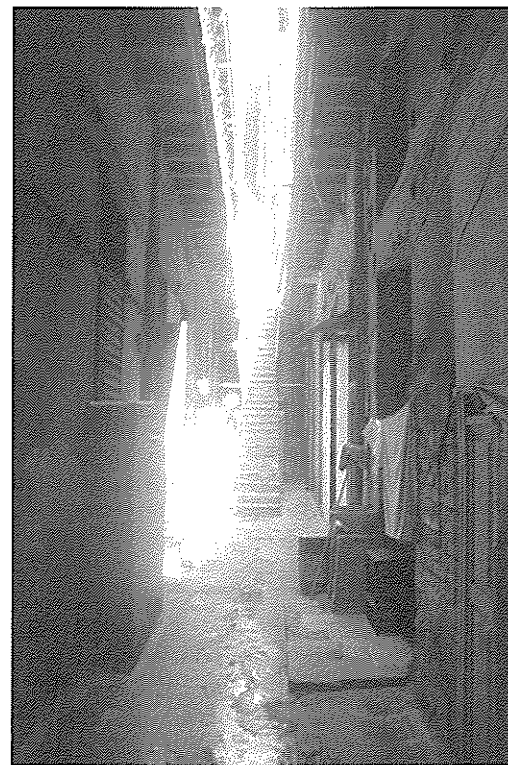
guides, for places to stay, for products hawkers can sell on the street, is a more complicated matter. In other countries, there is a substantial debate about at least the lower end of these activities, the multiplication of informal activities, street markets, hawkers and peddlers; some observers see such activities as healthy contributions both to the livelihood of those engaging in them and to filling the needs of those who patronize them, and very often being a good stepping stone to more formal and remunerative work or business. (I discount here illegal activities, such as prostitution, which few defend.) Others consider them to be the results of a failure of the mainstream economy to provide decent jobs at decent pay, worry about the lack of protection, health insurance, etc., for those engaged in them, and/or consider them a blighting social influence and unfair competition to regular merchants and service providers.

In Cuba the debate about the growth of a petit bourgeoisie centered around the tourist industry has raised other, more fundamental, questions about the effects on the class structure of the society as a whole. The experience elsewhere leads at least to this conclusion: that small individual enterprise is an (almost?) inevitable accompaniment to tourism, effectively filling a real need of tourists and providing incomes for local people above what they might be able to earn otherwise. If that is accepted as fact, the question is not so much whether the development should be allowed, but rather how it might be organized or controlled so as to preserve its contribution but avoid its ill effects. This is a crucial question of national policy that Cuba must confront squarely in the very near future.

Finally, a point that must needs be extremely speculative. It has to do with the preservation and demonstration of a current and different social system, not as an artifact, but as a living experience. To put a simple if perhaps controversial name on it: the experience of socialism, or, in less loaded political terms, the experience of the social relationships of the people of Cuba to each other.

There has, after all, been a radical change in the history of social relationships in Cuba with the Cuban revolution. It is, indeed, only one of a series of changes in Cuban history, including the Spanish invasion and then the defeat of Spanish domination, the dominance and then the defeat of the Batista regime and the particular United States connections that went with it, leading to the present period with its some fifty years of history. These histories, these changes, are reflected to some extent in buildings, in architectural styles, and some elements are memorialized in monuments or displayed in museums. But the histories are also reflected

in the lives of people today, in community institutions, in ways of doing things, saying things, speaking and singing and dancing and traveling and communicating and dealing with problems. I think a not at all negligible part of visitors to Cuba come for this reason primarily: to see what the Cuban revolution has accomplished, with the backdrop of this history and its current contours. ²¹ (This is undoubtedly

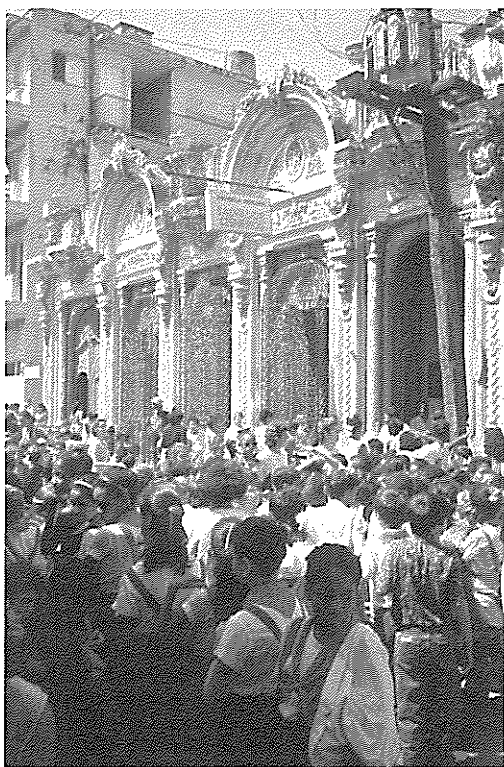


particularly true for visitors from the United States under present conditions!)

Cuba knows this already: it conducts tours of child care facilities, hospitals, schools, brings people to community meetings, publishes speeches, encourages cultural contact. We do not generally consider this kind of activity related to historic preservation. But it is, very directly. Not because these developments are past history, needing preservation as artifacts of something in the past, but for precisely the opposite reason: because these developments are history in the making, are living history. They cannot be found elsewhere in the world today. And this living history is not best represented by treating its artifacts as historical mementos, but by displaying its present structure and fabric alive.

The artifacts we preserve, after all: the buildings from colonial times, the locations where battles were fought, places where heroes (or villains — I would pay a little more attention to the interest here! Where was Batista born, and where and how did he live?), are not separated from current life, but make up its background,

help explain it; that is why we are interested in them. But their meaning is quite different depending on its current context. (To take the same example, the treatment of Batista's birthplace would be quite different under Batista than in would today.) How about the treatment of the colonial past? Is its meaning the same in Cuba today as in the Dominican Republic, or in California? If not, how is the difference made



manifest? It seems to me that historic preservation should not be seen as a standardized technical process of physical protection of buildings, but rather as a matter of presentation and interpretation of history in the context of historical processes generally, from before to after the actual periods of construction, to today.

What today thinks of the past, what has lead from there to here, from then to now, is as much a part of meaningful presentation of what is being historically preserved as what the past thought of it. For Cuba, this is an exceptional history, one which not only deserves protection and demonstration on its own account, but which is also a strong attraction for at least many who come (or would like to come) to its shores. Cuba can attract some visitors no one else can attract right now, by preserving and resending a living history no one else can display right now. The contribution of its historic preservation movement need not simply be to preserve the same history many other parts of the world can display in quite parallel fashion, but to display, to quite different visitors, a quite different history.

If this possibility is taken seriously, it would mean that both historic preservation and tourism in Cuba would have meanings quite different from those generally assigned them in most of the world today. Cultural studies have attacked (criticized is the more academic term, but the flavor of condemnation is strong) tourism as a form of commodified ²² transaction: ...The typical tourist experience [is] superficial, reflecting the unwillingness of consumers to immerse themselves in other cultures. the image prevails over reality, historical tableau over actual history, the fake over the original... cities become centers of consumption where fetishistic appearance is taken to its extreme... the critical question raised by this commodification of experience hinges on who controls the signs and images that the tourist consumes.²³

It is, the argument goes, the sign value of what the tourists see that draws them to travel. Exactly the same may be said about historic preservation: it is its character as sign that gives it its meaning. Whether the physical (re-) construction is accurate or not, the authenticity of the experience is an entirely different matter.

But precisely what does the sign, the historical artifact, signify? If it is controlled by the Disney Corporation, one may expect signification to take a certain direction, to be oriented to producing a certain result. Traditional historic preservation may expect the object preserved to convey the meaning it originally (and once authentically) had, and may admit the need for supplementary interpretation to convey that original meaning. But might not a society such as Cuba's aim for a different signification, treat its preserved history in a different manner? Would not a restored villa in Havana be able to carry quite a different meaning than a similarly restored villa from the same age in a different Caribbean or Latin American country? That does not mean, as has been the case in some countries, that a historic church be reconstructed but made a Museum of Atheism. Rather, it might mean that the present meaning of past history and past structures be what is revealed, what is signified; that perhaps people would live where their ancestors had lived, protecting and conserving but also reusing and adapting, opening up both the present and the past use visitors in a way consistent with present needs and present views; that churches either continue to be used as originally intended, or re-used for public and social purposes respectful of the public and social manner of their original use, that the aesthetics of the architectural styles of the last century be placed in a continuum that includes the architecture and the art of today.

The form of tourism adapted to such an approach to historic preservation would also have to be different from the preponderant approach criticized by much of cultural studies.

22

There are major theoretical uncertainties in some of this discussion. The concept commodification, for instance, seems to be applied regardless of whether the object of tourism is private or public, produced or natural, free or commercial. For the actual wide range of the ways by which tourism (including incidentally historic preservation) is provided, see C. Bratton and G. Richards, 1996. „The Economic context of cultural tourism,“ in Greg Richards, ed., *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, Oxon, G.B., CAB International. The issues often also seem to be treated as simply a subcategory of mass culture, à la Frankfurt School, while in fact much of cultural tourism is more plausibly considered „high culture.“

23

Fainstein and Goldstone, supra, summarizing Watson, G. L. and J. P. Kopachevsky, 1994. „Interpretations of tourism as commodity.“ *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 643-660, and Daniel Boorstin, 1992. *The Image: A guide to Pseudo Events in America*. New York: Vintage Books.

24

If eco-tourism is defined as „responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people,“ (the definition of the Ecotourism society, then demo-tourism might be defined as „responsible travel to urban areas that is in solidarity with the local people and supports their well-being.“

25

Tourism is differentiated by class, both among those who tour and among those who benefit and/or profit from supplying what tourists want and need. The point is made, but not explored, in Susan Fainstein and Dennis Judd, above. There is a large and still growing literature some of which explores this issue in connection with convention center development, sports stadia, and sponsorship of Olympic Games.

Bourgeois mansion transformed into an educational institution in Central Havana (Photo: K. Mathéy)

Sometimes it is better to take the necessary time for a beneficial solution rather than accepting the first offer for foreign tourist development (Photo: Celeste Vargas).

26
I have found thus far little in the cultural studies literature that deals with the diversity of interests and motivations of tourists, much less than is routinely found in the much more pragmatic tourist literature. Even tourists on the most conventional of packages tours will have complex and perhaps internally contradictory reactions to their experiences. But again I may be mistaken, judging only from a much too quick review of this literature.

27
Miller, below, p. 13.

28
Not to speak of the patently political forms of tourism that that were heavily promoted during the cold war, particularly in its early post-war years.

29
Katherine H. Brower, in a most interesting Masters Thesis in the Division of Urban Planning at Columbia, has discussed the possibilities in Harlem: *Tourism as a Tool for Urban Community Redevelopment: an Integrated Planning approach. A Case Study of Central/Western Harlem.*, 1990. In the literature on eco-tourism there are some preliminary estimates of the scope of the demand for this type of activity, which have some relevance for what is here suggested also.

30
See Mark M. Miller and Tony L. Henthorne. 1997. *Investment in the New Cuban Tourist Industry: A guide to Entrepreneurial Opportunities.* Westport, CT: Quorum Books, p. 69ff.

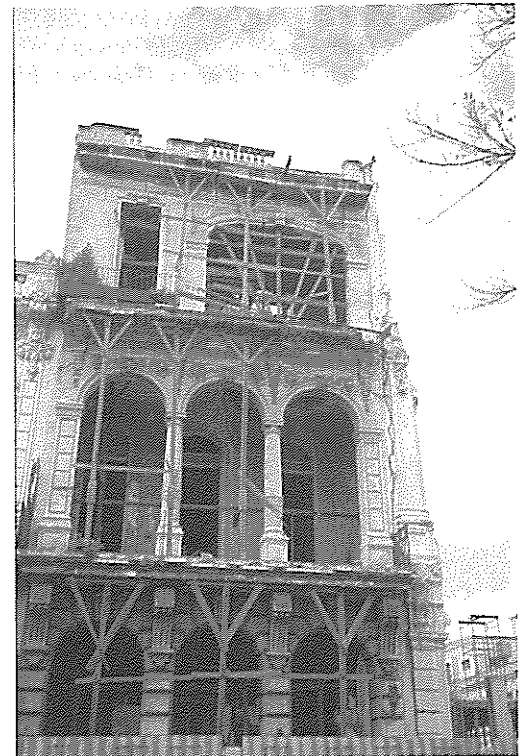
31
Although it might well sponsor visits to cigar factories or sugar cane fields or plants, but with direct contact with their workers, rather than special tour guides hired solely to entertain visitors.

32
I have of course been limited to texts in English. The source is Mario coyula Cowley and Luis Lapidus. 1994. „Historic Preservation in Cuba and Latin America.“ *Design Book Review*, Spring Summer, issue 32/33, p. 43. See also the best book on Havana in English of which I know: Segre, Roberto, Mario Coyula, and Joseph L. Scarpaci. 1997. *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

It might be called demo-tourism, drawing the analogy to eco-tourism,²⁴ and suggesting an emphasis on people and their democratic treatment in tourism as eco-tourism suggests an emphasis on the natural environment and its ecological treatment. All tourists are of course not alike,²⁵ and the pursuit of commodified tourist experiences is not the only urge driving people to travel and to visit.²⁶ Eco-tourism is „one of the great growth vehicles in global tourism,“²⁷ and already accounts for almost 20% of all tourism in the Caribbean; demo-tourism may have similar potential, and in it Cuba might have even more of an advantage over its tourism competitors that in eco-tourism.

There are parts of tourist activity today, even in countries with economic systems very different from Cuba's, that might well fit the above definition of demo-tourism, that are not commodified.²⁸ There are people-to-people programs, such as Global Exchange, based in San Francisco. There are the many Elderhostels that combine cultural tourism with intensive but relaxed educational programs. There are archeological tours, including often direct experience working at digs. There are urban tours attractive to academics and professionals in the field; the tours sponsored by the Metropolitan Research Institute in Budapest are classic examples, but Hunter College in New York City for a time did the equivalent there. In a number of older and inner-city neighborhoods local people are exploring the possibilities of generating tourist-attracting activities that will not only have local economic benefit but that will introduce people to each other, provide genuine cultural exchange, have a politically democratizing effect.²⁹ For the tourism industry it is a niche market, but its potential is substantial.³⁰

Demo-tourism, might attract tourists somewhat different from the mainstream, it might provide a tourist experience different from the conventional, might be initiated by or based on organizational forms not generally involved in tourism. It would not try to compete with cruise ports or promote its shops for duty-free shopping, or invest in casinos and segregated five-star hotels.³¹ In it, rather, historic preservation might play a quite different role from that usually visualized either by economic development promoters or feared by those engaged in preservation activities. It would be a new and difficult form of historic preservation, with a new approach to tourism linked to it and new forms of the city planning it requires, but it might be a fruitful direction to explore. Cuba should be a particularly fertile field in which to try it.



I can do no better than to conclude with a quotation from Mario Coyula Cowley and Luis Lapidus, from one of the most insightful discussions of historic preservation in Cuba that I have seen:³²

Attitudes toward historic preservation in Cuba ... oppose both European elitist and nostalgic traditions and equally nostalgic indigenous and nationalistic visions. The 19th-Century concept of a landmark as a singular highly valuable artistic or historic artifact has broadened in the last twenty years to embrace a built heritage that includes whole urban areas, as well as natural and archaeological sites... the preservation of Latin American historic centers should not depend on the financial support of gentrifying yuppies or tourists, but it can not it be solely a state responsibility, accepted with resignation because of moral and cultural obligation. The solution may well rest on the economic empowerment of the local population, which would allow it to actively participate in finding gradual and feasible solutions to meet its needs, and lead to a natural and sustainable coincidence between cultural, social, environmental, and utilitarian values.

Such an approach, linking historic preservation, local economic development, and broadly defined planning, can have enormous benefits, not only for Cuba, but also for places like Harlem, New York, and others around the world.

Sustainable Strategies towards Improving and Developing Old Havana for the Benefit of its Residents and Visitors

Abstract: This article discusses the importance of the Old Havana World Heritage Site and the need for sustainable strategies to improve and develop it for the benefit of its residents and visitors. The article focuses on the historical and cultural significance of the site and the challenges it faces in the present day. It also discusses the role of tourism in the development of the site and the need for sustainable tourism practices.

Old Havana (Cuba)

Let us remember why Old Havana in Cuba is an important World Heritage Site.

The life of Cuba's main town, now capital, began around 1515 when the town of San Cristobal de La Habana was founded on the south coast. Shortly afterwards this settlement was moved to the North coast at a site named La Chorrera. In 1519/20 the same town was moved to its present location, sited around a bay. From this point in time La Habana began to grow steadily, becoming an important shipbuilding and trading centre for the New World. In 1592 La Habana was granted the title of Capital City, and in 1607 declared as the capital of the Spanish colony. In 1538 a fortress system was developed with the construction of the 'Castillo de la Fuerza' built to protect the city from pirate attacks. The Morro Castle, perhaps the most famous of the fortresses, was finished in 1597. According to Le Riverend (1992:44): 'The chain of fortifications built in Havana over three centuries made it the most impregnable in the New World.'

In the seventeenth century the construction of Old Havana's city walls was started, and in the eighteenth century Havana's house of government was built, alongside the first theatre and pedestrian walk. In the mid nineteenth century attention was turned away from large scale developments in the City to those outside its limits - a practise which continued into the 20th century. This was made easier by the removal of the City's original walls in 1860.

Old Havana in the present Day

Although the City of Havana has grown considerably, from approximately five thousand

inhabitants in 1592 to over two million in 1997, the original walled city, that is the Old City, has retained its own unique identity. Now designated an important site for tourism, visitors to Cuba are attracted by its forts, colonial palaces, and aesthetic squares - all of which exhibit a range of architectural styles (baroque, gothic, neoclassical, art nouveau and eclectic). This area is currently home to over 100,000 people and a work place for others. Walking through the Old City's narrow, often lively, streets one not only obtains a sense of Old Havana's past but also its present day life and culture.

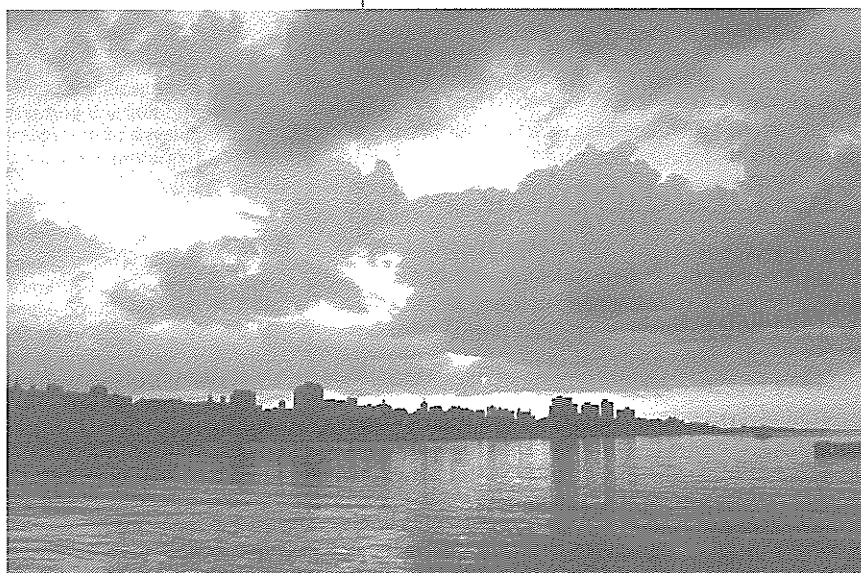
Unfortunately, whereas part of the Old City's charm is its age, it is also one of its problems. The elements and time in general have taken their toll on the Old City and now it requires extensive renovation. The majority of the buildings found in this area require some

Zusammenfassung

Der Aufsatz stützt sich auf Feldforschung der Autorin im Zusammenhang mit Ihrer Dissertation über nachhaltige Tourismusförderung in Cuba. Sein einführer Teil faßt nicht nur die Ergebnisse dieser Forschung und ihrer Interviews mit Einheimischen und Touristen über die Entwicklung der Altstadt von Havanna zusammen, sondern beschreibt auch die besonderen Merkmale der Altstadt von Havanna, und die institutionellen Ressourcen. Im Hauptteil werden Strategien entwickelt, um die finanzielle Grundlage für eine Erneuerung der Altstadt durch den Tourismus zu erwirtschaften, wobei oberstes Ziel das Interesse der lokalen Bevölkerung bleiben soll. Beispiele sind die Besteuerung lokaler, dem Tourismus dienender Gewerbe, die Kondition der Sanierung der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft bei rei

nen Tourismusprojekten, direkte projektbezogene Spendenangebote, bessere Öffentlichkeitsarbeit. Aber auch gezielte Selbsthilfeförderung und administrative Reformen werden als wirkungsvollen Beitrag empfohlen.

In dem Abschnitt 'Praktische Empfehlungen' werden hauptsächlich Aussagen aus den Befragungen aufgegriffen und diskutiert, wie Fassadenverschönerung, buntere Farbgebung, mehr Straßenbeleuchtung, Begrünung, Verkehrsberuhigung, oder bessere Möglichkeiten zur Unterhaltung. Explizit warnt die Autorin davor, die Altstadt zu perfekt zu sanieren, da gerade das 'Alte' für die Zone typisch ist und die Touristen anzieht. Altstadtsanierung ist mindestens genauso eine soziale Aufgabe wie die des Denkmalschutzes.



Skyline of Old Havana
(MathiasPeckskamp)

1
Eusebio Leal (the City's Historian)
cited by Barclay 1990

2
The 1996 surveys were undertaken for
the purpose of obtaining a comparison
with the former year in relation to tou-
rism development

Collapsing houses in Old Havana
constitute a health hazard and
diminish the stock of historical
buildings. (Mathias Pekskamp)



brick replacement and re-rendering. According to Robainas Barcia (1995:13) it has been estimated that an average of 215 buildings (mainly dwellings) a year are lost due to structural collapse. Many people live in deplorable conditions¹. Large, once grandiose, houses originally lived in by rich merchants have been converted into rooms and apartments for many different families. Sanitation in these homes is often poor, and individual washing facilities can be lacking. Water and light is not always available.

Moreover the area suffers from broken sewage pipes, garbage left on some streets, contamination in the harbour and a lack of greenery. Clearly in terms of the Old City's physical character much improvement is required in order to meet the needs of its resident population. Cuba's development as a tourist centre also requires that extra facilities are provided. A tall and difficult order given Cuba's weak economic position, enfeebled by the US embargo.

Survey Findings

A deeper understanding of the special nature of the Old City, alongside its developmental needs, was obtained through four surveys undertaken in December 1994 and May 1996. As part of a Ph.D. thesis on Sustainable Tourism in Cuba, tourists visiting the Old City were questioned about their perceptions of this area and its tourist infrastructure. In addition, people living in this City were questioned about tourism's effects on their environment and their lives. Tourists were asked to provide recommendations towards Old Havana's physical and social amelioration. Local people were asked what benefits they would like to see from tourism.

Both of the tourist surveys involving fifty respondents each time² acknowledged the

beauty and historic value of the City. Phrases such as 'fabulous a dream'; 'The most beautiful City in Latin America'; 'Mixture of many influences, for example, Paris, Rome and Prague'; 'A life museum where you can see the past and the present' and 'marvellous, beautiful and seductive' were used by those interviewed to describe this site.

Nethertheless, in contrast to the above, many of those interviewed were aware of this City's problems. Negative descriptions supplied included, 'Deterioration of so much beauty going to waste'; 'Grandiose but derelict: A City in its death throes'; 'The Old City is extremely run down' and 'Appears like a City after a battle'. It was interesting to note that as a whole more negative comments were made in the 1996 survey, whereas a greater number of restoration projects had been completed, and were underway, in 1996. This situation could indicate that the type of tourists now visiting Cuba have changed between 1994 and 1996 from those defined by Plog (1991) as allocentric - who are probably more accepting of local norms - moving on once a site becomes well known, to those defined as psychocentric with higher expectations concerning services. Although it must also be remembered that some tourists will have both allocentric and psychocentric characteristics.

Some of the tourists interviewed were acutely aware of the local residents' living conditions and recommended, as a consequence of this, that more restoration be undertaken on local people's homes.

Those tourists interviewed were also asked whether they felt the Old City provided sufficient tourist facilities such as hotels, restaurants and information centres. In both tourist surveys (1994 and 1996) fifty per cent of those interviewed stated that this was the case, thus suggesting that there is still room for improvement. Concerns regarding the lack of tourist information available in the Old City proved to be a common concern amongst independent travellers.

The surveys with local residents in 1994 and 1996, as well as recognising the benefits that tourism can bring to an area, also provided information pertaining to local people's needs. In the 1994 survey thirty four persons out of fifty felt that tourism could provide benefits for them and their area. In 1996 fifty two out of sixty interviewed gave a definite yes to this question. When asked what benefits they would like to see, many people expressed the hope that tourism, as linked to its economic benefits, would encourage the repair of their homes. This response was particularly common in the 1996 survey. Other

needs that were voiced included 'a cleaner city'; the ability to buy more foodstuffs and medicines, and more shops and recreational facilities for children.

When asked whether tourism's benefits were evident at the current moment, twenty one people in 1994 and thirty seven in 1996 gave a clear affirmative response. Examples of benefits included the creation of a park, a cleaner environment, 'building repairs', 'a more beautiful environment', 'more shops' a livelier City and 'improved transport'. Negative aspects associated with tourism were also reported - to include an increase in prostitution and muggings.

Based on the surveys mentioned above, local people had obviously made a link between the arrival of tourism and the development of their City. The quality of the Old City as a tourist attraction was also clarified.

On the other hand, whereas tourism may have provided some of the economic requirements or incentive to undertake physical and social improvements, none of them would have been achieved without the efforts of this City's developmental agencies. Before endeavouring to consider some of the means towards improving Old Havana, it is necessary to look at these bodies, and their work, for the purpose of building on, and seeking to develop, their strategies.

Developmental Agencies

A number of agencies have already made successful inroads towards the Old City's amelioration. The **City's Historian Office**, which has the final say towards the managing of development policies in this area, has been successful in effecting the restoration of monuments, buildings and developing innovative schemes, often cultural, in Havana. This Office's projects include the restoration of Plaza de Las Armas and the City Museum. Most of the Office's finance comes from the state, although donations are received from foreign organisations such as UNESCO.

In 1996, headed by Eusebio Leal, the City's Historian Office set up a home for the elderly and some maternity homes in the Old City. This body has also been responsible for turning some historic buildings into schools. In November 1996 four hundred and seventy children attended what Eusebio Leal terms as museum schools, and there is an intention to increase this number significantly.³ In addition, this Office has enlisted the help of retired, skilled pensioners towards facilitating their restoration plans.

The City's Historian Office also works along-

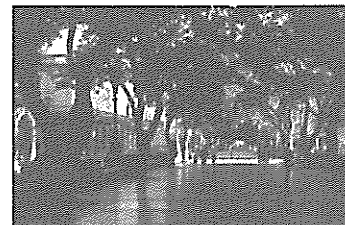
side organisations such as **CENCREM** (the Centre for Conservation, Restoration and Museology) which was set up in 1980 to promote the conservation process and the training of specialists, and the Architect's Office. The City's Historian Office is in a good position in that it is able to operate on both a state and municipal level. This in turn should allow that local needs influence government policy.

Under law 143 the City's Historian Office has the right to have a commercial tourist office. **Habaguanex** is part of the Office of the Historian, although it has a different role in that it is a commercial entity whose brief is to develop Old Havana's touristic centre. In the words of Miguel Martin - Habaguanex's President: 'Habaguanex has a commercial identity to sell a historical product'.⁴ Inherent within this organisation's plans are the provision of cafes, restaurants and hotels. In common with the City's Historian Office, Habaguanex is aware of the importance of retaining the character and history of this City. Again using Miguel Martin's words: 'We don't want to transform the historical past, we want to re-animate the past.'

Although Habaguanex was set up by the City's Historian Office it is now self financing and obtains revenues from its commercial operations such as the Cafe Paris. Even though this company began in 1994, by 1995 'this company made over 4.7 million dollars (US) with net profits of 40 per cent'.⁵ In 1997 this organisation had over fifty five facilities to include hotels, restaurants, bars and cafeterias. Given that this organisation is part of the City's Historian Office, and at the same time works alongside foreign investors, it could be argued that Habaguanex is in an ideal position towards facilitating effective and sustainable development projects. Habaguanex's orientation allows for an understanding of the Old City's cultural needs, whilst developing an understanding of, and initiating, sound economic practises, partly gleaned from the investor's experience.

In 1982 the Old City was declared a **UNESCO** 'World Heritage' site. This in itself has increased this City's profile as an area worth restoring. In the same year UNESCO launched a campaign to restore Plaza Vieja including the colonial palaces situated around it. Tourism features within this plan, and one of the palaces is being transformed into an Apartment Hotel. Additionally, in 1992, the World Heritage Fund has provided grants for emergency repairs in this area.

It is important to note that Havana, including the Old City, is endowed with a Master Plan, promoted by the **Institute of Physical Planning (IPF)**. This aims to make far reaching



The historical city of Havana has preserved its own character and has the highest concentration of historical buildings in Latin America.

(M. Peckskamp; K. Mathéy)

3 Eusebio Leal speaking at the UNESCO conference on culture-Havana November 1996

4 Martin interviewed in the offices of Habaguanex Dec 1994

5 Granma International 1995:Jan 25



improvements, including those concerning infrastructure and services. Although some projects, including those allied to tourism, have been effected there is still a lot to do. The realization of projects such as an underground railway system are a long way off.

The **Group for the Comprehensive Development of Havana (GDIC)** has a particular interest in any development issues that effect Havana. Their role is to sanction and make recommendations for planning and development in this City. This group employs economists, planners and cultural advisors for this work.. 'Workshops of the Neighbourhood', organized by this body aim to 'technically assist' (Robainas Barcia 29:1995) those living in the various Inner City councils to upgrade their living conditions.



The former convent Santa Clara has been carefully restored and now houses CENCREM, the national centre for conservation and museology

(Mathias Peckskamp)



Post-colonial buildings can also be 'historical' and worth to be preserved.

(M. Peckskamp)

Popular Councils, in the Old City, whose function is to attend to community needs, also engage themselves in the initiation of housing and environmental improvement projects. Finance for these ventures comes from the municipality level. **Old Havana's municipality (incorporating Area Councils of Administration)** can liaise with bodies such as the City's Historian Office. Council budgets; however, are minimal and projects have to be sanctioned by the Municipality - who are controlled by the provincial or state level of government. A number of these councils have also set up projects whereby locals are able to buy cheap materials for renovating their homes. Technical assistance, and advice, regarding house renovation is available. In addition, the neighbourhood **Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR)**, **Veterans Association** and the **National Womans' Federation** also have a role to play in dealing with the City's problems, including crime and prostitution.

Private investors have had a role to play towards the Old City's improvement. Joint

developmental ventures, largely in the area of tourism, have been set up between the government (as linked to respective Cuban companies including Habaguanex - as mentioned beforehand) and foreign investors. Those running legal small businesses, such as handicrafts and small restaurants, contribute to the economic development of the area. Their existence adds to the attraction and ambience of the Old City. Since 1993 Havana's handicraft industry, as noted by the author, has grown considerably.

As seen from the tourism surveys discussed beforehand, and the existence of companies such as Habaguanex, tourism can be regarded as a key player towards the Old City's future development and restoration. It is apparent that existing agencies such as the City's Historian Office have made important steps towards improving Old Havana. There is, however, still a long way to go. For example, as pointed out by Shopsis (1995:18) a lack of financial resources has meant that preservation is prioritised and has been confined to older buildings more than two hundred years old. Consequently, 'many 19th and 20th century buildings are in a dire state of neglect'.

Some sustainable Strategies towards the old City's Development

Given the above, one is lead to question how the improvement process can be speeded up in order to preserve this historic centre and, at the same time, prevent further decay. The next section will seek to outline some of the means towards promoting the effective or sustainable development of this City. Sustainable Development being regarded by the author as that which meets the needs of the local community and its visitors, and does not degrade the environment.

It is apparent that an important part of the answer lies in obtaining much needed economic resources in order to realise an improvement programme. Tourism has already been accredited with making significant inroads towards the Old City's development, as seen in relation to the afore mentioned surveys. There is no reason why tourism's beneficial influence should not be extended. It makes sense that an industry which capitalises on, and benefits from, an area's cultural and historic resources should have a vested interest in maintaining and restoring these assets. Vital towards realising the above, effective channels need to be promoted or developed through which those involved in the tourism industry (and other industries) - incorporating Cuban companies and foreign investors - can provide direct benefits for the area in which it operates.

One way to achieve this could be to dictate that as part of a tourism (or other industry) development programme, the investor/investors must make some improvement to surrounding area. What is to be improved could be determined during meetings held between representatives of the local community (perhaps officers from the local councils) and the City's Historian Office - alongside its collaborating agencies. To provide an example, it could be decided that a condition for the sanction of restoring and running a hotel would be to repair some surrounding roads, renovating a housing block adjacent to the hotel, or perhaps incorporating the treatment of local waste within their (the investors) own waste disposal methods. In the UK section 106 agreements, (within the Town and Country Planning Act 1990) between the planning authority and the developer, exist to realise benefits related to their particular development which, in turn, can be of benefit to the local community.

The size of the tourist company's economic investment in Cuba, concerning the surrounding area, could be equated to size of the main tourism investment. Tax concessions would serve as an incentive towards investing in development projects that are linked to what can be defined as 'surrounding area improvement schemes'. The cost of the materials required to improve part of the adjacent area could be built into the tourism project's costs. This should allow for further savings, and help to overcome a resourcing problem in relation to obtaining building materials in this country. Although, where possible, the use of materials obtained in Cuba should be encouraged. The skills of those experts involved in the planning and construction of the business could also be utilized towards the improvement of the locality.

The 'surrounding area improvement schemes' would serve to indicate that tourism is clearly working in the interests of the local community. During those surveys pointed to beforehand, whereas it was recognised that tourism had provided benefits for the local area and its people, there were some who believed that tourism's influence should be directed more to local people's needs. One tourist remarked 'why should we restore historic buildings when people are poor'. On the other hand it is just as easy to understand the importance attached to maintaining one's heritage.

The general value of the surrounding area improvement scheme is that it aims to meet the needs of the local community, whilst meeting the needs of the tourist. Improvements made to the local area should also make it

easier for the investor to market their installations. At the same time, the afore mentioned scheme will encourage the preservation of the Old City, and its heritage, through the restoration of its historic buildings.

Direct contributions from the tourists themselves could be obtained in order to promote Old Havana's restoration. For instance, an official body could be set up whose main brief is to collect tourist donations for the purpose of restoring particular buildings or areas in Havana. This could be achieved in a number of ways. Certain cafes, bars and restaurants could act as collection points where tourists are given the option to make a donation of, for example, one dollar. Alternatively, a dollar could be added to the cost of particular souvenirs that are sold in government shops. This money could be collected from the facilities and shops on a monthly basis, and placed into a bank account earmarked for a particular restoration project.

When one considers that around 70.4% of Cuba's visitors go to Havana⁶ and that in 1996 over one million tourists went to Cuba (Trade Travel Gazette 1997:11), even if each person only made a contribution of one dollar, it is easy to see the financial value behind such schemes. To promote the worth of making these contributions, leaflets should be made available to tourists in the afore mentioned facilities and shops explaining what the money will be used for, and its importance in the context of Old Havana's current condition. The body managing this would be made responsible for identifying what should be restored by the tourist donations, its cost and how long it would take to achieve. Outside international funding should also be sought for these projects, in order to make it easier to meet the agreed targets. Once sufficient finance is obtained for one project, and work on it is underway, a funding campaign for a different project could be initiated.

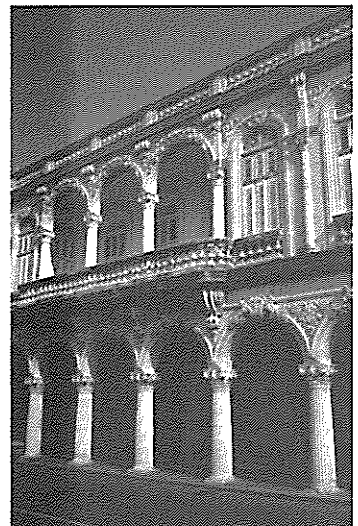
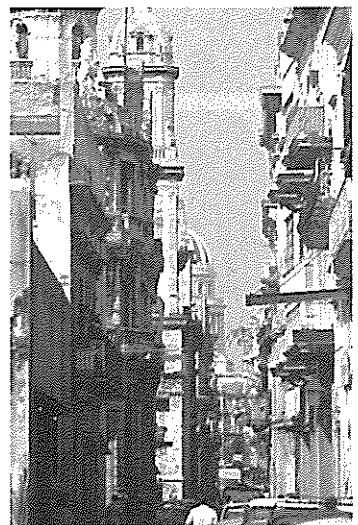
Donation boxes sited at tourist attractions would also provide additional income for the project described above. Again, literature should be placed next to the donation boxes in order to stress the value behind making such a contribution. In countries such as the UK and France it is common practice for churches and cathedrals to ask for public donations towards their restoration or upkeep.

As indicated earlier in this paper, some tourists recommended that more information centres be provided. Once established, these centres could play a major role in promoting the importance of restoring Old Havana and obtaining revenue for this task. In providing

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The Group for the Comprehensive Development of the City 1993:2-3

Typical street crossing Old Havana
(K. Mathéy)



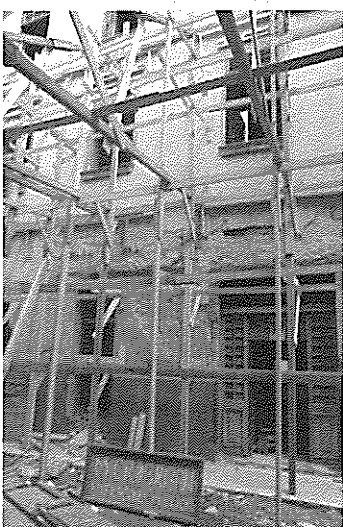
Many historical buildings have already been restored
(M. Peckskamp)



good quality information about the Old City, to include detailed route maps - pointing out sites of architectural interest; with main centres providing displays (perhaps multi media) of the Old City in the past, present and future; the tourist is likely to obtain a greater affinity for this site. In turn, they are likely to be more amenable to playing a financial role towards this City's restoration. A web site would also promote this City's cause, before and after a tourist visits Cuba.

Local Efforts

The success of Old Havana's restoration programme not only depends on obtaining the necessary finance and resources, but also on the effectiveness of the links and sense of co-operation between the different groups and agencies working towards, and having a vested interest in, the Old City's development.



Restoration efforts through collective self-help (so called 'Microbrigadas') in Old Havana
(Kosta Mathéy)

Whereas tourism should have an important role to play in Old Havana's developmental process, self help needs to be promoted. Some local people - as linked to the popular council schemes, as indicated before, have already engaged themselves in the restoration of their own homes. There is no reason why this activity should not be extended. More local people could be encouraged to take a practical role in the development of the Old City. Teams of suitably trained people, organised for the purpose of improving their council area, could undertake larger scale restoration work or, for example, involve themselves in cleaning projects. To provide a greater incentive for this, awards - financial or material - could be made to the most successful teams and councils. Success being measured by the quality of the work. These awards could be used for subsequent improvements. Warehouses could also be established where local people

can buy (at minimal cost) materials obtained from those buildings beyond repair, or those that have been refurbished, for the improvement of their own homes.

It is important to note, as does Attoe (1988: 346-364) that local people's 'concepts of what should be preserved might be different from others'. And organisations such as the Friends of the Earth (1994:5) also point to the necessity of allowing individuals 'to share both in decision making and in the actual process of development'. Bandarin in Appleyard (1979:191) points to the value of Bologna's (Italy) neighbourhood councils first organised in the 1950's, to which in his words, 'the city has transferred many advisory and decision functions'. The community's involvement in the formation of the Master Plan, the renovation of the historic centre and the housing programmes, through these councils, has encouraged a more representative planning programme. One which takes on the needs of the majority.

For ease of operations, it could also be recommended that more of the developmental agencies be given specific responsibility for certain projects, including the management of budgets and decision making. It has been argued by Robainas Barcia (1995: 23, 29) that the Group for the Comprehensive Development of the City does not have enough independence or authority to make significant headway in terms of environmental improvements. In addition, during an interview (May 1996) with those working in one Popular Council a concern was expressed about their lack of financial autonomy towards making effective area improvements.

The developmental bodies should also seek to foster good relationships with the representatives of industries operating, or planning to operate, in this area. This will be vital to the success of projects such as the 'surrounding area improvement schemes', as pointed to beforehand. Investors need to understand this City's needs, and the development agencies need to be aware of the industry works.

Practical recommendations towards the old city's amelioration

The previous section sought to outline some ways towards obtaining the necessary economic resources towards restoring Old Havana. At the same time the importance of maintaining effective and co-operative links between developmental organisations, industries and the local community, towards sustainable development, have been stressed. In essence the foundations required for the development process have been examined.

The final section seeks to outline some practical measures towards the Old City's improvement, brought to light during the author's surveys undertaken in Old Havana. The merits of these recommendations will be considered alongside current developmental approaches being undertaken in this City, and theoretical perspectives. Not all of the recommendations reflect the opinion of the author. It must also be noted that the majority of recommendations given throughout this work could be applied to Havana, and Cuba, as a whole.

During the tourist surveys a number of tourists suggested restoring and maintaining facades in order to provide Old Havana with a more attractive overview. Perhaps this is not the best approach, given that it will not meet the needs of local residents and could serve to have debilitating effects on local society. Once hidden from public view the possibility is increased for the communities needs to become forgotten. Living in crumbling spaces peoples self esteem declines as their homes fall deeper into disrepair.

Other ideas obtained from the surveys included restoring more buildings lightly in order to widen the appearance of restoration. Inskip (1991:241) states: 'Total historic district preservation is preferable to individual building preservation, in that the historic urban character is retained.'

Warnings, however, were made by some of those interviewed that the restoration projects associated with Old Havana should not make the City too perfect, in order to maintain its atmosphere and lived in feel. One person felt that local people should be encouraged to live and work in the area, in order that the Old Havana does not become a museum and maintains its living status.

It is clear that a balance needs to be obtained between meeting the needs of the residents and maintaining the character of the local area. As warned by Orbasli and Cockburn (1994:9): 'It is often the 'Western heritage understanding of the visitor that is being imposed onto the host community, one of cobbled and winding streets, balconies and quaint courtyards. This kind of conservation can easily ignore the more realistic needs of the residents of indoor bathrooms and kitchens and improvements towards more comfortable houses, than the decaying ones they live in. What the community values is the neighbourly relationships and urban form and not necessarily architectural heritage.'

It is apparent that restoration projects in the Old City, as initiated by organisations such as the City Historians Office and Habaguanex,

usually tend to favour maintaining the City's original style. The majority of those tourists interviewed during the 1994 and 1996 surveys also favoured this approach. In fact only one person stated that this site's restoration could employ both modern and past styles. In order to back up his view he gave the example of the glass structure at the Louvre (Paris) which is built alongside the Old Palace. Given the special nature of this site it would perhaps be pure folly to deviate from this path. As pointed out by the Friends of the Earth (1994:39) the council of Europe favours a situation where an emphasis is placed on, 'rehabilitation rather than rebuilding'.

This approach should seek to maintain the historical value of an area. Although Eusebio Leal, the City's Historian, is clearly pragmatic in his approach. As pointed out by Aguirre (1997: 28) - based on an interview with Leal concerning the restoration of the Old City: 'After making a professional appraisal, he ascertains, if it is impossible to restore what ever existed previously, it is permissible to introduce modern elements.' As argued in a report by the Friends of the Earth (1994) there should also be an emphasis on 'durability' when developing and constructing. Long lasting construction and repairs will prove more economic in the long run, and could encourage a sense of permanence and stability amongst those living in, and visiting, the area.

An interesting and valuable recommendation was to make the Old City more colourful. In the past, light blue (known as Havana blue) gables and white walls were very much the order of the day. The Don Giovanni Restaurant has been restored in this way and proves to be extremely pleasing to the eye. Further and authentic painting could make the city even more attractive.

Adequate street lighting including the use of lights for cosmetic effects was also suggested. At night parts of Old Havana can have a sinister atmosphere. At present this is a difficult proposition given the government policy of energy saving blackouts. Nonetheless, this view is well understood when one looks at the illuminated Spanish Embassy at night, which appears quite resplendent. The use of more lighting in certain Old City areas might also discourage crime.

'Greening' the area was seen as a good option towards improving the surroundings for all. It may not always be viable to plant trees in the Old City's narrow streets; nevertheless, this would work in larger more open areas, such as its squares. Urban planning has already turned some sites where derelict - buildings once stood into parks, and this pro-



Renovation for social interest projects;
Ruin temporarily used as open air cafeteria (above) and former ruin transformed into a gymnasium and sports palace (below)
(Kosta Mathéy)

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Right: Renovated apartment hotel on the Plaza Vieja
(M. Peckskamp)

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cess is continuing. 'Greening,' could be linked to tourism development projects.

Some tourists argued the case for making parts of the Old City a traffic free zone, in order to minimise pollution. Although, at the same time, the importance of setting up effective transport links to and around the Old City was voiced.

Others suggested the need to clean the area. One man somewhat extreme in his views suggested that Old Havana should be hosed with bleach. Incidentally the same man (from the US) suggested that the Disney Company should be employed to rebuild it. In definite contrast to this another person believed that the area should *not* be 'disneyfied'.

As indicated beforehand, the improvement of their housing was a priority for the majority of residents surveyed in the Old City. The need for a cleaner environment was also stressed. The residents were also found to have other priorities towards improving the quality of their lives. In both the 1994 and 1996 surveys, those interviewed indicated that they would like to be able to visit more places of entertainment. Whereas some of those interviewed felt that tourism had made their city more lively, with 'greater possibilities for things to do at night', it is also true that the majority cannot afford this type of entertainment. In an interview, Miguel Martin of Habanaguanex pointed to the need to deal with this issue. Strategies such as allowing 10% of the trade of



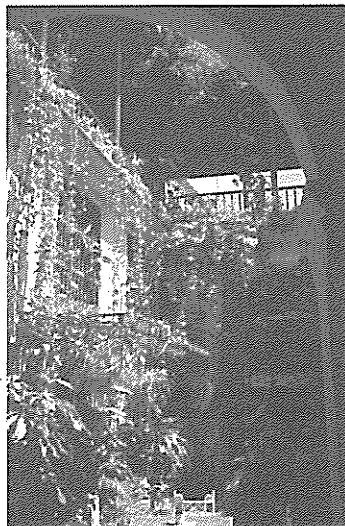
bars and restaurants to be made available for Cubans have been devised; with donations from retail outlets distributing, 'ten per cent of produce to local schools, nurseries and homes for the elderly' (Haines, M. June 1994). The creation of affordable entertainment and cultural centres for locals, would be another option towards dealing with this situation. As argued by Orbasli and Cockburn (1994:8): 'Urban areas' present 'much greater issues than those faced in monument conservation. Conservation' is 'no longer simply a technical and artistic problem, but one of social understanding'.



Conclusion

There can be no doubt that the Old City in Havana is a site that merits preserving, not only for its rich history but also its people.

Considerable progress by organisations such as the City's Historian Office and Habaguanex has already been made towards the Old City's amelioration. Although the task facing this City's planners and developers is immense, and is made all the more difficult by a lack of economic resources. Given that tourism is now linked to the Old City's current and future development it makes sense to manage this industry in order that it provides direct benefits for those living in the area. At the same time this industry should seek to preserve the environment and provide a quality experience for Old Havana's visitors. On the other hand, one should not disregard the value of self help policies. Those living in the area can make significant inroads towards their area's improvement. Effective working links between those developmental agencies, industries and the local community are also essential towards developing a City that aims to meet the needs of the majority. To an extent this situation exists, however, it could be argued that in strengthening these links developmental policies are more likely to act in the wider interest. One can also make a case for promoting community representation. Increased access to finance, and effective working links between the various developmental organisations, should further the possibility of undertaking a wider range of practical approaches towards Old Havana's improvement. It is axiomatic that any practical measures towards improving this site work in the interests of Old Havana's residents, visitors and its environment.



Providing more greenery is one of the renovation aims in Old Havana
(K. Mathéy; M. Peckskamp)

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Social Targets versus Economic Needs: Which Compromises are being Accepted for the Restoration of Old Havana?

Question: Could you have imagined thirty years ago how Old Havana today looks like?

Eusebio Leal: Probably not, in fact it was a surprise for me to see that so many of my earlier dreams have turned to reality. I have been trained like my colleagues as a museum expert; someone who works with antiquities and who explains to the people the history of the past. The objective of such a work is to raise the mental conscience of people and to help them recognise their own identity. This is a very complex task and much more important than the physical reconstruction of a city. However, when we tried to combine both the mental and material renovation, these problems which we are trying to solve now became evident.

Question: Could you summarise the main aims of the renovation programme for Old Havana and how you can avoid the mistakes that have been made in other cities?

Eusebio Leal: I think it would be a big mistake to try and convert a city to a museum. The most important aim is to keep the resident community within the old city: the people who love the historic part of the city, who were born here, who grew up here, and even the ones who joined later. Therefore, we must create new work places, involve the community in the restoration works and not only to create adequate conditions for the tourism. The real importance does not lie in painting the

facades but rather in revitalising the social life of the community, and possibly to introduce new elements to it as well. I believe the biggest problem is always the economic issue. Restoration costs money, a lot of money. But we need to attain something else that cannot be bought with all the money in the world: goodwill, enthusiasm, perseverance. In Latin America these are things you cannot always rely on, but we are determined to follow this path to reach our goals, and we will achieve them. Everyday we are getting closer to our aims.

Question: Could you elaborate on the financial set-up of the programme?

Eusebio Leal: Initially all works were financed only by the Cuban state, though we always maintained the hope for help of the international community. In our situation we cannot

Zusammenfassung:

Der Stadthistoriker von Havanna erläutert in diesem Interview die Ziele und Aspekte der Finanzierung der Sanierung der Altstadt, der er als Leiter vorsteht: Auf keinen Fall soll das historische Zentrum in ein Museum verwandelt werden, sondern die jetzt dort ansässige Bevölkerung soll gehalten und deren Wohn- und Lebensbedingungen verbessert werden, bevor an die Belange der Touristen gedacht wird. Deshalb sind der nicht-materielle Anteil des Programms, Partizipation, Bildungsangebote, Kultur- und Beschäftigungsförderung mindestens genauso wichtig wie die Bau- und Renovierungsmaßnahmen.

Natürlich ist die Sanierung der Altstadt ein extrem kostspieliges Vorhaben, was kaum ohne externe Finanzierung entweder im Rahmen internationaler bzw. bilateraler

Zusammenarbeit oder kommerzieller 'Joint Ventures' realisierbar ist. Aber auch bei den letztgenannten Vorhaben bleibt die nationale Kontrolle durch einen mindestens 51-prozentigen Kapitalanteil der cubanischen Seite gewährleistet. In jedem Fall wird der überwältigende Teil der Kosten für die Altstadtsanierung von den Kubanern selbst, direkt in der Altstadt erwirtschaftet, und zwar einmal über eine besondere Steuer von 5% auf alle im Stadtteil getätigten Umsätze, und zum anderen durch eigene Wirtschaftsunternehmen der Sanierungsbehörde, wie Hotels, Restaurants und Dienstleistungsunternehmen. Von diesen Einnahmen werden übrigens nicht nur bauliche Maßnahmen finanziert, sondern auch Museen eingerichtet und betrieben oder Sozialeinrichtungen für bedürftige Bewohner des Stadtteils bezuschusst.

Photo left: The main objective is to preserve Old Havana for its present residents



Palacio del los Capitanes Generales, now city museum and office of the city historian



School in renovated palace of Old Havana.

EUSEBIO LEAL

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The interview was conducted and filmed by the assistance of Astrid Geese (interpreter) in April, 1998. English adaptation by Kosta Math y, Mercedes Meeden and Maureen Njuguna.

afford to discard the opportunities of international co-operation with entities like the UNESCO, bilateral aid agencies, individual foreign cities or provinces. But I was always convinced that the main effort must be ours. If we can raise the consciousness of the people, of the state and its authorities, then the historical centre will be saved. If we restore it and make good use of its potential then we can turn it into an important asset of economical income. We have the proof: 99% of all our current restoration costs is being generated in Old Havana itself.

Of course, it is also true that we are being helped in this by a special law that entitles us to charge a 5% tax on the gross income generated by all the economical activities of state and private enterprises within the limits of the Old Havana. Furthermore, we can receive directly financial resources from international bodies and spend it without passing through any intermediaries. We can run our own enterprises, hotels, coffee shops and we can reinvest the income acquired for the restoration, operation and conservation of the museums. In this way we could ascent from a difficult situation in 1993 to a better one in 1995, and to a much better one in 1996 and 1997. I believe that in 1998 we shall experience the best situation for the last 20 years. This year we are able to invest 21 million dollars US for the restoration of our historical centre, and this sum has been raised exclusively in Old Havana.

The most important aspect is that this money is not only invested for the restoration of the churches, convents and museums but also hospitals are being built from it, schools renovated, support and amenities are being provided for the elderly and for the sick people. We have an obligation towards the local community which is the true author and promoter of the whole restoration effort.

In respect to the financial set-up ours is a unique case, which as far as I am concerned does not exist in any other country. At least nowhere else in Latin America, and certainly not in Cuba, one can find a mechanism whereby a state institution like ours acts like a foundation, raises its own funds and can enjoy financial autonomy. In spite of the difficult financial condition that Cuba is facing now this arrangement is succeeding well without facing any need to sell, privatise or to give away our national heritage.

Question: You mentioned the sum of 21 Million US\$. Could you break down this figure?

Eusebio Leal: In the first year, 1995, this scheme was able to raise 3 Million US\$, in the second year this sum had already increased to 11 million, 33 million in the third year, and finally, this year 1998, we expect to recover 44 million US\$. Out of this sum we will donate 4

million to the exchequer (which means to the nation), 21 million US\$ will be invested for the works of restoration and new hotels, and the remainder will be reinvested in running expenses like maintaining our own construction company, the purchase of equipment, or buying supplies for our hotels. By the way, these hotels are not completely newly installed but a refurbishment of formerly existing hotels in the zone. As an important detail let us remember that this budget stems from our own income, from renting out our real estate, from our hotels, restaurants, and various other services that we offer today.

Question: Assuming that you are dependent on foreign investments, do you believe that you can keep control over all the development and continue with the social strategy that you emphasised?

Eusebio Leal: In the real estate and hotel sector we admit foreign investments only in the form of mixed enterprises, in which our own capital is 51% while up to 49% are held by our partners. In any case, all construction and development projects must pass through our established national approval procedures, including the master plan, the commission of monuments and others. Otherwise the project will not happen. I always say that we use the possibilities of the capital to subordinate to our needs. The capital is the horse that pulls our wagon but we are the ones who steer it - not the other way round. I think until now we can maintain the full control. Nobody can put up an advertisement without our permission, no building can have more floors than what is established by the law. So far we have not made any concessions yet. However, we might have to make some compromise in the future since we are not sufficiently powerful.

Question: Do you think your policy can be defended in the long run? We have already noticed the intrusion of international commerce like the shop of Benetton..

Eusebio Leal: The shops are there and they will be more in the future, it is a global phenomenon. We can neither turn Cuba into a second Tibet, nor "balcanize" it. We have to live and to open us to the rest of the world, and the world will have to reciprocate. But we can still keep the ultimate control over the situation. The question is not who will gain the power or win and determine everything. In our case we will not allow that some foreign capital invades and 'conquers' old Havana because we Cubans not only have the moral say but also economy control. This is because the majority of the capital invested in Old Havana is ours. In this context I consider myself in the first place as a defender of our culture than as an entrepreneur, businessman or banker.

Heritage, Cultural Tourism and Local Community Development

The Colonial City of Santo Domingo

Tourism, heritage, and urban revitalization

International tourism has become inextricably linked to Third World development paths. Since the 1960s, international institutions have encouraged Third World governments to view tourism strategically as contributing to economic development (Lanfant, 1995: 27). Governments have come to view tourism as a way of generating employment, investment, and foreign exchange earnings. Thus, there is a combination of forces, of international, national and local planning and development authorities, as well as political and economic elites, and other sectors of local populations, all encouraging a rapid increase in tourism (Selwyn, 1996: 252). Tourism constitutes of

an essential element of the global as well as national political economies and discourses of development.

Nor is tourism viewed as contributing only to the development of rural or beach areas. As competition between tourist destinations has grown, urban areas have been presented as adding to the mix of potential attractions. Cities can seldom offer the beach as one of their attractions, but they can offer architectural and cultural heritage. In the Caribbean, governments and tourism authorities are attempting to move beyond their traditional reliance on beaches to attract tourists (Pattullo,

Zusammenfassung

Tourismus gilt als potentieller Entwicklungsmotor für strukturell schwache Regionen und Länder - wobei Strandtourismus als die klassische Option für Entwicklungsländer gepriesen wurde. Erst seit wenigen Jahren entwickelt sich in diesen Regionen auch der Städte-tourismus, wobei die Möglichkeit eines lokal wirksamen Entwicklungsschubs zum Nutzen der hier konzentriert ansässigen ärmeren Bevölkerungsgruppen besonders hervorgehoben wird. Doch in der Praxis zeigt sich oft auch die Kehrseite der Medaille: lokale Entscheidungskompetenzen werden an ausländische Manager und Tourismuskonzerne abgetreten, die ansässige Bevölkerung wird aus ihren angestammten Wohnvierteln verdrängt, und ironischerweise führt die Kommerzialisierung von kulturellem Erbe gleichzeitig zu dessen Entwertung:

denn es wird zu einer potentiell vielerorts vorhandenen, leicht verfälschbaren und zudem austauschbaren Ware, die sich den Kundenmoden anpassen muß und so der lokalen Kultur entfremdet wird, oder andernfalls gegen ein beliebiges 'neues' Reiseziel ausgetauscht wird.

Das Gesagte trifft voll auf die Altstadt von Santo Domingo in der Dominikanischen Republik zu, die 1990 von der UNESCO zum Weltkulturerbe erhoben wurde. Die anfängliche Politik der Fassadenkosmetik ('fachadismo') in den 60er und 70er Jahren wurde schon in den 80er Jahren aufgegeben zugunsten des sog. 'Sanierungsprogramms für Kolonialgebäude', gefolgt von dem 'Plan der Wiege Amerikas', der auch soziale Belange berücksichtigte. Aber auch dieses letztgenannte Programm legte den Schwerpunkt noch auf die Befriedigung tou-

ristischer Bedürfnisse, und sah in seinem ursprünglichen Ansatz keinerlei Bürgerbeteiligung vor. Erst die mit der Ausführung beauftragte Behörde, die Altstadtstiftung (Patronato) brach mit der nationalen Tradition des Autoritarismus und Paternalismus. Ihr Ansatz zeichnet sich erstens durch einen integralen Ansatz, zweitens durch den Diskurs mit sämtlichen beteiligten ökonomischen und sozialen Interessengruppen, und drittens einen explizit nachbarschaftsbezogenen Partizipationsansatz aus. Letzterer wird u.a. sichtbar in Form von regelmäßig abgehaltenen öffentlichen Hearings und einem sprunghaften Anwachsen von Nachbarschaftsorganisationen.

Natürlich sollte man auch vorsichtig sein, die Erfolge der Partizipation in Santo Domingo hochzujubeln. Einige besser situierte Nachbarschaften sind

vielleicht besser organisiert als die ärmeren und erkämpfen sich einen größeren Teil des Sanierungskuchens. Dann gibt es sicher auch noch wesentlich bedürftigere Viertel, auch gut organisierte, die jedoch außerhalb der abgesteckten Grenzen der historischen Altstadt liegen und deshalb unberücksichtigt bleiben.

Doch auch innerhalb der Altstadt kann Partizipation den physischen Verfallsprozeß nicht außer Kraft setzen, wenn die finanziellen Mittel fehlen. Die notwendigen Investitionen sind oft nur um den Preis der sozialen Verdrängung zu bekommen. Fragwürdig ist auch, wenn Partizipation als zusätzlicher Tourismusmagnet gepriesen wird, denn bei jeder Partizipation stehen die eigenen Interessen der vertretenen Parteien im Vordergrund - und das sind nicht automatisch dieselben, wie die der Touristen.

1996: 189). As Caribbean nations have seized upon urban tourism to complement their tourism industry and contribute to national development, so too have they recently seen heritage as a business strategy to increase tourism (Pattullo: 1996: 181). Heritage and cultural tourism may offer historic urban areas as a strategic focus in promoting a quality tourism experience, responding to changing demands by segments of international tourists. Planners and development agencies argue that tourism can be used to revitalize urban areas (Page, 1996: 281). Urban tourism can be enlisted not only to revitalize urban areas generally, but in particular to revitalize historic urban neighbourhoods.

Thus, for many developing countries whose tourism strategy has been based on the promotion of beach destinations, the preservation and revitalization of urban heritage and a focus on cultural tourism offers a number of economic, social and political advantages. Competition in international tourism between beach destinations, the continual creation of new beach destinations, and changing tourist expectations means that an exclusive focus on this segment of tourism has limitations as a policy for economic development:

„Many of the today's tourists are rejecting standard mass package tours. More and more are seeking holidays that cater to their desire for learning, nostalgia, heritage, make-believe, action, and a closer look at the other“ (Boissevain, 1996: 3).

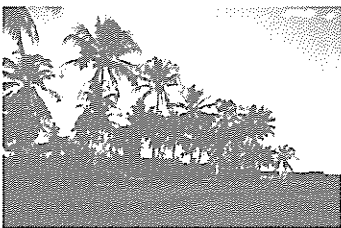
The promotion of urban tourism can generate employment precisely in those urban areas which historically may have suffered high unemployment and underemployment (Lanfant, 1995: ix; Law, 1992: 599; Page, 1995: 115). The revitalization of historic urban areas can also contribute to an assertion, affirmation and legitimization of cultural and social identity (Boissevain, 1996: 11). By involving regions other than the traditional beach destinations in the potential economic benefits of international tourism, tourism in old and historic urban centers potentially allows broader segments of the population to be involved in and empowered by national economic development, and this may contribute to the development of civil society.

However, tourism as a development strategy, and urban cultural or heritage tourism, is not necessarily a panacea for underdevelopment, and does present problems for social, economic, cultural and democratic development. Tourism, while stimulating local economies,

has often been shown to contribute to unequal distribution of wealth and exacerbating existing cleavages within the community (Greenwood, 1989: 171; Selwyn, 1996: 252). Tourism does not necessarily lead to communities or nation states exercising greater control over their own development. Many tourism policies and practices which affect local communities are adopted beyond the community and even beyond the state, by international institutions and global business organizations (Lanfant, 1995: 3). International tourism policy and business decisions being largely determined by international organizations and businesses may contribute to continuing or new forms of hegemonic arrangements in which local communities have little room to manoeuvre (Nash, 1994: 217; Arizpe: 1996: 94).

Although potentially contributing to urban revitalization, heritage and cultural tourism is not without ambivalency, contradictions, and threats to local communities. While ostensibly developed or legitimated in part as a way for local communities or nations to establish or re-establish greater direction over the uses and outcomes of tourism, this is not necessarily the case. Lowenthal argues that 'under the aegis of national patrimony looms a multinational enterprise,' (Lowenthal, 1996: 5). The tourism industry internationally, because of its voracious appetite for new, or improved, destinations, and for segmenting existing destinations so as to respond to changing market conditions and tourist demands, may, ironically, contribute to a devaluing of heritage. Since heritage is everywhere and anything, it may mean less and less as it becomes commercialized, ignoring and ignored by or alienating local people (Pattullo, 1996: 191). If heritage is conducted as commercial reconstructions of 'tradition', it may contribute to limitations on democracy, as decision making is removed from the local community and as local culture is commoditized without consulting the community (MacCannell, 1992: 294; Boissevain, 1996: 7). As such, it might not stimulate local participation but, rather, encourage passivity and reliance on received authority or experts and officials, with conservation becoming conservatism (Lowenthal, 1996: 12; Lanfant, 1995: 17).

In addition to the irony of heritage preservation potentially alienating local communities from their own history and cultural identity, it may lead to their physical marginalization or displacement. The enforcement of heritage and planning norms and regulations, often

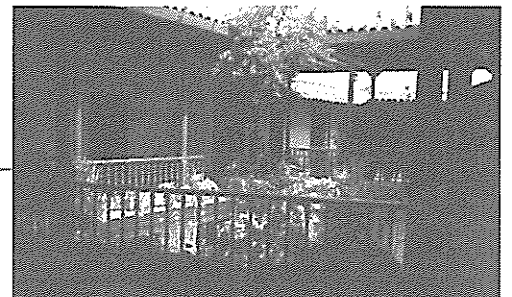


For many years, international tourism was directed towards beach resorts in the Caribbean

(K. Mathéy)

More and more tourists are seeking holidays that cater to their desire for learning, nostalgia, heritage...

(K. Mathéy)



enacted with minimal local consultation, may oblige local residents to leave a site (Lanfant, 1995: 18; Arizpe, 1996: 101). Outsiders are often in the best position to access national and international political and economic networks and to seize the commercial and other opportunities offered by a community being declared a heritage site (Boissevain, 1996: 10). MacCannell sums up the experience of many communities that have been victimized by heritage, becoming, in Lowenthal's (1996) pessimistic imagery, the spoils of history of the heritage crusade:

„Rather than making the community a better place to live for all of its actual and potential residents, the effect of the restoration of poor neighbourhoods is to drive out the people whose homes have been improved, forcing them to the margins and eventually into homelessness“ (MacCannell, 1992 :306).

The colonial city of Santo Domingo

All of these potential benefits and dangers are applicable to the historic colonial zone of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. Founded by Bartolomeus Columbus, Christopher's brother, in 1498, it was the first permanent European settlement in the Americas, and the centre of which the Spanish conquest and colonization was carried out. Following a decade of promotion of heritage management and restoration by various national and international institutions and dedicated individuals in the 1980s, UNESCO designated the Colonial City as a World Cultural Heritage Site in 1990. While being a focus and of civic and national pride and identity, the recognition of the cultural and historic significance of the Colonial City and the boost to building restoration and conservation that it generated was tempered by the acknowledgement that the Colonial City was severely handicapped, both as an urban area offering a reasonable quality of life for its residents and users, and as a cultural heritage site serving as a tourism destination. Covering 90 hectares, the Colonial City has a permanent population of 11,000, another 15,000 daily workers and a floating population of 56,000 (Martinez, 1996: 361). However, for many decades the Colonial City had high crime rates, problems with electricity, potable water, garbage collection, and an unstable commercial structure (Organization of American States, 1991: 3). Unless such basic issues as services, infrastructure, employment and housing could be addressed, it was widely feared that the Colonial City would continue to suffer a declining quality of life for its residents and users, physical deterioration, and disadvantages as a tourist destination. However, internationally, heritage mana-

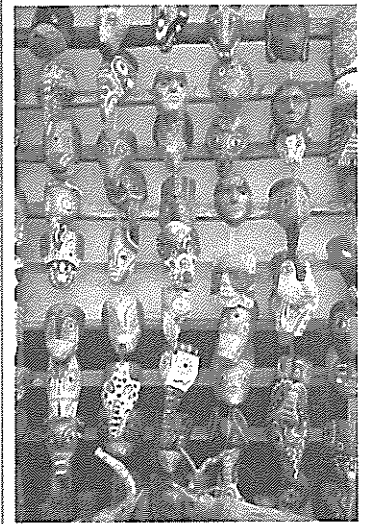
gement has had a tendency to downplay such issues and focus on buildings and sites.

From facadism to tourism promotion

Some of the early and more recent initiatives in heritage promotion in the Colonial City have been grounded in just such limited, narrow notions of heritage. In the 1960s and 1970s heritage management was basically restricted to the conservation of a small number of monuments and some buildings and houses. This period has been referred to as 'fachadismo', because, apart from the restoration and rehabilitation of buildings and streets in one area, conservation was generally limited to cleaning up, painting, and occasionally restoring the front facades of buildings (Martinez, 1996: 361). Apart from contributing to architectural and archaeological knowledge and appreciation of the buildings and of the Colonial City, such heritage management could have only limited impact on the revitalization of the area and an improvement in the quality of life for its residents. For the most part, restoration was of public buildings, there was no concerted effort at public involvement, nor stimulation of private restoration initiatives, and there wasn't an integrated development plan. Even as conservation, such an approach was not particularly successful, for some houses and buildings restored in this way have subsequently collapsed.

A different approach began to emerge in the mid-1980s, when the Oficina de Patrimonio Cultural (Cultural Heritage Office) promoted a program called the „Restoration of Colonial Houses,“ encouraging private investment in restoration and the restoration of buildings for non-institutional use (Martinez, 1996: 361). Such initiatives by the Cultural Heritage Office encouraged an expansion of the meaning of heritage beyond architectural preservation, to include revitalization of the Colonial City for its inhabitants.

A systematic, integrated approach to revitalization of the Colonial City was further stimulated by the involvement of the Organization of American States, which resulted in the publication of a plan for the development of the Colonial City, called the „Plan Cuna de America, or „America's Cradle“(OAS, 1991). For a number of those centrally involved in the work of the OAS, the plan was not just a program of restoration of buildings, but rather, the utilization of the historic center as an economic and cultural resource, with the



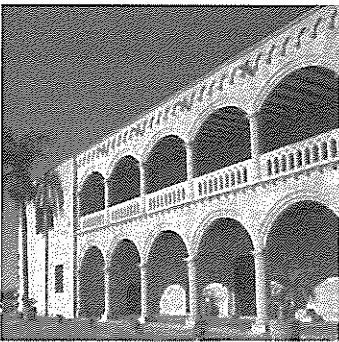
Tourism in old and historic urban centers potentially allows broader segments of the population to be involved in.

(K.Mathéy)

Top: The First Cathedral of the Americas, with the Columbus statue in the foreground.

Middle: The Colonial Governor's residence, built by Diego Columbus.

Bottom: A Church in the Colonial City of Santo Domingo. The Council of Neighbourhood Committees holds their meetings in the plaza in front of the Church.



Right: The sole restoration of buildings, the correct replacement of stones, bricks and mortar does not make an historic district a livable place.

(K. Mathéy)

benefits being envisaged for the urban environment and for the residents and the community (Perez Montas, 1991: viii). The Plan Cuna includes social objectives identified by the Cultural Heritage Office, such as contributing to the creation of productive employment and improving the quality of the urban environment for the benefit of the current and future inhabitants of the colonial city (OAS, 1991: 13).

Yet, the Plan Cuna, on its own, contains two limitations, or at least ambiguities, in terms of its potential effectiveness as a framework for the revitalization of the Colonial City. The first concerns the relationship between tourism and urban revitalization. When the Dominican government requested the technical cooperation of the OAS in 1988 to formulate a plan for the Colonial City, it was with the intention of developing its advantages as a tourist destination, through the rehabilitation and conservation of its cultural heritage (OAS, 1991: v). It was hoped that the development of the Colonial City as a tourist destination would lead to its economic revitalization. The Plan Cuna was seen by the OAS both as fulfilling a cultural function and as leading to the development of its attraction for tourism. However, in much of the language of the Plan, the dominant theme appears to be the development of the Colonial City as a tourism destination. The Executive Summary of the Plan Cuna is centred on tourism, beginning with an analysis and diagnosis of the demand and attractions, followed by a plan for the development of tourism in the Colonial City. The rationale for community revitalization often appears to serve the tourism. While there is a necessary and inevitable relationship between tourism and community development, in the language of the Plan Cuna the revitalization of the Colonial City for tourism sometimes appears to take precedence over the revitalization of the Colonial City for its residents, visitors and users.

The second limitation of the Plan Cuna is that it doesn't present a coherent strategy for community participation. It does recognize that, in the face of continuing problems in provision of basic infrastructure and services, such as garbage collection, the lack of community participation and education doesn't facilitate solutions (OAS, 1991: 7). Furthermore, one of its stated cultural objectives is the promotion of united and integrated actions by the public and private sector in the Colonial City in the working toward common and complementary goals (OAS, 1991: 14). However, such a recognition does not translate into a framework for community participation. While the Plan Cuna is very detailed in its presentation of measures to evaluate the financial viability of the plan, it is very

brief when it comes to evaluation of the cultural and social objectives (OAS, 1991: 31).

Although a number of the individuals involved in the elaboration of the Plan Cuna were primarily concerned with the social, cultural and economic revitalization of the Colonial City for the well being of its residents and for its contribution to the national identity of the Dominican people, and ensured that this perspective informed the Plan Cuna, the mandate that the OAS group as presented by the Dominican government, the overall thrust of the Plan, and its criteria for evaluating the outcomes of the Plan, were largely oriented towards developing its potential for tourism. The Plan did present detailed objectives and a framework for the restoration of a large number of houses. But, as those involved in heritage management of the Colonial City have recognized, physical restoration alone does not lead to revitalization of the community:

„The sole restoration of buildings, the correct replacement of stones, bricks and mortar does not make an historic district a livable place nor an attractive destination for visitors...Despite all investments made in restoration, the Colonial City was unable to be reborn to life“ (Martinez, 1996: 361)

However, the Plan Cuna did introduce the concept of revitalization into the discourse of heritage management of the Colonial City. That, as well as its detailed objectives and plans, not only for tourism development, but for restoration and for infrastructure improvement, indicated the need for institutional arrangements to ensure that these plans and other work could be carried out. The Foundation for the Colonial City of Santo Domingo (Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial), and particularly one of its administrative units, the Oficina de Educación, Turismo y Relaciones con la Comunidad, are charged with this task.



Revitalization, participation and democratization

For the Colonial City to be brought back to life, not only was building restoration needed, but an active civil society and a participative institutional framework for urban revitalization. One problem to be overcome in achieving this was the Plan Cuna's emphasis on tourism, the other was the dominant political tradition in the Dominican Republic. Under the Trujillo dictatorship, the State assumed overwhelming domination over civil society and any attempts emerging from civil society for autonomous expression were crushed by the State's forces of repression. There was, alongside this authoritarianism a well developed paternalism whereby public works were dispensed as State favours and largesse to clientist groups and communities. This tradition largely continued under the three decades that Joaquin Balaguer dominated Dominican politics. Participation, to the extent that it existed, was no more than public ritual, consisting of the public being brought out to express their gratitude to a benevolent leader at the opening of a public work over which they had no input and which was generally of dubious benefit and which was invariably subsequently left to deteriorate. The relations between state and civil society were thus characterized by state authoritarianism and paternalism, a lack of formal and informal mechanisms for political representation and for participation, and a consequent passivity and fragmentation of civil society.

Given this political tradition, and the rather limited framework for participation in heritage management found in the Plan Cuna, the direction that the Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial has taken appears impressive. First, the Patronato sees its mandate as being much more than the promotion of tourism, but rather as the overall development of the Colonial City:

'The Patronato definitely does not want the Colonial City simply to be a tourist resort zone but to remain and develop as a community with families, schools, businesses, and, with the participation of tourists'
(Interview with Manuel Urraca, 1 July 1997).

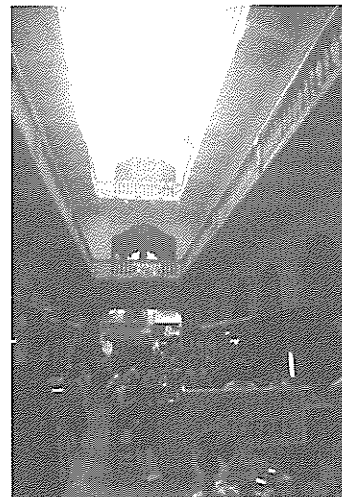
Secondly, to achieve its mandate, and to lead the development of the Colonial City as a living community, the Patronato has an inclusive rather than an exclusive approach, recognizing the diversity of social and economic interests and the importance of their being represented in the work of the Patronato. Thirdly, for representation by the diverse groups to be effective, the Patronato has a framework of participation by the diverse sec-



tors of civil society, along with institutions, in the development of the Colonial City. Participation in many urban revitalization programs we know is often simply a means of getting the local population to accept what the planners and commercial interests have already decided, that is, a top-down form of participation which does not change the way popular representation occurs nor does it democratize the processes of urban development. While the institutions in the Colonial City do play key roles, the framework for participation in this case appears to be much deeper than this. Representatives of the Patronato state that the Patronato believes that community participation is the key to solving many issues (Martinez, 1996: 364).

Since 1994, the Patronato's Office of Education, Tourism and Community Relations began a regular monthly series of Intersectorial or Interinstitutional Public Hearings, to discuss issues and solutions to diverse problems that exist in the Colonial City. These meetings have had eighty representatives of groups, associations, and institutions. To facilitate community participation, the Patronato encourages the collaboration of various other institutions and created a program for the development of Neighbourhood associations. After sponsoring a workshop on neighbourhood organization, the three existing neighbourhood organizations in the Colonial City more than doubled. These organizations have their own weekly meetings. This process has taken on its own dynamic, with different groups organizing spontaneously: „Participation of the groups linked to the area, either by residence, job, business or education is growing. They are organizing themselves as structured entities and demanding vetoing powers. A process that was originally stimulated by the Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial now is running at its own pace' (Martinez, 1996: 365).

Housing renovation may lead to the physical exclusion of some residents who might not be able to afford to live in renovated housing
(K. Mathéy)



Participation of residents can best assure the protection of workplaces in the local economy
(K. Mathéy)

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When we examine the dynamic of heritage management in the Colonial City, we see a broad spectrum of the local population.

(Kosta Mathéy)



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Discussion: housing, heritage and participation in old and historic urban centres

To be sure, we need to be cautious in evaluating the real extent of participation and its benefits for the local population. There are perhaps neighbourhoods that have not developed the same degree of representation and of participation that some of the other neighbourhoods and groups have. At the same time there are nearby neighbourhoods outside the Colonial City that do not have developed forms of representation but do face equal or more serious problems. Another issue that remains, despite participation and democratic forms of popular representation, is the deteriorated condition of many of the houses in the Colonial City of Santo Domingo, as in other old urban centres. There are alarming instances of houses collapsing, and many others that should or have been declared as public hazards. Renovation of houses in the historic zone is complex, as many of the residents do not have the funds to do so, nor does the government or the institutions responsible for the development of the Colonial City have sufficient funds to support such renovation. Many of the residents are renters, not owners. Housing renovation may lead to the physical exclusion of some residents who might not be able to afford to live in renovated housing. There is some debate over the role of the market in renovation of the housing in the Colonial Zone. While the Patronato has encouraged popular representation, how the market will respond to the desired outcomes of that representation is not yet clear. Nevertheless, the Patronato and other institutional actors are convinced that the Colonial City should remain, among its other functions, a residential zone.

The Patronato believes that the Colonial City should provide an adequate quality of life and urban experience for its residents and users, but that, at the same time, residents and users have a responsibility to respect the environment and heritage of the Colonial City. However, the continuing deterioration of housing and of infrastructure, and the continuing lack of provision of adequate services, over which the Patronato and the residents have little control and few resources with which to develop effective responses, means that while new forms of participation, of representation, and of identity are developing in tandem with the growing awareness of their

heritage, the physical, architectural signs of this heritage are by no means secure, and there remains the risk that residents will be displaced.

Finally, we must be aware of the potential ambiguities of participation, particularly in situations of heritage management:

„The production of nostalgic myths and memories often needs active collusion and participation by local people who themselves feel the ravages of an economic and political system that has left families and settlements uprooted and dispersed.” (Selwyn, 1996: 248)

In other words, could the residents and workers in the Colonial City be participating in such a way that allows for or furthers cultural commodification and the selling of their local community to the tourism industry? Is it a 'staged' participation? The various forms of participation, and the various outcomes of their participation, certainly make the zone more attractive as a tourist destination. However, that is not the basis of their participation, and while it is one intended outcome, and certainly, in the Plan Cuna de las Americas was the rationale for their participation, it is not the fundamental meaning of their participation, nor is it the Patronato's objective in encouraging forms of participation.

Following Selwyn, it is important to ask who is involved and why, in the definition, production and consumption of culture in any tourist destination (Selwyn, 1996: 248). When we examine the dynamic of heritage management in the Colonial City, we see a broad spectrum of the local population. Business is involved, yes. And various institutions, connected both to the national political elite as well as to international organizations, are involved in shaping participation. But various popular sectors are involved, and not just under the guidance or hegemony of a business elite, but in both autonomous and intersectoral ways. And the involvement, even guidance, of official organisms, doesn't necessarily mean hegemonization, that is, mobilization of the local, the subaltern, for the intentions of the elite. It appears not as passive participation but engagement. The significance of these emergent forms of participation and representation in the context of the Dominican Republic must not be underestimated.

Revitalising Nicosia

A Community-Based Approach to Urban Renovation

Introduction

Ancient Nicosia is without doubt one of the finest examples of medieval town planning. It is also arguably the last of Europe's divided cities. Moves, if not talks, are currently¹ under way that could well lead to a change in its status, perhaps even to its unification and reinstatement as the capital city of single (perhaps federal) republic. Depending on when and how the long-standing impasse is resolved, there may be little of the city left apart from the bastions, and monuments. On both sides of the divide, the hundreds of everyday buildings that collectively defined the city and made up its unique urban character are either crumbling through despair and disrepair or being displaced and replaced by the glazed facades of concrete blocks of offices and commercial development.

Zusammenfassung

Nicosia auf Zypern besitzt eine traditionreiche Altstadt, die von der Demarkationslinie zwischen den beiden verfeindeten Inselteilen durchschnitten wird. Diese auch für Fußgänger unpassierbare Grenze bildet Sackgassen auf beiden Seiten, obwohl die städtebauliche Gesamtplanung nach wie vor von einer wiedervereinten Stadt ausgeht. Wegen der unsicheren politischen Zukunft, der strengen Auflagen des Denkmalschutzes, und wegen der schlechten Erreichbarkeit für den Verkehr fließen zuminst auf der türkischen Teil der Altstadt seit Jahren so gut wie keine Investitionen in die Erneuerung und den Erhalt der Gebäude was zum zunehmenden baulichen und sozialen Verfall des Stadtteils geführt hat. Eine gemeinsame Expertengruppe der Development Planning Unit London und der Euro

päischen Universität von Lefke führte im Auftrag der nationalen Planungsbehörde eine Studie zur Revitalisierung von drei Teilbezirken dieser Altstadt durch, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf eine endogene und autarke Entwicklung gelegt wurde:

1. Die Straße der Goldschmiede kann als Handwerkerviertel charakterisiert werden, das einerseits seit der Teilung der Stadt für die Kundschaft schwer erreichbar ist und andererseits den dynamischen Betrieben keine Expansionsmöglichkeiten bietet. Für dieses Gebiet wird die Übernahme und Sanierung der Gebäude durch einen zu gründeten Handwerkerverband vorgeschlagen, der langfristige Miet- oder Pachtverträge erhalten soll.

2. Das Lateli Quartier ist ein einst nobles, aber heute her

Background

This paper describes a recent attempt at reversing this process through a series of community-based interventions aimed at revitalising Nicosia.

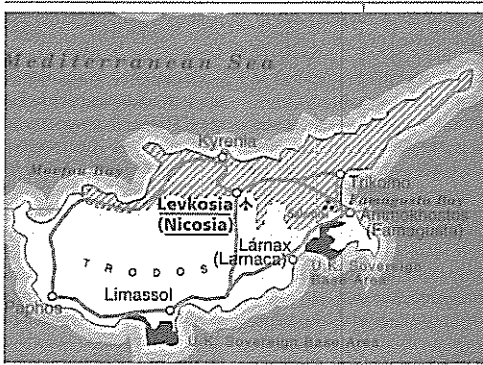
Cyprus has long been a strategic, prized, and therefore much-fought over, island in the eastern Mediterranean under the control of each successive regional (for which read "world") power from the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks and Romans, often swinging back and forth between them. Throughout this period, the island was colonised and occupied through a series of coastal settlements, often as independent and usually warring kingdoms. The remains of many of these testify to their magnificence and splendour, not least in the

untergekommenes Mischgebiet mit Wohnungen, Pensionen, Kneipen und Werkstätten. Wegen der überalterten Bausubstanz sind viele Zyprioten abgewandert, während sich ärmere türkische Einwanderer ansiedelten. Die vorgeschlagenen Aktivitäten zielen einerseits auf eine Einflusnahme auf die Kreditvergabe der Banken, die in diesem Viertel nicht genug Sicherheiten für Investitionen sahen, und andererseits auf eine Verbesserung des Images und der Infrastruktur in dem Stadtbezirk. Letzteres soll u.a. geschehen durch den Bau einiger Modellprojekte, handwerkliche Trainingsprogramme, und Gratis-Beratung durch Architekten. Dem Mangel an öffentlichen Grünflächen soll durch kollektive Nutzung einiger privater Grünflächen abgeholfen werden.

1

This paper has been written in December 1997/January 1998. Geopolitics being what they are, the situation is likely to change many times between then and the time the paper is read.

3. Der Stadtteil Kafesli ist ein reines Wohngebiet in Randlage der Altstadt. Seine Bevölkerung besteht heute überwiegend aus Immigranten, was zu latenten sozialen Konflikten mit der überalterten, einheimischen Minorität führt. Auch hier liegt der Schwerpunkt in einer Mobilisierung der endogenen Ressourcen, wie z.B. der Förderung städtischer Landwirtschaft, einer organisierten Kinderbetreuung für Immigrantenkinder durch einheimische Omas, der Gründung eines Sparvereins, und Kleinkrediten. Diese Maßnahmen sollen aufgestockt werden durch externe Investitionen, und zwar in Form von sozialem Wohnungsbau, der in diesem Fall nicht wie üblich konzentriert, sondern über den ganzen Stadtteil zerstreut in kleinen Einheiten errichtet werden soll.



The demarcation line between both parts of Cyprus runs straight through the centre of Nicosia.

case of Salamis, whose King Evagoras I made the first recorded attempt at unification of the island and in 391 BC set up an island-wide kingdom independent of Persia with the help of Athens. After his death it reverted to Persia, though Alexander took it in 333 BC, only for it to pass to the Egyptians upon his death in 323, and then to the Romans in 58 BC. For the next thousand years, control of the island passed from empire to empire. In 1191 Cyprus was seized by Richard I of England during the Crusades, who gave it to Guy of Lusignan, titular king of Jerusalem (paying annual tribute to the Sultans of Turkey), who built a series of forts and castles.

In 1489, when the maritime republic of Venice was at its height, the Venetians got control over Cyprus. In 1570, concerned to retain their hold over the island, they proceeded to remodel the central city of Nicosia into a walled city that would be able to withstand the emerging might of the Turks. Much of the old city was indiscriminately demolished, including a number of churches, palaces and monuments, in order to build the new city walls with their 11 bastions and three gates. A deep moat encircled the walls, and the houses beyond were flattened to deny cover to an attacking army. Barely a year after the fortifications had been completed the Turks were able to take over the city largely because of the lack of support for the Venetians from the local population. Indeed many welcomed the Turks.

Apart from converting the churches into mosques, a transformation that was largely cosmetic rather than structural, the Turks left most of the city intact. They added only a few public buildings during their three hundred years of rule, so that in many ways it is the old Venetian Nicosia that could be experienced till quite recently. The narrow streets with plain, mud-plastered walls pierced by the occasional small window enclosed sumptuous houses with courtyards and gardens. Most of the houses had two stories surrounding the courtyard, and were made of rendered mud-brick on stone foundations. The roofs were of clay tiles on timber purlins with boarded or mud-plastered reed ceilings. Intermediate floors were of timber on joists. Floors were of limestone, and in many cases, glazed tiles or mosaics.

During the last century, the external doorways and walls became more ornate with carved wooden doors set in limestone. Many of the courtyards were covered over and enclosed to provide additional rooms.

Most of the houses and other buildings of the city were clustered in quarters or sectors around religious buildings or markets. The former included Greek Orthodox churches and mosques, while the latter were organised around a speciality trade, craft or commodity. Since particular communities dominated each economic activity, there was considerable religious or ethnic concentration in different parts of the city.

The end of Turkish rule in Cyprus started in 1878 with its defeat in the Russo-Turkish War, when, fearing greater Russian expansion, it induced Britain to take over its administration in exchange for an annual rent. Turkey retained nominal title over Cyprus till 1914 when Britain annulled the Treaty because Turkey sided with Germany in the Great War. In 1923 Turkey formally recognised British possession of the island as part of the Treaty of Lausanne and two years later it was made into a crown colony.

Although the majority of the population had long been Greek, a petition for union with Greece presented to the British Administration in 1879 was denied. During the Great War, Cyprus was "offered" to Greece in return for joining the Allies, but the offer was not taken up. In 1950, the British rejected the Cypriot Greek demand for a plebiscite on union with Greece, and in 1954 Greece was unsuccessful in raising the question at the United Nations. Turkey proclaimed then that if Great Britain withdrew from Cyprus, the island should revert to Turkey. There followed years of violent opposition to British rule that ended with independence in 1960 under a constitution, with communal safeguards guaranteed by Britain, Greece and Turkey.

There were violent communal clashes in 1964 when the Greek Cypriots proposed alterations to the Constitution, and full-scale war between Greece and Turkey was only averted by the intervention of British Troops who retains military bases on the island. In 1974 Archbishop Makarios was ousted as President in a military coup that declared union with Greece. Turkish forces moved in to "protect the Constitution" and to prevent a massacre of the Turkish population. The following year, a semi-independent Turkish Cypriot state was proclaimed in the northern third of the island, and in 1983 styled the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. There have been a series of attempts over the years to resolve the crisis, including a 1991 UN resolution calling for the establishment of a federal state made up of two politically equal communities. In the latest moves, there is growing pressure from the European Union for a resolution prior to Cyprus' entry.

The Problem

During the 1960s, with persecution in the countryside, many Turkish families were driven from their homes and sought refuge in northern Nicosia. The flow of refugees was further increased during the 1983 Turkish invasion that led to the massive movement of populations as the island was divided into two along the cease fire line. Nicosia itself was divided into two halves by the "Green Line" that demarcated the extent of control by Greek and Turkish forces.

The line of control runs right across the island, patrolled by Greek and Turkish soldiers, with UN Peacekeeping forces in the "buffer zone" in the middle. The buffer zone is variable, being many kilometres wide in the open country, enclosing the old Nicosia airport for instance, and narrowing to a couple of metres within the city itself. Whereas it is hardly visible in the countryside, it has a very real, physical presence in the city as it cuts across streets and buildings. Over the years the edges have been sharply defined, and fortified with concrete and barbed wire, overlooked by machinegun towers.

In fact there are a series of zones within the city: the buffer zone proper to which only the UN have access, then a military zone from which civilians are excluded, and finally a "brown" zone devoid of activity and investment. Many of the buildings in the brown zone have been levelled, and those that remain are empty and crumbling. The walls facing the green line are pockmarked with bullet holes.

The division of the city into two has had a traumatic effect that reaches far beyond the green line itself. This impact has been far greater and more consequential on the northern side than on the southern. The southern, Greek side has the officially recognised government and has been able to benefit from continued access to the rest of the world for both exports and imports. Ironically, it was able to offer a safe haven and a conduit for all sorts of traffic during the fighting in the Lebanon and later on for Eastern Europeans and Russians escaping the turmoil in their countries.

One result has been the rapid development of southern Nicosia as skyscrapers and modern developments have cleared out the older buildings. The inflow of tourists has heped put some curbs on the whole-scale detruction of the architectural heritage as much as a demand for wider roads and better infrastructure that has lured newer developments outside the walls. The value of pre-

serving the old city and retaining the old streetscape and squares and converting old housing into hotels and pensions for tourists is self-evident on the southern side and building owners and property developers have been quick to capitalise on this potential.

On the northern side of the green line, cut off from formal access to the world and its markets, the overall economic situation has been dire. Without assistance from Turkey, the government, which is by far the largest employer, would not even be able to pay the salaries of its employees. In Nicosia, properties lie abandoned and poorly maintained. On one hand the lack of resolution of the political situation and the economic fallout leaves few incentives for renovation or upkeep. On the other hand, many of the properties are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Evkaf – the government agency responsible for looking after properties left in trust to the state, intestate, or temporarily abandoned by their Greek owners. While refugees or businesses are occupying some of these, they do so temporarily and without tenurial rights, and while the Evkaf is neither interested in making a profit, nor does it want to spend any money on them.

Ironically, as in Turkey, the Banks through real estate developers have made easy money available for the development of residential property. However, none of these have gone to developing property in the walled city. There are a number of reasons for this. One, investors are uncertain of the future state and status of their city, and are worried that large-scale violence may yet erupt. To protect their investment, therefore, they prefer to develop the lands to the north and outside Nicosia.

Two, the strict enforcement of the conservation laws require some restoration or renovation to be done using the original materials and techniques. Additions and extensions can be made but again under strictly controlled and limited circumstances.

Three, the methodology used by the real estate developers has been to replace a dwelling unit with a block of about 8 flats. One or sometimes two of these are made over to the landowner, and the developer uses the rest to recoup his investment and make a profit.

Four, the same developers have pushed the idea of "modern" living in flats, and on sites which have "open" spaces, to attract buyers from the houses in the walled city to their developments. This message has also been reinforced by the Social Housing Department in making their housing units more acceptable².



Residences of the Turkish Cypriots and immigrants in Kefseli Quarter, Nicosia.

2

The reality of these new housing developments is that most households have to live in flats with no access to open space; the open space is neither planted nor maintained. Since the development is done piecemeal to suit the individual land owners, the overall planning suffers. Many developments lack roads, water or other services; the provision of public facilities, parks, schools etc is largely non-existent. Traditional family and kinship patterns that led to lively and well connected neighbourhoods are breaking down. In most buildings, half or more of the apartments lie empty and often incomplete.

3 Formerly a four-star hotel but now taken over by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force as its Headquarters. It has one entrance on each side of the buffer zone and forms a convenient meeting place in no-mans land.

4 There are 23 banks, many with multiple branches, for a population in 1991 estimated at about 140,000 people!

The Brief

Though Nicosia remains divided, most Cypriots assume that it will be united. The only question is when. On the other hand, many of the city's infrastructure services, sewerage and electricity continue their integrated operations. City Engineers and Planners have, therefore, continued to liaise and work together, not just on maintenance, but more spectacularly on future planning. Under the auspices of the UNDP/UNCHS they have been meeting together for years in the Ledra Palace³ in the buffer zone to produce the Nicosia Master Plan. Started in 1979, the Plan was completed in 1988 and continues (as do the meetings themselves) to be the basis for ongoing development on both sides of the green line. The basic premise of the Plan is that all development should be such that it would still be viable upon unification. Thus, for example, pedestrianisation projects on both sides develop the same street, even though currently they both end in cul-de-sacs blocked off by barbed-wire-topped walls. A number of conservation projects have been identified on both sides for which some \$58 million UN and international funds are being sought. These include the Selimiye Mosque (once the Cathedral of Saint Sophia), the walls, moat and bastions, the Bedestan (St. Nicholas), the Buyuk Khan Caravanserai, a number of streets and squares, and the residential districts of Chrysaliniotissa and Arab Ahmet.

It is not surprising, that the funds are not materialised, and the renovations and restoration are proceeding at a very slow pace: one house a year. In any case, these projects focus on the known monuments and precincts. In the meantime, the rest of the city continues to deteriorate.

The Department of Antiquities and the Town Planning Department asked the Development Planning Unit and the European University of Lefke to look at and suggest ways and means for the revitalisation of these other "ordinary" areas of Nicosia.

The Projects

Over a two-week period, the team conducted a series of meetings, surveys and participatory appraisals, focussing on three areas of the city: a light industrial development along the green line; a mixed development area off the main boulevard; and a poor residential area in the northeast corner of the city.

The three areas have a number of characteristics in common from the underlying basis of their current run down and neglected state to

the problems they face in attracting interest and investment. However, there are a number of differences that arise both from their location and the main activities and land uses that take place there. Therefore, though some of the proposals and approaches are the same or similar, the three areas are described below as three separate projects.

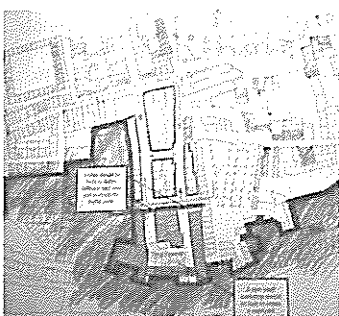
The Street of the Goldsmiths

At what used to be the heart of old Nicosia – and there is a plaque to prove it at number 49 – is the street of the Goldsmiths. At one end of the street is the former Cathedral of St. Sophia, now the Salimiye Cami. The shops themselves back onto the Municipal Market, and one can appreciate the convenience or the temptation, to nip in and pick up a piece of jewellery or gold chain to build up a dowry, or as an investment against future need. On the other side the shops back on to those on Mithat Pasha Street. This was the fashionable hub of Nicosia, and many of the buildings had been renovated and rebuilt in the 1930s with fine stonework facades, rounded corners, big glazed shop-fronts with busy workshops behind for the craftsmen that turned out the fancy goods.

The division of the city runs right through these streets, and now an ugly wall blocks off their other end. The goldsmiths were the first to leave, re-locating a couple of blocks away, where the new banks⁴ are. The Turkish conscripts form long queues as they deposit their savings, and the goldsmiths hope, buy a little something for the ladies back home. The Market too has declined and the housewives no longer need to come there for their daily shopping, having refrigerators and in any case, preferring the newer supermarkets.

The shops and workshops have been taken over by those making less precious goods and range from furniture makers to sign painters. The area still buzzes, but now its with the sound of electric saws and grinders. Sparks fly in place of the gold and glitter. The area is now an industrial wasteland, at what has become the edge of the city.

Many of the traders and craftsmen who occupy these buildings are caught in a trap of their own success. They want to expand and modernise but cannot since most of the buildings are owned by the Evkaf who will neither invest in improvements nor agree to longer or more secure tenancies that would warrant the tenants making improvements. On the other hand, there is nowhere else for most of these small industries to go to. There is an "industrial estate" some five kilometres beyond the walls, and though that is nearer to where many of their customers now live,



The Salimiye Cami quarter with the Street of the Goldsmiths.

the units are too large and too expensive. It is possible for any individual to move out to the new private residential developments (most have the ground floor designated as a "shop", and could well accommodate a workshop). But they fear that they will lose their customers to their competitors who stay behind for clients prefer to shop around, walking from one shop to the other, comparing prices and quality. Then too, many of the trades are linked: the fabric shops are just around the corner from the workshops of the furniture makers.

On the other hand, the cul-de-sac is not ideal for the movement of goods and vehicular traffic. Moreover, the noise and toxic wastes are having an adverse affect on the nascent tourist enterprises beginning to take over the area around Salimye. Arasta Street, that cuts across the top of Mithat Pasha and the Goldsmiths' Street, is now the new pedestrianised axis, running parallel to the green line.

The Proposal

The proposal is to move the larger manufacturing and assembling workshops outside the walled city as recommended by the Nicosia Master Plan. In discussions with many of the existing tenants, it was decided that instead of doing this either by compulsion, or leaving it to individual initiative (the Plan is not explicit), a Co-operative would be helped to be formed. The Co-op would design and develop their own small industrial units that would be available either on a rental, hire-purchase or outright sale basis according to individual capabilities. The development would be financed by a bank loan, part of which would be repaid by the sale/rental of units to non members. A collective move would both overcome the marketing/competition problems but would also allow the units to be designed in response to individual needs.

In parallel, an association of artisans would be established which would take over the buildings vacated by the larger workshops moving out. These would be rented from the Evkaf at the current nominal rent but for a rolling ten-year period. This would allow the association to refurbish and renovate them and rent them out to artisans and craftsmen at a higher rent, using the difference to pay off a bank loan. The existing streets would be "curtained off" with an arch near the green line end to form a "han" (courtyard) for small repair and work-shops catering to the local community (electricians, sign painters, carpenters). The front half of the streets would be made over to crafts, trades and tourist-related shops and a cafeteria. The refurbishment would clear off some of the lean-to structures and other recent ad-hoc additions,

revealing the original structures as well as opening up hitherto unseen views and vistas. Wooden doors modelled on the original traditional doors would replace steel shutters. The new artisan precinct would also seek to encourage a revival and relocation of traditional arts and crafts by offering them both a home and access to credit as well as advice on skills, techniques, materials and marketing through the association. The workshops would be linked to the Municipal market through a new archway. It is expected that this will help the current trend within the Market to replace food stalls with more varied goods. Eventually some of the associated warehouses may well be converted to tourist accommodation, restaurants or even small galleries and playhouses.

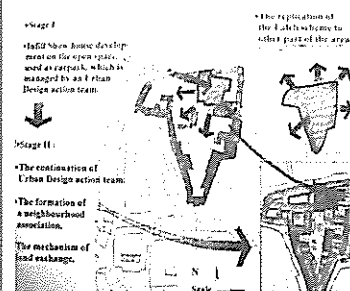
The Laleli District

This mixed development area is located around the Laleli Mosque and the Kuchuk (little) Han, off the main boulevard linking the central Ataturk Square to the Kyrenia Gate. Most of the street frontage is built up, with the exception of the gaps left by collapsed buildings. The buildings themselves are mostly equally of one or two storeys, with the occasional three-story building. Some are well preserved, their ornate carved entrance doors and grilled and latticed windows showing little change from an age gone by. Now and then the narrow lanes are almost bridged by open balconies and some enclosed by jalousies. Many of the buildings are in a poor state, leaning and crumbling precariously. Others have been replaced by cheap simple rectilinear structures.

Most of the buildings are a room deep, the houses consisting of two or three rooms side by side or in a simple L pattern. Beyond are enclosed yards and gardens, often bigger than the built-up area. Some are beautifully laid out and have fountains and mature trees creating a miniature paradise. However, most have become run down, and serve as live-stock pens or washing and drying spaces. Those on the edge, or with buildings that have collapsed, serve as car parks.

The majority of the buildings are used as residences, often rented out to locally displaced families, and as often, converted into Pansiyons (boarding houses for labourers from Turkey). Some have been converted into restaurants, others into workshops, showrooms and small factories, and even into artist's or photographer's studios, hair-dressing parlours or billiards saloons. Few if any of the younger generation of Cypriots still live here.

Some of the younger families moved out of the area to be away from the conflict zone,



Laleli quarter: project implementation stages

Indeed the Department is so concerned at not allowing exceptions that it will even prevent the demolition of tacked-on structures built this century that disfigure, detract from or obscure buildings of cultural or architectural merit.

but others took advantage of the new housing outside the walled city, looking for wider spaces and less noise, traffic and pollution.

Not wanting to leave their houses empty they left behind their elders, who had always lived in the walled city and had no wish to leave it. Others rented them out to the displaced Turkish Cypriots, often the elderly who neither had the points to get onto the social housing lists nor the money or land in the northern part of the island, to offer to a developer in exchange for a flat.

Over the last decade, it has become unfashionable and even undesirable for those that cannot afford, to live within the walled city. There is a lack of money and a lack of interest in repairing or renovating the old and dilapidated buildings, and there is no source of credit for anyone wanting to borrow to do so. The result is a rapid deterioration in the cultural capital of the walled city.

The Proposal

The proposal attacks the problem on two fronts. On one hand it suggests making capital available for repair and refurbishment, and on the other hand the development and promotion of the socio-economic advantages of building upon the cultural capital of the walled city.

The first of these is essentially a matter of affecting a change in the lending criteria of financial institutions to encourage them to lend for refurbishment. These loans would be small compared to those for new construction, and therefore could be taken out by those who cannot afford to build a new house. In the longer term, it is hoped to convince the department of social housing that it could fulfil its obligations by providing repairing grants or loans to those that are in need of housing but do not meet all or enough of the criteria required to entitle them to a new house.

The second, more critical task is the promotion of inner city housing itself. The first requirement is the setting up of a body charged with this task. The Department of Antiquities and the Town Planning Department would jointly sponsor and support an Urban Design Action Team made up of young architects and engineers, working initially under experienced professionals. Interestingly, though there are four schools of architecture in Northern Cyprus, none of them offer courses or training in renovation, restoration or management of traditional construction or buildings as are found in the walled city and elsewhere in the country.

The Team would start with one of the vacant sites presently used as a car park and design

an infill development of two stories to accommodate two units. One would be sold or rented out to help repay the costs of the development and the other used as a show-house or demonstration unit. The project would provide on-the-job training, and the completed unit would also provide an office for the Team. The brief for the development will be to demonstrate new and alternate forms of design and low cost construction that could provide attractive "modern" living spaces within an architectural and construction style that fits into the walled city. The emphasis will be to demonstrate the possibilities for remodelling existing structures rather than building anew.

The Department of Antiquities will be required to modify its conservation strategy under which every building has to be preserved, regardless of merit⁵, and every restoration and renovation must use the original materials and technology throughout. Apart from selected buildings, which could be listed, the rest should be asked to conform to the external style and character, materials and finishes of the original. The interiors could then be freed up to provide additional space and reduce costs while preserving the urban character of Nicosia.

The Design Team would be required to actively promote other building owners to adopt its ideas, and would provide its design and advisory services free. The Team would also actively seek to provide access to loans for renovations. Included in the package would be a series of grants from the Antiquities Departments funds that would be available in return for including culturally significant conservation or preservation action during the remodelling process. Thus, the more attention paid to approved restoration, the greater financial support would be forthcoming. This would be a cheaper alternative to the current process of the Department bearing the full costs of restoration. It would also allow for more of the walled city character to be retained within the same costs to the Department.

As well as developing a viable model for individual houses, there is a need to demonstrate that it is possible for those living in the walled city to have greater and more direct access to green and open spaces than it is for those living in flats outside. This can be done through the conversion of individual plots of open space into a shared, communal space, equipped with play and other equipment, accessible to those living around it.

Therefore, the Urban Design Action Team would set about a series of discussions with the residents in the urban block to promote the notion of cultural capital and the advanta-

ges of refurbishment over relocation. They will invite residents to visit the demonstration house, explain the loan and grant options and possibilities and help develop strategies for each individual resident. As well as holding discussions to encourage individual action, they should have collective sessions with the objective of getting them to form a residents' association. The residents' association would manage the development of the semi-private communal open/green spaces.

The residents association would take over the land of all those willing to participate in the scheme, in exchange for a share certificate equivalent to the amount of land contributed. There would be the possibility of buying and selling land or shares for cash amongst the members. The pooled land resource could then be used to provide space for play and recreation purposes paid for and managed by the association. Each member will have access to more land and facilities than they could have had on their own.

Residents that have no land to contribute, or are tenants will be allowed access to and membership of the association on payment of a lump-sum or a monthly fees or through providing labour for the upkeep and maintenance of the facilities.

The gradual and successful completion of the first block will be used by the Urban Design Action Team to spread the message and begin to reverse the current preference for housing outside the walled city and thus retain and attract households and investment.

The Kafesli District

Kafesli is a quiet residential backwater in the Yeni Cami quarter of (north east) Nicosia with the green line to its south and east and the city walls to its north. Its population of around 600 is made up of 20-30% Cypriots and 70-80% immigrants, mainly from the underdeveloped south and eastern parts of Turkey. As in Laleli, the exodus of the younger, better off population left the houses either in the hands of the old, many of who were displaced from southern Cyprus in the 1960s, or let to immigrant Turks. The former are too poor and often too frail to be able to do anything about their housing, the latter are not allowed by their landlords, and in any case would rather save their money and send it to Turkey to buy land or improve housing there.

Though the houses are in poor condition, most are occupied. Mostly single storey, there is a considerable amount of open space, both public and private, though the former are not easy to use and the latter are

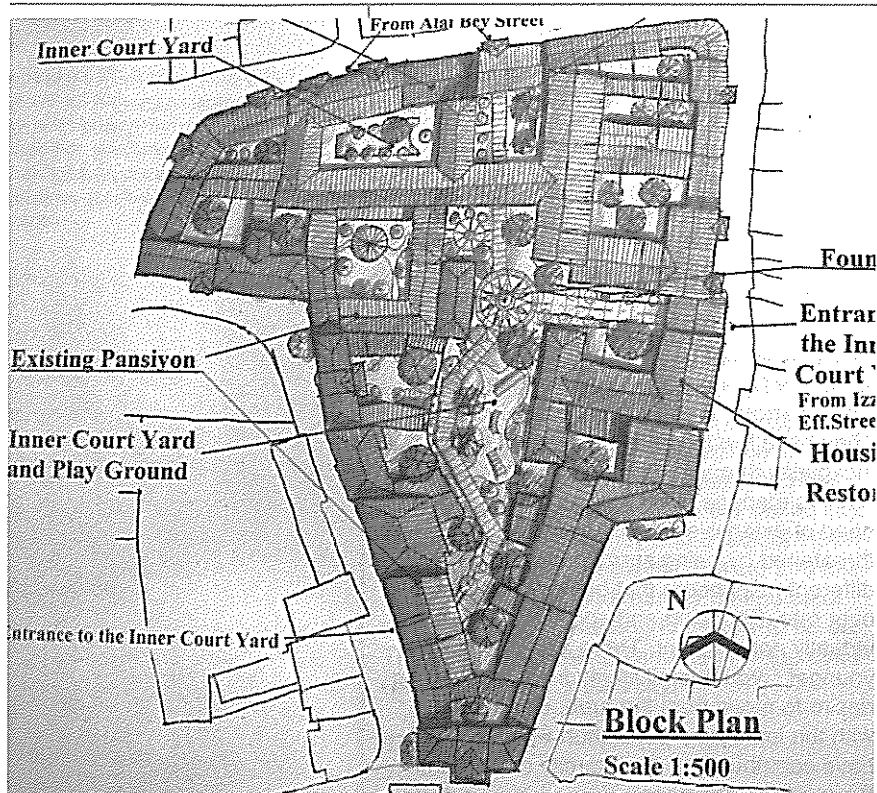
not well distributed. There are empty, undeveloped sites on potentially good locations. There is little economic activity within the district, and the buildings are not of great architectural merit or cultural significance to warrant investment or protection by the public sector or the Department of Antiquities. Yet, there is a community that needs to improve its living environment.

In fact there are considerable differences between the local and the immigrant populations. The Cypriots are an ageing population, without strong family support or savings. They have low incomes because of their incapacity through illness or old age. They have to manage large properties that are in need of extensive or skilled repairs. They feel threatened by being surrounded by new and different neighbours that have a high turnover rate. Shopping and social facilities are virtually non-existent. There are a number of younger Cypriot families, expressing a strong desire to move from the area, citing unease with the immigrant population who they feel have contributed to the scarcity of jobs and the lowering of wages.

The Turkish immigrants are, by contrast, younger and more pioneering in their outlook. They come from rural backgrounds and are here to make money, and have moved to the walled city for the cheap housing. The men work as unskilled construction labourers and the women as cleaners and child minders, mostly all in the newer suburbs to which they commute daily. They find themselves in a new place without their traditional support networks, having to face new lifestyles, new economic base and new cultural conceptions. They have low levels of education and little prospect of advancement, with an uncertain future regarding residential or tenure rights. Their accommodation is small and overcrowded with little open space except on the street for women to work or children to play. Relations with the Cypriots are strained and minor cultural misunderstandings and differences abound for which there are no simple means of resolution. The high rate of inflation and their immigrant status means that they have little effective savings and therefore no quick escape neither backwards nor forwards to a new life.

Though there is no actual conflict, the potential remains close to the surface, and both groups expressed a concern about a lack of communication and opportunities or means to generate better relations. Yet, both communities could complement each other, and greater integration and interaction could be mutually beneficial.

Their greatest resource is time, particularly for the Cypriot men and the women of both



Kafesli Quarter:
Map of the study area

communities. Some need ways of converting the time into income-generating or income-supplementing activities, while others, particularly the elderly, need socially satisfying means of using their spare time. Some households, particularly the Turkish immigrants have savings, but lack the means to protect them from depreciating through inflation, since there are no mechanisms for them to make short term investments. For those that need credit to set an enterprise, there are no borrowing facilities. The other resource generally available is space in the form of open land in public as well as private ownership – though not necessarily with those that need it, nor where it is needed.

Proposals

There are two sets of proposals that are independent of each other, but where each would benefit if the other were also implemented. The first relies on the mobilisation of local resources to meet local needs, while the second is contingent upon external resources and institutional action.

Local Resources

The Market Gardens Scheme

Under this scheme, the many parcels of open land would be used for market gardening. With some technical advice, access to small amounts of credit for tools, seeds and fertiliser, these lands could be made productive fairly speedily. The Turkish immigrants have the basic skills and background to undertake this activity to generate an income and pay a

rent to the Cypriot owners. With a little appropriate management, it would be possible for individuals to put in flexible work inputs to suit their own timings and commitments. These will be totted up and be paid on an hourly rate at the end of the month. The seeds, fertilisers and other inputs should be bought and the produce marketed collectively where this has economies of scale. A point of sale should be established in conjunction with a crèche/nursery that would provide an opportunity for social interchange, including the possibility of staffing by the elderly Cypriots. The gardens would also be open to non-gardeners for pleasure, while the shop will also accept "private" produce (not limited to garden products) for sale or return on a commission.

Crèche and Child-minding Scheme

Many of the Turkish immigrant women are prevented or restricted in the work they do because of a lack of child-minding facilities. On the other hand, many Cypriot women with time on their hands miss family and social contact. This proposal brings the two needs together by arranging crèche and child-minding by the Cypriot women, not necessarily in exchange for cash, but also in exchange for social contact. Some of the older children (and their mothers) can also help by providing fetching and carrying services and help around the house.

The scheme would also be linked with health and educational information services. Cypriots with space in their homes will also be asked to provide local meeting and contact points so that small groups could get together with their charges, thereby increasing the social contact. In exchange the immigrant families could reciprocate by providing house decoration and improved services to the hosts.

Kafesli Action Area Programme

Unfortunately the above schemes will not be implemented without organisational and managerial support and stimulus. Though there is little or no money involved, and most of the inputs required are freely available (with a little persuasion and convincing perhaps), their mobilisation needs to be catalysed.

Initially, one of the existing NGOs in Nicosia will be asked to help set up, recruit and train and support a local team. This team will be responsible for identifying and developing projects such as the ones above and to mobilise community interest and involvement. The KAAP would obtain premises (in one of the disused buildings) and acquire an identity. It will act as a point of information and contact – using the NGO as a conduit in the

first instance if required.

Kafesli savings and loans

As well as ideas and organisation, the schemes indicated above and those initiated by the KAAP, there is a need for funds. Not necessarily large sums but usually only small amounts for short periods, to get enterprises started and off the ground. The need for investment opportunities has also been identified amongst the local community. The formation of a Savings and Loans Association is an ideal way of bringing these two needs together.

The S&LA could be organised and operated as an integral part of the KAAP, or it could be established as an independent entity right from the outset or at a later stage if the work becomes too onerous. The S&LA will need professional help in setting up and in its operations. It is felt that this could be provided through one of the local banks or through one of the universities.

If it was successful, the S&LA could go beyond extending small and micro-credit to larger scale operation. In particular it could be a vehicle for financing housing improvements: a number of houses are too large for their current occupants. If these were subdivided, these could provide additional units that could be rented or even sold to the Turkish migrant families. This would also help supplement the incomes of the older Cypriot families.

External Resources

Social Housing

This is a proposal that has yet to be tested for acceptability. However, the basic premise is quite simple. There are a number of vacant sites in Kafesli (and other areas of the walled city) that could be used to build small blocks of housing using the social housing fund.

Social Housing is currently built in multiple units in large schemes, and therefore needs large sites that can only be found on the outskirts of the currently built-up areas. On the other hand, the system of construction does not derive particular advantages from economies of scale, since most schemes are about 100 to 150 units, but the individual houses or blocks of flats are built as if they were one-off buildings.

The proposal would be to use the existing system of financing (and subsidies) but to use one of the walled city sites. The additional costs of construction that may be incurred

in complying with conservation requirements will be offset by lower infrastructure costs. On the other hand, this will enable a choice to be available to households on the social housing lists. It will also go some way in enticing households back to the city through a demonstration effect as in the Laleli proposals.

Currently, builders and developers can tender for the supply and construction of social housing units provided they meet strict cost and size limits and standards. However, they must provide a minimum of 50 units at a time in order to be eligible. Apart from the marginal additional administration, there is no reason why such a scheme should not be extended to the provision of fewer units, and perhaps in the case of the walled city, be reduced to as few as two units at a time. This would allow for infill housing as well, and would therefore open up a large number of sites.

As well as providing housing such a scheme would help in revitalising the walled city by providing jobs in construction, but also in revitalising the local economy through the influx of new households, or at least by preventing the outflow of the existing population.

Conclusion

The primary objective of these proposals, apart from meeting the brief given by the Department of Antiquities was to demonstrate that it is possible to revitalise the city not merely through the provision of funds (which are in short supply), but through community based collective efforts.

Each of the proposals (except for the social housing) relies on the establishment of a community based organisation – of artisans, small industrialists, residents, community – to introduce, manage and develop a series of actions that can largely be funded and serviced by the members' own resources. In each case, the resulting gains from community and collective action are greater than through individual action. Also, in every case, the solution to the problems of one group also results in satisfying the needs or solving the problems of another group. In each case, the initial outlay is one of organisation and initiative. In most cases, the proposals suggested for the particular situation will serve to meet the needs of other locations and communities in the walled city, and in some cases, also other cities and localities.

It is for these reasons that we believe that these proposals have the possibility of revitalising Nicosia.

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Zusammenfassung:

Als eine unter mehreren Maßnahmen, um die wertvollsten Baudenkmäler in der Nord-westlichen Grenzprovinz Pakistans zu erhalten, begann ein Forschungsteam der Oxford Brookes Universität 1992, eine Reihe alter Gebäude um Peshawar, der Provinzhauptstadt, aufzumessen. Die Dringlichkeit, solche Baudenkmäler unter den Bedingungen einer rasch fortschreitenden Urbanisierung zu schützen, wurde 1994 ein Strategievorschlag zur Einrichtung von Wander- und Reisewegen des kulturellen Erbes veröffentlicht. Dieses Wegenetz soll sowohl künstlerisch wie historisch herausragende Einzelbauwerke wie ganze Ortschaften der Region, klassifiziert in drei Wichtigkeitsstufen verbinden.

Begleitet wird das Vorhaben von einem Ausbildungsprogramm im Bereich des Tourismusmanagement. Als erstklassig klassifizierte Zentren sollten zuerst durch staatliche und private Institutionen saniert und wegemäßig miteinander verknüpft werden, später gefolgt von den zweit- und dritt-klassifizierten. Mit dem Abschluß der Sanierung eines jeden Gebäudes wird gleichzeitig ein gedruckter Führer fertiggestellt und lokale Fremdenführer ausgebildet, die auch auf eine Respektierung bzw. Schonung der physischen, sozialen wie natürlichen Umwelt durch die Touristen achten werden.

Der ursprüngliche Vorschlag der Forschergruppe aus Oxford hat dazu geführt, daß öko-Tourismus und Kulturpflege in die strategischen Politikdokumente der Provinzregierung aufgenommen, eine Reihe von Baudenkmälern restauriert, Museen eröffnet, und Touristenführer ausgebildet wurden. Die hier beschriebene Fallstudie des Kalash Tals zeigt das positive Potential von Tourismus in abgelegenen Regionen unter der Vorgabe, daß die negativen Effekte des Trekking- und Kulturtourismus minimiert werden sollen.

Cultural Heritage Trails in North West Frontier Province of Pakistan

Susan Roaf and Mercedes

Introduction

Pakistan is a country rich in cultural heritage. The Indus valley civilisations flourished in the south, near Mohenjodaro and Harappa, while the Gandharan civilisation achieved its floruit in the north. The North West Frontier Province is one of the most scenic regions of the sub-continent, seated at the feet of the great Hindu Kush range through which the Khyber Pass formed the gateway from east to west and north to south. Peshawar, the Provincial Capital at the foot the pass, displays the richness of its history in its historic buildings and sites of all periods. Unfortunately now the very existence of these buildings is under threat from all sides: natural disasters, rapid urbanisation, lack of a conservation ethos and awareness of the historic value of the buildings and education. environmental pollution, and a poor supporting political and economic infra-structure. No building, old or new exists in isolation. It represents the very fabric of the society from which it grew. The demolition of any important historic building results also in the destruction of a part of that society. The conservation of a historic building is not only a single act of repair but a reinforcing of that society, its history and its roots. Our key idea in NWFP was that if one aimed not only at repairing a single building, but at the weaving into the built environment of the Province a Network of visited and respected historical buildings and linked them by adequate routes then not only would the communities around the buildings be strengthened but also the routes between them would be reinforced by increased economic activities. These developments would be community based, in part 'bottom up' and in part 'top down', involving the need for cooperation between many groups in the society with a range of stake holding opportunities incorporated in the process of developing tourism in the region.

Abstract: This paper describes the development of a strategic document which included: the development of a structured project team; the recording of the resources available for the development of the Trails around the region; community workshops programme to identify local requirements of tourism and attitudes towards it; a Gazetteer of Historical Buildings and Sites of the Region; a publications programme, environmental impact assessment studies, and a programme for the consolidation of the Heritage Network. This included the Building Conservation Programme, museum upgrading, publication of Trail Guidebooks, Training of Trail Guides, and Trail marketing policies. We developed Heritage Centre Appraisal forms, held local consultations and reconnoitred 11 towns and areas for the Trail Guide. The aims of that Proposal were to protect and conserve the Historic monuments of the area and to stimulate the local economy using local private enterprise linked with Heritage Tourism. This proposal formed a part of the 'Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy' (2) published by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature' (IUCN). Heritage tourism strategies were also in the IUCN 'Chitral District Conservation Strategy' Report (3). The first Peshawar Heritage Trail is opening in Spring 1998.

A detailed strategic document was developed which included: the development of a structured project team; the recording of the resources available for the development of the Trails around the region; community workshops programme to identify local requirements of tourism and attitudes towards it; a Gazetteer of Historical Buildings and Sites of the Region; a publications programme, environmental impact assessment studies, and a programme for the consolidation of the Heritage Network. This included the Building Conservation Programme, museum upgrading, publication of Trail Guidebooks, Training of Trail Guides, and Trail marketing policies. We developed Heritage Centre Appraisal forms, held local consultations and reconnoitred 11 towns and areas for the Trail Guide. The aims of that Proposal were to protect and conserve the Historic monuments of the area and to stimulate the local economy using local private enterprise linked with Heritage Tourism. This proposal formed a part of the 'Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy' (2) published by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature' (IUCN). Heritage tourism strategies were also in the IUCN 'Chitral District Conservation Strategy' Report (3). The first Peshawar Heritage Trail is opening in Spring 1998.

The Heritage Trails were designed to encourage not only locals to be prouder of their buildings, and in turn respect and conserve them, but also to attract Pakistani and foreign visitors who would reinforce the economic sense and rewards of doing so. The environment was to benefit as well as the community, women and society. As work on the Trails went on in an ad hoc fashion one case study community, in the Kalash valleys, provided an opportunity to tackle at first hand the very real problems that inevitably 'intrusive'

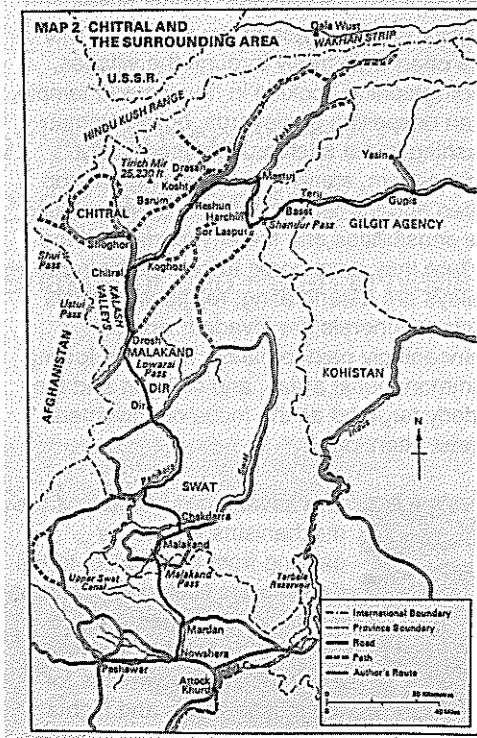
tourism can bring to a vulnerable community in a remote and beautiful landscape. This case study offers lessons which can be applied effectively to more physically and socially opaque situations in urban areas.

The Kalash Valleys

Pakistanis refer to the Kalash valleys as 'Kafiristan' although modern Kafiristan is now Nuristan in Afghanistan. Kafir means infidel in the local language and the Kalash are a complex people with a history shrouded in mystery. The tribe apparently descended from a diverse range of progenitors ranging from a General of Alexander the Great, through groups in Afghanistan and western Nepal and the Kurds and yet their language may be related to the Sanskrit languages of India. Kalasha society is based on strong clans and families which inhabit the three valleys with the seat of power within the community resting largely with the Elders of the clan who dictate the laws and sit in judgment in disputes.

Kalasha religion is complex and polytheistic, with multi-layered and often paradoxical beliefs. Unlike Christianity or Islam there is no separation between the religious and secular life. Kalasha religion is based on the strict separation of the pure (onjeshta) and impure (pragata) realms. The pure realms are associated with mountain tops, high pastures, goats, goat houses and carved wooden shrines. The wild Markhor goats are the sacred herds of the supernatural beings and subsist on juniper. There is also a nether, or underworld which is associated with the myth of the world standing on the head of a bull. Ancestors are believed to exit into this underworld which is connected to the present world by a metal pillar, thought to be situated at the site of the ancient Kafir temple in the Parun valley, the spiritual centre of Kafiristan. The Kalasha have a purely oral, therefore necessarily limited, tradition. They also have Shaman who are accorded that status due to their prophetic ability.

The Kalasha have alters dedicated to their major deities, some of which are in the open, while those to Jeshtak, the Goddess protector of the family, are housed in carved wooden temples called Han. Their sparsely furnished village houses rise in tiers up the mountains sides, protected from floods and aggressors, and built of cedar beams and stones, plastered over with mud. A third interesting building type is the Kot or defensive tower to which the valley populations would retire in times of attack.



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The photos were taken by the authors.

Map of the Kalash areas of the Chitral District of Pakistan.

In dress the Kalasha men are indistinguishable from Muslims although Kalasha men often wear feathers, berries or flowers in their caps to distinguish them from other groups. Women's outfits however are highly decorated with rich head dresses made of small cowry shells, buttons, broaches, coins, bells and emblems and changed with the seasons.

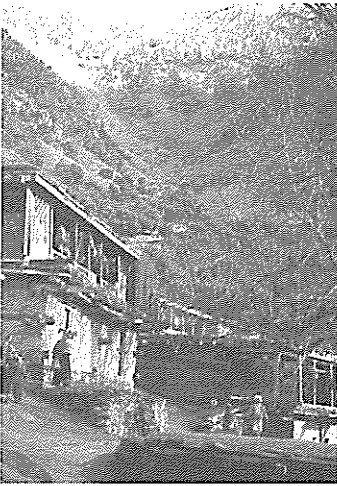
The Kalasha inhabit the valleys of Bumburet, Rumbur and Birir, some 22 miles south of Chitral, which contain around 10,000 inhabitants of which around a third are Kalasha. The valleys are scenically spectacular with woods, shady meadows, majestic mountains and sparkling rivulets which combine with the interesting culture and architecture of the valley to make it an area of great interest to visitors. Muslim families also live in the villages of the valleys.

The first tourists to the region were hunters and arrived first on foot in the 1950s and 60s. In the 1960s the first dirt road was opened to Birir Valley, in 1982 the Rhumbur valley road was built and in 1985 the new dirt Bumburet road opened up access to the valleys. Since the first hotel built in the Bumburet valley in 1990 was opened by the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation some thirty two hotels have been built in this valley alone and a further two in the other valleys. The Kalasha own around 6 small guesthouses in the valleys and a number of tea houses have been opened up in the valleys.

With tourism has come a number of problems for the local population as

The extraordinary setting and culture of the Kalash people attract visitors from around the world





Top: The defensive towers (Kots) provide good focuses for tourists attentions in the Kalah valleys.

Below: The young, the women and the elderly are the most vulnerable to unwanted attentions from visitors.

well as a few advantages. Tourist buses and jeeps spoil the peace of the valley and visitors often walk freely through the villages, photographing, looking in houses and temple, even despoiling graveyards, ogling women washing in the streams, inappropriately filming them, stealing fruit, walking on crop areas and trampling pastures, often insulting the sensibilities and the environment of the culture they have come to see: paths in the valleys are deteriorating; religious festivals such as funerals are invaded; women demeaningly paid to dance; litter and fouling common tourist areas, and children and the elderly targeted as the focus of unwanted tourist attentions.

The advantages are few as the mechanisms for money passing from the tourists to the Kalasha are limited to payment for the local Guides (trained since 1995 with funding from Australia), and payments for tea in local cafes and nights spent in guesthouses. Projects for the women of the Kalasha to may handicrafts for the tourists are little favoured by the tribe and have not progressed in the valleys. In 1994 a member of the Oxford team recommended that: ' the Kalasha Valleys are both scenically and architecturally of great merit. However, the pressure of tourism is likely to destroy the very qualities that one needs to protect. New development in the Valleys should be carefully controlled to ensure that the architectural heritage and landscape is preserved.'

In conjunction with Ms Maureen Lines, currently working in the valleys, a team from Oxford Brookes University is proposing to go to the Kalasha valleys in summer 1998 to do three main tasks with the help of the Kalasha elders and Guides:

1. To develop a zoning strategy for the valleys for areas of
 - general use
 - habitat protection
 - trails paths
 - buffer areas
 - preservation

an area which will include all that land which is not to be open for access to tourists. Thus a graded systems of areas within the valleys will be used to protect certain culturally and agriculturally sensitive areas from intruders.

2. To hardboard the routes open to tourists through the valleys in a series of graded paths through them ranging from 'day trippers' with buses, to week-enders and dedicated hikers.. The actual paths to be tra-

veled will the shored up, new stretches of path and bridges built in timber, weak banks reinforced and routes clearly labeled to guide tourists through the valleys. This will be accompanied by Guide promotion, Guidebook development and development of strategies by which trail development and tourist access in the valleys is controlled and result in money changing hands for the benefit of ordinary families in the valley and the community in general.

The Oxford team will:

- produce sketch maps of the valleys
- with the Kalasha identify five zones in the valleys for the purposes of tourism - general use, habitat protection, graded routeways, buffer zones and preservation areas with no outside entry permitted.
- Within the zoning strategy to physically map the series of routeways through the valleys, with the Guides, grading them according to permitted use levels accorded by the zoning strategy to ensure that major impacts of routeways would be limited to certain paths only.
- Walk all the paths while mapping them and set out a schedule of improvement works required for the routeways, including shoring and building, to minimise the physical impacts of the visitors to the valleys and at the same time plotting the limits of the buffer, habitat protection and preservation zones.
- The routeways would have foci of existing Heritage buildings such as the ancient Kalash defense towers, Kots, in Jinjeret Kuh, and the recording of the routeways would encompass recording and description of these foci buildings and their adjacent refreshment opportunities.
- This development of a three pronged strategy for using tourism (1) as a source of income for the Kalash valley inhabitants,(2) managing its environmental impacts and keeping the focus of tourism on particular buildings, the environs of which can be locally controlled,(3) a means of protection for the most vulnerable members of the community such as the women and elders.
- Produce a strategy document on the Heritage Trails and Zoning policies with the Kalasha elders and other valley residents.

The key idea of the Heritage Trail as proposed is to have buildings as the central theme and focus of visits to the valleys rather than people, not only to give the people of the Kalasha valleys a more reliable source of income and to protect this vulnerable group from the worst of the cultural and physical impacts of Eco and Heritage Tourism but also to provide incoming visitors with a more user friendly means of responsibly enjoying the magnificent attractions of the Kalash Valleys

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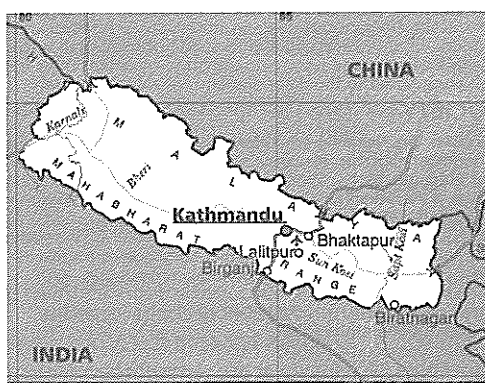
Commercialisation of Architectural Heritage - A Sacrilege or a Necessity?

Examples of old Newar Towns of Bhaktapur and Patan in Nepal

The Setting: Kathmandu Valley in Nepal

In the foot "hills" of the Himalayas with altitudes of about 3000 m you find the idyllic high valley of Kathmandu. It is at a level of about 1400 m and of circular shape with a diameter of about 30 km. This valley is graced with three ancient towns, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur of the ancient Malla kings of the Newar people and a couple of small towns and many villages. Formerly, i.e. until about 30 years ago, these major three settlements, nestled in very fertile and terraced agricultural land, were quite distinct. Each had its own character, however, sharing a common style of Newar architecture which has developed over the past 600 years or so.

Nowadays, the Kathmandu Valley is one of the fastest growing urban areas of Nepal. The growth rate is about 5%, the present number of inhabitants is probably more than 1.2 million. The characteristic traditional timber and brick buildings of three, maximum four storeys are gradually being replaced by concrete-pillar-and-brick buildings of six to eight floors which are without any appeal and inspiration, but cheap and easy to build. However, the Kathmandu Valley still boasts with seven „World Heritage Sites“, the greatest number of such prominent sites in such a small area. The larger ones of these ancient buildings enjoy the attention of UNESCO and other donor organisations, and of His Majesty's Government (HMG) of Nepal. However, the urban fabric around these sites, the buildings at the fringe and the use of open space are changing drastically, usually not for the better, looking at the inherited attractiveness of these sites. As it seems, this is not very much a concern to the inhabitants of these places, except for some groaning and moaning intellectuals whose interest and influence to change the current trend of deteriorat-

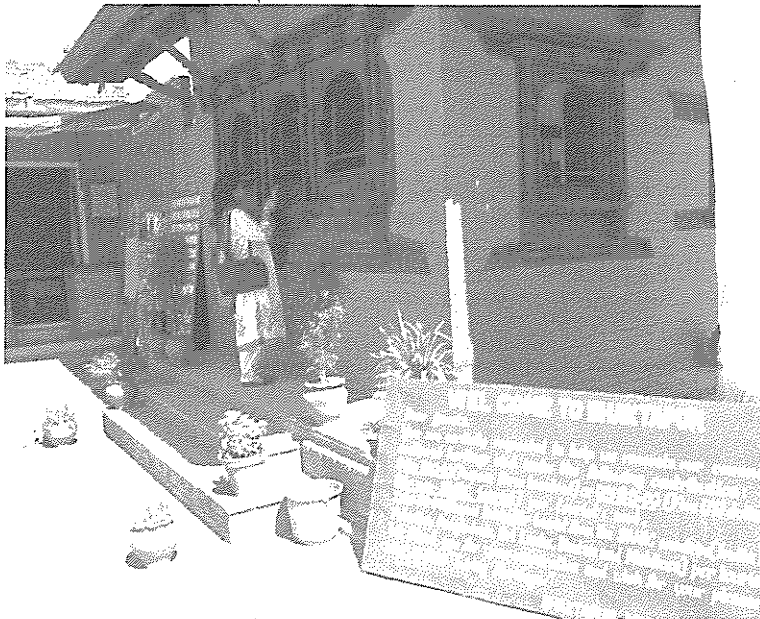


Zusammenfassung:

Mit sieben von der UNESCO als WELT-Menschheitserbe aufgelisteten Denkmälern besitzt das Kathmandu-Tal die größte räumliche Konzentration solcher Auszeichnungen auf einem kleinen geographischen Raum, doch diese wenigen staatlichen Einzelbauwerke verschwinden vor einer sehr viel größeren Anzahl von wertvollen Baudenkmalern in Privatbesitz, die nicht geschützt sind und zunehmend durch „moderne“ Neubauten ersetzt werden. Obwohl für den Außenstehenden bedauerlich, haben viele der Eigentümer oder auch manche Lokalpolitiker aus ihrer Sicht rationale Gründe, die für den Abriß sprechen: zu hohe Restaurierungs- und Instandhaltungskosten für das alte Gebäude; mangelnder Wohnkomfort; der Wunsch, sich mit einem eigenen, neuen Kunstwerk zu verewigen. Dem stehen die bekannten öffentlichen Interessen zum Erhalt und zur Pflege der Baudenkmäler entgegen. Ein Zusammengehen beider Interessen ist jedoch auch möglich, wenn man das ökonomische Potential historischer Baudenkmäler ausschöpft. Daß dieses möglich ist, zeigen zwei von der GTZ unterstützte, integrierte Konservierungs- und Entwicklungsprojekte im Kathmandu-Tal. Das

ältere, 1974 begonnene und 1996 abgeschlossene Projekt betraf die Stadt Bhaktapur, und brachte den Bewohnern direkte Vorteile in Form von neuen Arbeitsplätzen und verbesserter Infrastruktur und indirekt über eine städtische Besuchersteuer für Touristen. Das neuere, seit 1992 in Patan durchgeführte Projekt zielt auf die gleichen ökonomischen Vorteile ab, zeichnet sich jedoch durch einen übergreifenderen und vor allem stärker präventiven Ansatz aus. Hierzu gehören u.a. der explizit partizipative Charakter, sowie eine umfassende edukative und administrative Hilfestellung.

Die beiden Beispiele zeigen eine Reihe von Voraussetzungen für eine effiziente kommerzielle Valorisierung des historischen Erbes: Die Stadtverwaltung muß lernen: ihre kulturellen Schätze gezielt zu vermarkten; über entsprechende Besteuerung von den erzielten Einnahmen selbst zu profitieren; untergeordnete Aufgaben Dritten wie NGOs und CBOs überlassen statt versuchen, alles selber durchzuführen; und aufwendigere Restaurierungs-Maßnahmen ggf. gezielt mit Subventionen zu unterstützen.



The municipality of Bhaktapur charges an entrance fee of 300 Rupees (at present about 4.50 US\$) to every non-Asian Tourist who wishes to enter the historic town centre. The panel near the cashier's booth explains that the municipality is using this revenue for the maintenance and restoration of ancient monuments.

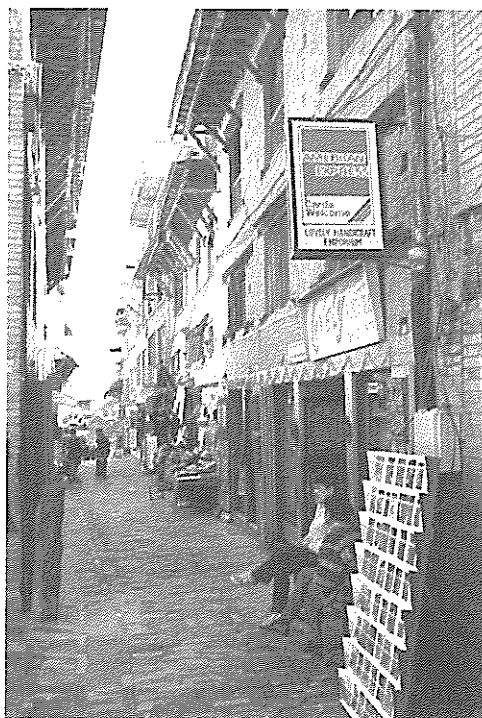
ion and destruction of the architectural heritage may or not increase.

A Question and some possible Answers

This process of change is so fast, radical, and post factum irreversible that a question comes to mind which appears to be provocative and resignative at the same time:

Should we foster conservation at all?

We can find quite a number of examples in the history of mankind as well as in our present times, where in reality the answer to this question is or was negative, even if a lot of



An old and previous dirty lane in Bhaktapur now boasts with many curio shops and offers workplaces and income which were not available 20 years ago.

lip service has been paid to conservation:

1. „Nero burnt down Rome“ (and eventually rebuilt it) - a typical example of how absolute and authoritarian rulers dealt with the past and the heritage, firmly believing that they will create bigger, higher and thereby better sites than their ancestors or their present rivals did in the neighbourhood. In fact, this attitude has contributed a lot to architectural heritage on our planet.

2. It is often felt that old physical structures must move because of new standards and modern „felt needs“. Such needs may be objectively justifiable by old houses becoming too small for today's physical height of the population. They may be rather debatable if they are the result of peoples' strive for „modernity“. A typical example is that an increasing traffic flow in a historic place may call for road improvements which in their dimensions may be (mis)guided by an example of a city like Los Angeles.

3. Ideologies, religions, habits, values, forms of social organisation, the effective driving forces of a culture, are subject to change. Such forces determine how people in a given society live and act, thereby creating specific symbols amongst which architecture very often takes a prominent position. We may find many examples of such changes in history and in particular in modern times where systems changed and brought about new architectural styles. Feudalism/totalitarianism was replaced by democracy; religious systems vanished to more and more secular systems; socialism changed to capitalism, and so on. Sometimes also architectural fashions or planners' and politicians' whims do the job of change even without any such big historic events.

4. People in certain places have little or no ideas on how to collect enough revenue from architectural heritage for conservation and on yielding the expected return on property. In many ancient cities, this is the reason why historic private buildings are replaced by more profitable ones or by other facilities, provided the location offers such advantages as increasing land and floor space prices; if not, the heritage site may turn into a slum.

However, there are also some positive answers to the question „why should we foster conservation?“:

1. The architectural heritage is a constituent (material) part of the (immaterial) cultural heritage and as such essential for building identity, coherence and self-esteem of the people in a society who practise and „own“ the respective culture. Even in cases like

The Patan Conservation and Development Programme - brief overview

Based on the experience drawn from the BDP, the Patan Programme aims at safeguarding the cultural heritage of the town in the context of urban development with the participation of the people. The most important activities are:

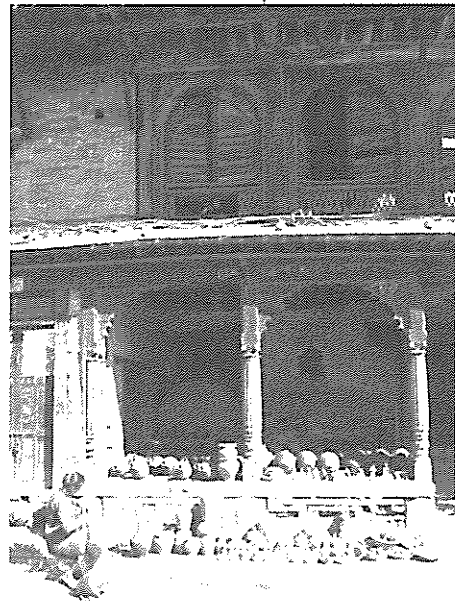
- **Documentation of the cultural heritage:** An official inventory is under preparation which will enable the Nepali Government to categorize monuments according to their significance, and to protect them. This activity is conducted by the Department of Archeology.
- **Pilot projects and emergency repairs:** Conservation and development projects are implemented as examples to demonstrate and develop an awareness of improved standards and quality of work. Local craftsmen and technicians are trained so that the same standards can be replicated by the Department of Archeology, the Municipality, and by community organisations. The well known proverb „a stitch in time saves nine“ fits well to the cost effective emergency repair programme. These include small and medium scale repairs of buildings and facilities of historical value. A particular aspect of this programme is that monuments to be repaired have to be identified by the community who together with the municipality make a financial contribution to the cost.
- **Building control:** To safeguard cultural heritage, the built environment has to be protected. The built environment comprises private and public buildings, monuments, streets, street embellishments, etc., all of which are changing rapidly due to the impact of modern development trends. The programme supports the development of appropriate by-laws, improved building designs, amendments to legislation, the introduction of an effective building permit mechanism, construction supervision, and enforcement.
- **Integrated Neighbourhood Programmes:** All locally available resources are mobilised to plan and carry out basic improvements as the first step towards a process of raising community awareness and participation in development. Activities include the installation of private toilets, solid waste management, street cleaning, sanitation, health and education campaigns, small scale repairs of basic infrastructure, training programmes, etc. All these are planned and implemented with intensive participation of community groups developed through the programme.
- **Public awareness and support:** A necessary precondition for the success of all activities is public awareness and support. Campaigns and activities to generate these are of utmost importance and therefore integrated within all components. The publication of a news bulletin, posters, organising media campaigns, tours, audio visual productions and the use of different modes of communication to inform the public are the tools used in these efforts.

New York where the architectural heritage is still very young, certain architecture represents more than just a physical structure; it reflects and intentionally shows certain values beyond the pure function of the structure

2. Architectural heritage sites being different from the common average structures may raise curiosity. They might provoke the motivation to learn about the own past and pre

sent. They may even serve as a means to visualise immaterial values which otherwise would remain abstract and incomprehensible except for a small minority of some intellectuals.

3. Architectural heritage sites are showpieces to others, to visitors, to strangers, a means of public relations (in the double sense of the word).



Top: Traditional commerce and trade in an traditional environment - pottery in Bhaktapur.

Bottom: A potter's shop in Bhaktapur offering traditional and some new design of earthenware.

4. Architectural (and also customary) heritage can be used as an economic asset and may offer profitable opportunities which would not exist without that heritage because in its absence the human qualities mentioned under 2 and 3 (curiosity and pride) cannot be developed and effectively applied.

In the following I would like to talk about the more materialistic aspects of conservation, i.e. „*conservation for economic development*“.

Particularly in poor developing countries like Nepal it seems to be the only feasible paradigm to maintain architectural heritage: regarding the heritage as an economic asset and trying to realise the potential income from it.

This reasoning may be hard to accept for conservationists who prefer to emphasize other rationales of less materialistic nature which, of course, I do not want to play down, therefore I have mentioned some here above. However, in the conservation efforts in Bhaktapur which were supported by the German Government through its implementation agency German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) from 1974 to 1986 and in Patan from 1992 until today, the economic justification of the usefulness of conservation played a big role in order to garner funds from budgets which were originally foreseen for development cooperation, not for cultural co-operation. It also turned out that the results of the conservation works, combined with other efforts of urban development, were conducive to the economic development of the place by offering many additional income opportunities for a sizable number of inhabitants.

This was and is the case at least in Bhaktapur and we hope to see similar effects in future in Patan as well.

An Ostensible Contradiction to be Reconciled: Conservation and Commerce

Historic buildings and places are important tourist attractions but unfortunately their value have yet to be commercially recognised. As a result many buildings are being demolished without consideration of potential uses that may benefit tourism whilst ensuring their preservation. To date, conservation efforts have concentrated on „precious“ public buildings only, and indeed many fine

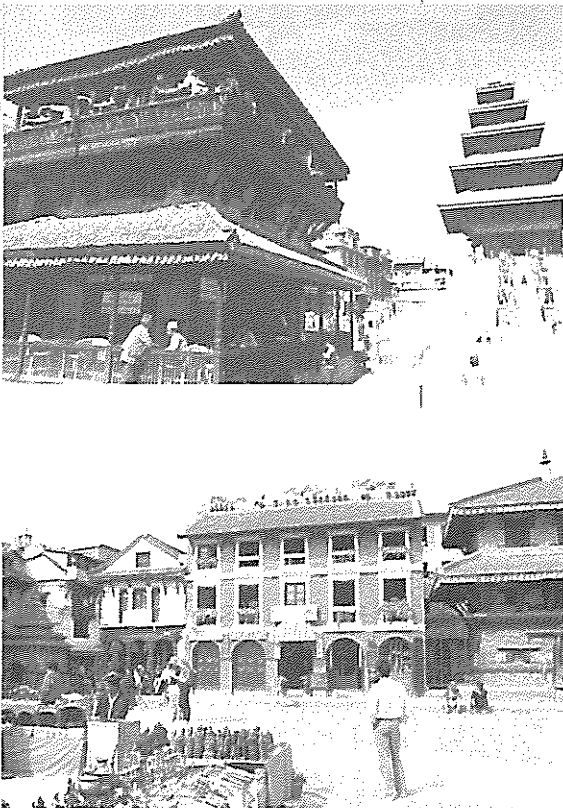
examples of restoration are evident throughout the Kathmandu Valley, particularly in Bhaktapur and in Patan. However, the number of public buildings is but a small proportion of the total number of private buildings that comprise the historical urban environment as a whole of which a lot has already disappeared in the last 30 years.

So, whilst the government, professional conservationists, and donors are preoccupied with the fine details and appropriate materials of isolated preservation projects, a majority of the remaining traditional buildings (those which are privately owned) are rapidly disappearing for need of some initiative. The present policies and priorities for conservation are ineffective to solve this problem. Efforts are directed to those buildings and big monuments which are least at risk, whilst nothing is done to save those which are in great risk. Continuation of this policy will result in an environment where traditional architecture exists only as public buildings, monuments in the true sense that will be hemmed in and dwarfed by ugly and insensitive structures that represent the rest of the town.

Why are traditional buildings being replaced by hideous concrete structures that defy regulations? Why is it that individuals cannot or will not follow the collective wish of the society?

- Many residents do not appreciate and value old buildings, surprisingly in particular the older generation who too often still are the decisionmakers. New buildings, despite their poor design, are seen as progress compared with traditional ones which are seldom in good condition, uncomfortable to live in and do not match modern lifestyles.
- The high cost of building materials make conservation quite expensive. There are no incentive mechanisms to encourage owners to face the additional cost for conservation works. Replacement of ancient buildings by a concrete frame structure is often cheaper per floor area, in particular, if at the same time houses are built to heights exceeding the by-laws.
- Due to numerous infringements which are constantly happening, it has become difficult to enforce rules and regulations. Moreover, responsibilities for enforcing rules and regulations are unclear, overlapping, and impaired by corruption, on top of it all the authorities concerned do not take this task very seriously.
- People have an expectation (and in Nepal even the constitutional right) that their

The "Cafe Nyatapola" in front of the greatest pagoda of Nepal in Bhaktapur was built more than 20 years ago with German assistance and was once the only restaurant in Bhaktapur offering food "safe" for western tourists; meanwhile it has found many successful imitators which are frequented not only by tourists.



Another restaurant at the fringe of the Patan which was reconstructed from a delapidated house. The owner accepted some design advice and refrained from building a house in the usual "modern" style.



house and the land upon which it stands will provide accommodation sufficient to meet the needs of their family irrespective of any other consideration, least of all any notion of conservation. The present system of inheritance, whereby buildings are subdivided vertically, is a function of this attitude.

A common factor to the above is that conservation does not make economic sense. The price of land in central locations has become very high in relation to the low economic value of old buildings. Conservation is therefore perceived as a lost investment opportunity. The number of owners who genuinely would like to keep their traditional buildings intact is few, and at present there is no financial encouragement to do so. In short, for conservation to be meaningful, it has to make economic sense.

This is a difficult proposition, but one that has been achieved in western countries. For example, the status attached to living in a historic house has meant that the value of such houses is at least equal or even higher than modern equivalents. As a consequence, peo-

Curios are sold everywhere in Bhaktapur and throughout the Kathmandu Valley.

The Bhaktapur Development Project : brief history

The Bhaktapur Development Project (BDP) was initiated in 1974 with the aim to raise the living conditions of the Bhaktapurians and to improve their economic situation. During the first phase, BDP activities were focussed on renovating maths (buildings of religious communities and homes to their priests), temples and other archeologically important buildings for the conservation of historic monuments; on town planning and development; and on basic infrastructure like drinking water, sewerage, road construction, solid waste management, etc. in the eastern section of the town, all activities in this phase were under the jurisdiction of the Department of Archeology.

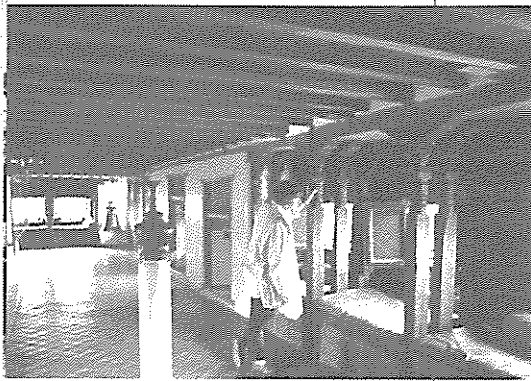
While priority was given to the conservation of historic monuments in the first phase, other programmes were also felt necessary to improve the living conditions of the people and subsequently new components like economic promotion, education, tourism were introduced in addition to the continuing activities of the first phase programmes. Being under the jurisdiction of the Housing, Building and Physical Planning Department, in this second phase the emphasis of the project was given to the programmes of technical infrastructure.

In the third phase at the beginning of the 1980s, the working process of the project changed considerably. New regulations of the project were prepared to achieve maximum public participation and assign responsibilities to various existing line offices implementing the different sectoral activities rather than to continue doing this by the special project authority. Completed activities were handed over to the concerned local offices to allow for more efficient execution of project activities. In this phase, the project came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Development and various activities like historic monument conservation, technical infrastructure, roads and industrial area construction, conservation of drinking water catchment area, health education in schools, etc. were carried out.

The final phase saw the completion of remaining activities from the third phase as well as a gradual handing over of the project to the concerned local implementing offices, including the municipality. In the field of conservation, altogether more than 250 historic and religious small and large monuments had been restored. Two of the major historic buildings have been turned into museums for brass and bronze works and for woodcarvings respectively. Many restored public and semi-public buildings are well used for either income generating purposes like restaurants, wood carving workshops etc. or as schools.

Asiatica and Africana made in Bhaktapur side by side, the former for European, the latter for Asian buyers. There are no conflicts of taste!

The classical way of commercialisation of cultural heritage has been chosen by the beautiful Patan Museum in the former Mailla King's palace at the Patan Durbar Square.



Some new houses are not just a perfect match to the older one (right) but at least some attempts are made to recall traditional elements by one traditional window in the facade; this is eventually the beginning of better designs in traditional environments and should not be belittled as a twist of taste

ple actively support and foster conservation for economic reasons (as well as intrinsic) and accordingly owners are often preoccupied with faithfully restoring their houses to the original condition (or at least what they think it was). Indeed an entire crafts and specialised building industry has developed in response to their needs.

If conservation can succeed in the West (and elsewhere), why not in Nepal? Of course, there is the argument that what worked well in the West may not be appropriate for developing countries. The buildings are different, the people are different etc. But such objections are without foundation if there is an interest to learn from the experience of elsewhere and a readiness to adopt change. Moreover, there is at least one example in Nepal which has already drawn some benefit from such ideas, even if it took many years until „western“ advice was implemented: Bhaktapur.

Valuation of the Cultural Heritage in Bhaktapur

Six years after the handing over of the multi-sectoral Bhaktapur Development Project to the various responsible sectoral institutions, the Municipality of Bhaktapur dared to implement one specific advice given by the German advisors much earlier. The Municipality asks visitors (from abroad) to pay an entrance fee to their historic city. From July 1993 until June 1996, a fee of NRs 50 (US \$ 1.0) was collected by the Municipality; since July 1996 this fee has been increased to NRs 300 - (US \$ 5.0) despite this big increase not a single tourist stayed away, on the contrary, the influx of tourists has increased, as the following statistical data show:

It is also obvious that the revenue from the tourism fee is more than double the expenditure for conservation purposes. The remainder has been used for other municipal infrastructure projects, in particular for the maintenance of the sewerage system and for sanitation.



One of the reasons why it took the Municipality so long to implement this advice of fee collection is that strictly speaking there is no legal base for the Municipality to do so. However, with the sometimes slightly informal handling of legal provisions in Nepal many things are possible if they are implemented with sufficient political valour, make practical sense, and are successful, all of which is the case here (and still lacking at other places in Nepal).

Another reason for the long hesitation of the Municipality appears to be more interesting in the context of our theme, albeit a bit speculative: It seems that the local decision makers were at first not aware of the economic asset which they have with their ancient city core and/or they felt that fee collection from visitors might be something undecent - a feeling which obviously had vanished in 1996 when the fee was increased fivefold from one day to the other!

Please allow me to speculate about what may have happened in the period between the advice given to collect tourist entrance fees and its actual implementation in terms of mind changing; we will try to find out more about these hypotheses in a survey / opinion poll to be carried out soon in Bhaktapur about how the inhabitants perceive the changes in their town as a consequence of the Bhaktapur Development Project.

Long before the Municipality realised the potential for profit making, the traditional craftsmen of Bhaktapur had started to increase their business by exploiting traditional crafts and arts for the tourist market. The BDP had been actively promoting this idea,

Bhaktapur Municipality Revenue from Tourist Entrance Fee and Expenditure on Restoration and Rehabilitation of Monuments

Financial Year	Amount (NRs)	Nos. of visitors	Expenditure
1993 - 94	4,367,250	87,345	2,180,140
1994 -95	4,887,850	97,757	1,254,557
1995 - 96	5,709,250	112,740	5,801,262
1996 - 97	32,206,286	114,185	10,947,589
Total	47,170,636	412,027	20,184,401

however, with very slow success in the beginning because traditional crafts like wood-carving had nearly died out for lack of demand and purchasing power by the local population; other crafts like pottery, metal-working, papermaking etc. were dwindling because of lack of product ideas and marketing weaknesses. Today the situation is totally different. A lot of people (unfortunately we do not have any proper statistics) obviously make a living from all sorts of products and services related to the cultural heritage, some of them for sure not to the taste of the educated connoisseurs, but all of them to the benefit at least of the small entrepreneurs and their families.

Probably it was this development which triggered the idea with the municipal representatives to see that they, too, get „their“ share from this market. Maybe it happened after a long mental struggle between two interests which an „owner“ of a cultural heritage may develop, once he or she has got aware of the possibility to draw economic benefit of that heritage: The one is the interest in making (short term or immediate) profits out of real need or greed, and the other is the interest in (long term) conservation of cultural heritage out of feelings of respect and tradition.

The first interest leads to commercialising and using the cultural heritage for the much more mundane purpose of income generation rather than for the spiritual reasons it was created for. This in itself is a reason why cultural critics may condemn such trends, however, I believe that in the context of one of the poorest countries of the world we simply cannot afford such an elitist attitude. We probably have to live with the following dilemma:

Marketing of cultural heritage may be done well if it is combined with correct and interesting information. However, one common problem is that the „owner“ of the heritage and/or the tourist guide etc. does not know very well how to present such information. He or she may misinterpret the expectations of these alien „clients“ because of lack of appreciation and understanding of foreigners and their taste and behavioural styles. What appears to be boring, purely encyclopaedic, 'kitsch' or a disturbing view to the visitors may be of great interest, prestige, pride or

pleasure to the presentors of the information. Hence, there are obviously enough opportunities for being interculturally flabbergasted; in the worst case this might lead to negative prejudices and in the positive case this might create productive frictions which could eventually result in a better mutual understanding.

Maybe this difficulty is one of the reasons why sometimes attempts to market cultural heritage are made without providing any additional information - the „client“ will then be reduced to a mere sightseer, a voyeur and snapshot photographer; the more interested ones might come along with their own guide book.

Marketing of cultural heritage can be done very badly, for example when it is coupled



with distorted and/or banalised information. Unfortunately, this happens quite often and seems to be unavoidable. It is a matter of personal tastes and judgements to consider what is good, bad or worst:

- superficial and sensationalist imitation of cultural heritage, e.g. Disney-Land,
- kitsch objects, souvenirs without (in)genuity,
- kitsch performances e.g. certain „light and sound“ shows,
- display of cultural assets or rituals out of context (like certain folk dances in restaurants) etc. etc.

However, all of these serve the purpose of making money, some of them all to well!

An old temple is gradually being "absorbed" by new buildings, showing that there is no effective building control, not even 'informally'.



The usual "Manhattan" - style of new constructions. This picture demonstrates the consequence of vertical division of inheritance: In the Newar tradition it is near to impossible to divide a house horizontally or flat-wise because every property needs to be in direct contact with the earth.

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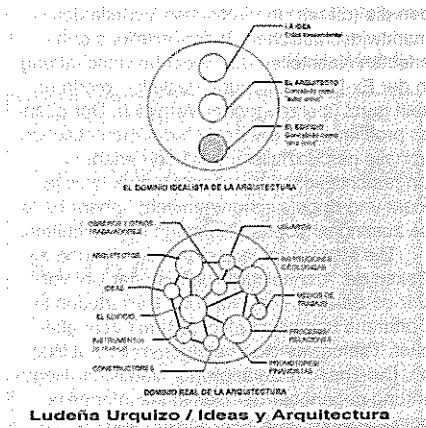
All photos were taken by the author

Conclusion: The Quest for Useful Arrangements to Share the Profits of Conservation

Once the „owners“ of cultural heritage realise that it is an economic asset and as such needs constant investment and maintenance to be sustained as a source of income, the following arrangements within a Municipality should be made to channel a share of the short term profits to the needs of long term conservation:

- The Municipality (be it an administrative unit, a committee of the elected members, an advisory body, an association or a trust) should ensure that the heritage is marketed „well“ in the sense described above. Only then commercialisation will be likely to increase, be sustainable in the long run and at the same time, will not harm the traditional values which might be likely in the case of „bad“ marketing.
- The Municipality should arrange for the collection of cost covering entrance fees, performance fees and a share of taxes from businesses which are directly drawing their profits from the marketing of the heritage like museums, tourist guides, restaurants in historic premises etc. Such revenue should be purpose bound for conservation and tourism related services (in particular „good“ information) and infrastructure.
- Other businesses which are indirectly profiting from the asset of the town like traditional craftsmen, souvenir shops, taxi entrepreneurs, hotels etc. should also be taxed accordingly; the Municipality may eventually levy a surcharge on general taxes for conservation purposes. In particular the vendors and hawkers of souvenirs who usually occupy places of interest in (too) great numbers should be charged with market fees, also in order to control their number.
- The Municipality should not try to implement all the necessary and useful conservation work itself but it should seek to use other intermediary organisations like neighbourhood initiatives (CBOs and NGOs), hotel associations, shop keeper associations, cultural clubs etc.
- The Municipality should try to find solutions to the difficulty of subsidising the maintenance and conservation of privately owned houses of historic value. Some new ideas for the use of such houses after necessary improvements may be promoted, e.g. as bed and breakfast accommodation for tourists or as rental homes for foreign residents or as art galleries, craft workshops, restaurants etc.
- If such arrangements could be made at the local government level, it should be easy to mobilise the interest of central government offices to supplement the local efforts - and last but not least, the international donor agencies, too, would be more willing to consider favourably engaging themselves in the purpose of heritage conservation if such examples of practising the subsidiarity principle in a financially sustainable way could be found.

Neue Bücher / Book reviews



Architektur

Wiley Ludeña Urquiza. *Ideas y Arquitectura en el Perú del Siglo XX*. 177 S. ISBN 9972-9062-0-5. 1997. SEMSA S. editoriales, Jr. Canta Nr. 525 - Lima 13.

Ein sicher einmaliges Buch über Architekturtheorie des 20. Jahrhunderts in Peru. Die drei Kapitel widmen sich der Architektur mit dem großem 'A', einer Periodisierung der städtebaulichen Entwicklung von Lima, und einer kritischen Wertung peruanischer Architektur – vermittelt in Form eines Interviews mit der Architektin Sonia Herrera (von der stillschweigend vorausgesetzt wird, daß sie dem/der Leser/in bereits bekannt sei und nicht besonders vorgestellt werden muß). Besonders das erste Kapitel dividiert die Thematik in Einzelbiographien, und weniger in übergreifende Strömungen – was aus europäischer Sicht vielleicht leichter verdaulich gewesen wäre. Dennoch besteht kein Zweifel daran, daß die Arbeit im nationalen Kontext ein einmaliges und originäres Werk darstellt, auf extrem gründlichen und langwierigen Recherchen basiert und internationalen wissenschaftlichen Standards voll und ohne Einschränkungen entspricht.

Kosta Mathéy

Wohnungsversorgung

Edmundo Werna. *Business as Usual*. 140 Seiten, ISBN 1-85972-354-3. 1996, £ 30,-. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot GU11 3HR, UK.

Die Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit der Frage von Produktionsprozessen im informellen 'Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau' in Brasilien – von dem hinlänglich bekannt ist, daß ein Großteil der Bauarbeiten von Kleinst-Bauunternehmern besorgt wird. Die Fragestellung lautete nach

den praktischen Produktionsbedingungen dieser Unternehmen, und den Chancen einer stärkeren Kapitalisierung derselben (stärkere Rationalisierung und Industrialisierung) zum Zwecke einer besseren Versorgung potentieller Kunden. Die Feldforschung des Autors hat nachgewiesen, daß eine Kapitalisierung der Betriebe möglich ist und auch vollzogen wird. Allerdings profitieren die früheren Kunden nicht von diesem Prozeß, da die kapitalisierten Unternehmen künftig für einkommenskräftigere Kunden tätig werden, während unerfahrene Neueinsteiger (oder ehemalige, aber dekapitalisierte Aufsteiger) ihren bisherigen Platz einnehmen. Die daraus abgeleitete Empfehlung des Autors besteht allerdings nicht in der einfachen Forderung, eine Förderung und daraus resultierende Abwanderung der Kleinunternehmen zu unterbinden, sondern nach Möglichkeiten einer Bindung der Förderung an das bisherige Terrain zu erwirken, oder aber die Zahlungsfähigkeit der bisherigen Kunden direkt oder indirekt (Arbeitsbeschaffung oder Baukostenzuschüsse) zu erhöhen.

Unabhängig von den interessanten wohnungspolitischen Anregungen ist die Arbeit auch vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt bemerkenswert, indem sie, ohne auszufern, die üblichen akademischen Kriterien einer Dissertation bestens erfüllt und gleichzeitig spannend zu lesen ist.

Kosta Mathéy

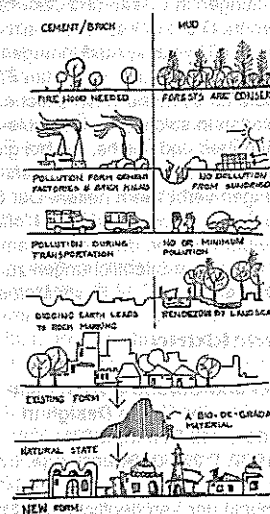
John Tait. *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Development. Capitalist Development and Urban Planning in Lusaka, Zambia*. 377 S. ISBN 1-85972-425-6. 1997. Avebury Publishing, Aldershot GU11 3HR, UK.

Die umfangreiche Publikation dokumentiert die Ergebnisse einer Forschungsarbeit (Dissertation?) des Autors in Zambia in den Jahren 1988-1995. Ursprünglich beabsichtigt war ein Vergleich zwischen Selbsthilfe und staatlichen Massenwohnungsbau unter Berücksichtigung von Fragen der Stadtplanung. In der Ausarbeitung ging der Autor jedoch sehr viel weiter: er vertieft sich in die langjährige Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau Theoriedebatte und führt diese weiter, arbeitet die Landesgeschichte Zambias (vor und nach der Unabhängigkeit) auf und führt zwei Feldstudien in den informellen Siedlungsgebieten Kalingalinga und Kanyama (jedoch nicht in einem Gebiet des Massenwohnungsbaus) durch. Vor der üppigen Fülle des interessanten Materials ist die eigentliche Forschungsfrage und deren Beantwortung schwer auszumachen. Doch diese Befreiung von der starren akademischen Norm sollte hier eher als Positivum gewertet werden, denn sowohl der theoretische Beitrag und die

gesammelten empirischen Daten stellen neue wissenschaftliche Informationen dar – genauso interessant wie die abschließende Einschätzung jüngster Trends in der Wohnungs- und Siedlungspolitik Sambias: (a) Abkehr von den investitiven Maßnahmen, d.h. staatlich geförderter Wohnungsneubau und hin zu 'weichen', bzw. legalen und administrativen Reformen; (b) unwirksame Bodenpolitik, die nur etwa 10% der Nachfrage nach legalen Grundstücken bedient; (c) defizitäre öffentliche Haushalte mit der Konsequenz einer Privatisierung von Dienstleistungen und Einrichtungen; (d) einer praktisch unmöglichen Kontrolle des informellen Sektors und einer schrittweisen Tolerierung und Integration desselben in den formellen Sektor.

Kosta Mathéy

EARTH ARCHITECTURE



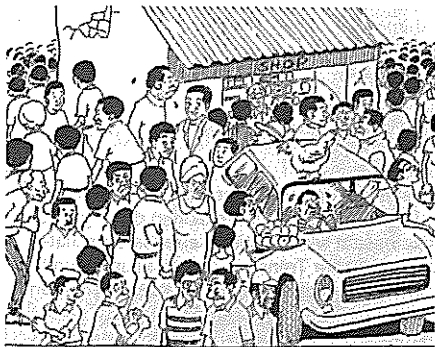
Puri / *Mass Scale Housing for hot Climate*

B.B. Puri. *Mass Scale Housing for Hot Climate*. 118 Seiten, ISBN 81-204-0797-0. 1993. US\$ 19.50. Oxford & IBH Publishing, 66 Janpath, New Delhi.

Das Buch verspricht eine Einführung in Fragen der Architektur und des Städtebaus und ist offensichtlich für die Studenten geschrieben, die der Autor unterrichtet. Die vier Abschnitte widmen sich dem Städtebau, dem Hochbau, der Außenraumgestaltung und einigen internationalen Referenzprojekten. Bei dem breiten Themenspektrum ist unvermeidlich, daß viele Aspekte nur in Form einer Stichwortliste abgehandelt werden können – vergleichbar mit einer Vorlesungsgliederung als Gedächtnisstütze für

Student/inn/en. Die dreißig Jahre Berufserfahrung erklären auch viele inzwischen als überholt einzuordnenden Empfehlungen des Werkes, wobei die angemessene Berücksichtigung sozialer und ökologischer Überlegungen positiv anzumerken ist. Gemessen an dem Durchschnitts-Standard des indischen Büchermarktes im Bereich der Architektur und Stadtplanung sicher eine bemerkenswerte Veröffentlichung.

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UNCHS / Human Settlements Interventions

UNCHS, Human Settlement Interventions Addressing Crowding and Health Issues. 132 Seiten, ISBN 92-1-131-288-4. 1995. UNCHS, Box 30030 Nairobi, Kenya.

Der Bericht widmet sich den Ergebnissen einer seit 1992 von der UNCHS durchgeführten Studie zum Thema 'Überbelegung und Gesundheit' und bezieht sich hier speziell auf Daten, die in zwei Siedlungen in Bissau und Jakarta gesammelt wurden. Die drei Kapitel enthalten eine Einführung zur Thematik, Ausführungen zur Bewertung des Problems in konkreten Fällen, und Beispiele für sinnvolle Interventionen – letzte unterschieden in solche, die Überbelegung an sich angehen und solche, die bei gleicher Belegungsdichte zumindest die hygienischen Bedingungen verbessern helfen. Der Stil der Publikation ist wie immer bei den UN 'offiziös' mit viel weißem Papier, doch das Thema ist wichtig und andere Veröffentlichungen zu dem Thema sind rar.

Kosta Mathéy

Stadtentwicklung

Michael Parfect and Gordon Power. Planning for Urban Quality. Urban Design in Towns and Cities. 242 Seiten, ISBN 0415159687, 1997, £ 22,50. Routledge, London.

Ausgangspunkt der Veröffentlichung ist das Bedauern der beiden Autoren über den städtebaulichen Wildwuchs in Großbritannien in der Epoche des Thatcher-Regimes. Ihre Vorstellung vom einem geeigneten Mittel, dem Dilemma abzuwehren, sind Gestaltungsrichtlinien. Hätten sie diese konsequent in dem vorliegenden Band weiter ausgeführt, wäre es eine hochinteressante Veröffentlichung geworden. Doch stattdessen halten sie sich im Wesentlichen bei den Rahmenbedingungen dafür auf: historische Qualitäten der Stadtgestaltung, das Wesen der englischen Planungs- und Genehmigungsmechanismus, Herausforderungen künftiger Stadtgestaltung mit einigen Fallbeispielen richtungsweisender Projekte (wie neue Straßenbahnlinien, Uferpromenaden etc.). Als Gesamtes gesehen bleibt die Gliederung der Themen unübersichtlich, auch wenn über die

Seiten verteilt viele interessante Gedanken auftauchen. Für den internationalen Buch-Markt nur beschränkt relevant.

Kosta Mathéy

Andrea Pampanini. Cities from the Desert. The Building of Jubail and Yanbu in Saudi Arabia. 210 S. ISBN 0-275-95594-X. 1997, £ 44,00. Praeger Publications, Westport, CT, USA (Bezug: Eurospan, London)

Die beiden ehemaligen Fischerhäfen Jubail (am Arabischen Golf) und Yanbu (am roten Meer) wurden in den letzten 20 als Industriezentren aus dem Boden gestampft und beherbergen heute jeweils um die 100.000 Einwohner. Das Buch dokumentiert und preist die Entstehungsgeschichte dieser Kunststädte, ohne allerdings genauer auf die Planungsprozesse und die daraus zu ziehenden Lehren einzugehen. Daher ist es für Stadtplaner nur von begrenztem Interesse.

Kosta Mathéy

Paul van Lindert, Otto Verkoren (eds.). Small Towns and Beyond. Rural Transformation and Small Urban Centres in Latin America.

Die Herausgeber nehmen die Beobachtung, daß über Metropolenentwicklung in Lateinamerika sehr viel, aber über kleinere Zentren so gut wie gar nichts veröffentlicht wird, zum Aufhänger für diesen Sammelband. Insbesondere ist es ihnen ein Anliegen nachzuprüfen, ob das den Klein- und Mittelzentren wiederholt zugeschriebene Potential, wie z.B. als Motorenfunktion für regionale Entwicklung, Auffangnetz für die Land-Stadt Migration, oder das eines dezentralen Servicezentrums wirklich zutrifft. Nach dem einführenden Kapitel der Herausgeber folgen acht Fallstudien zu Brasilien (Amazonasregion; Südwestbrasilien), Peru (Cusco), Ecuador, Mexico (D.C.) und Costa Rica, geschrieben von unterschiedlichen Autoren – alle jedoch Geographen an niederländischen, deutschen oder britischen Universitäten (mit Ausnahme einer Consulting-Firma). Obwohl die einzelnen Studien jeweils für sich sehr aufschlußreich sind, zeichnen sich übergreifende Entwicklungstrends kaum ab – und es bleibt die abschließende Feststellung, daß die untersuchten Zentren eben doch sehr heterogen sind. Wie man es bei dem Berufszeug der Autorenschaft zu erwarten, werden die Befunde durch ausgezeichnete Karten und einige Tabellen belegt – auf andere Illustrationen wurde großzügig verzichtet.

Kosta Mathéy

W.J.Kombe; V. Kreibich (eds.). Urban Land Management and the Transition to a Market Economy in Tanzania. Spring Research Series # 19. 95 Seiten, ISSN 0942-7554, 1997. SPRING, Dortmund.

W. Jackson Kombe. Formal and Informal Land Management in Tanzania. Spring Research Series 13. 251 Seiten, ISSN 0942-7554, 1994. SPRING, Dortmund.

Wubalem Fekade. Local Determinants of Development Sustainability. A Study of Rural Development Projects in Tanzania. SPRING Research Series 7. DM 23,-, 228 Seiten, 1994.

Alle drei Bände erhältlich vom Dortmunder Vertrieb für Bau- und Planungsliteratur, Gutenbergstraße 59, D-44139 Dortmund.

Bei dem ersten Band handelt es sich um 7 Vortragstexte eines 1996 in Tanzania durchgeführten Workshops im Kontext eines VW-Forschungsprojekts zum Thema der Bodenfrage im Übergangsprozeß von sozialistischer zu

kapitalistischer Eigentumsform. Sechs der Beiträge befassen sich mit dem Dilemma dieser Aufgabe in Tanzania, wo diese Transformation gegenwärtig im Gange ist. Dabei wird deutlich, daß die staatliche Administration z.Z. noch nicht in der Lage ist, eingebürgerte informelle Mechanismen des Bodenmarkts abzulösen. Übersehen wird allerdings, daß die informellen Praktiken auch unter dem früheren tanzanischen Verständnis von Sozialismus genauso wenig beabsichtigt waren – womit auf die Fragestellung des Übergangs Sozialismus-Kapitalismus eine schlüssige Antwort nicht erwartet werden kann.

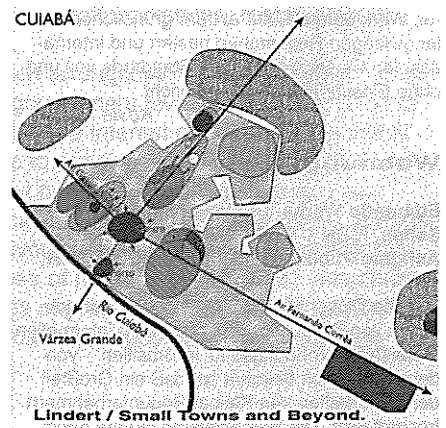
Der siebte und letzte Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem entsprechenden Prozeß in den neuen Bundesländern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland als Vergleichsobjekt. Dabei werden die (oft nur) theoretischen Vorteile der marktwirtschaftlichen Bodenverteilung den erlebten Nachteilen der Bodenbewirtschaftung in der Ex-DDR gegenübergestellt – wiederum kein ganz überzeugender Vergleich. Der ebenso problematische Vergleich der theoretischen Vorteile des Sozialismus mit den erlebten Ungerechtigkeiten des Kapitalismus (was ja Marx und Engels schon gemacht haben) hätte da zumindest ebenso glänzend abgeschnitten.

Die Monographie von Jackson Kombe – Dekan der Architektur fakultät an der Uni von Dar-es-Salaam – entstand als Dissertation in Dortmund und beschäftigt sich mit dem gleichen Thema wie die zuerstgenannte Publikation. Die These unzulänglicher staatlicher Regulierung gegenüber der Dominanz informeller oder traditioneller Praktiken wird an drei Fallstudien nachgewiesen, woraus sich dann Empfehlungen für die Gestaltung einer künftigen Bodenpolitik ableiten. Empfohlen wird eine Dezentralisierung der Verwaltung und Fortbildungsmaßnahmen auf der Nachbarschaftsebene.

Die Dissertation von W. Fekade beschäftigt sich auch mit Tanzania, thematisiert jedoch die Wirksamkeit von Entwicklungshilfeprojekten in Hinblick auf eine nachhaltige Entwicklung. Die Untersuchung von drei Fallstudien bestärken die These, daß eine massive ausländische Hilfe die langfristige Mobilisierung lokaler Ressourcen eher bremst statt sie zu stimulieren. Besser wäre u.a. eine horizontale Vernetzung von Basis-Organisationen.

Zusammengenommen bieten die drei Bücher aufschlußreiches Material zu Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung in Tanzania, das in erster Linie für die nationale Politikentwicklung relevant, aber darüber hinaus auch für ausländische Wissenschaftler interessant ist.

Kosta Mathéy



Lindert / Small Towns and Beyond.

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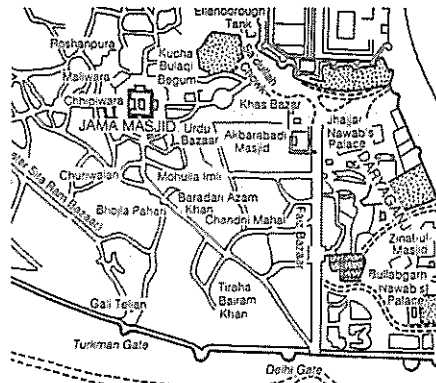
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Mehra/
The Politics of Urban Redevelopment

der Kolonialzeit bis heute einen kontraproduktiven Effekt hatten, und die Entwicklung des Stadtteils eher behinderten als förderten. Der Autor leitet daraus die Forderung nach einem starken politischen Arm ab und schlägt als Lösung eine Intervention der Zentralregierung zur Sanierung der Altstadt ab.

Kosta Mathéy

Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen. Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung 1997. 347 Seiten, ISBN 3-7983-1764-X, 1997, DM 37,-. Technische Universität (Abt. Publikationen), 10632 Berlin.

In siebten Jahr erscheint nun dieses nützliche Jahrbuch mit Beiträgen zur Stadtentwicklung in Deutschland und dem Rest der Welt. Sieben verschiedene Schwerpunkte versuchen, den roten Faden zwischen der inhaltlichen Vielfalt der Beiträge herzustellen: Theorie und Geschichte; Konversion von Gewerbebrachen; Ausland; Lehre und Forschung; Studienarbeiten, Tagungsberichte; Rezensionen. Sympathisch dabei ist, daß unter 'Stadterneuerung im Ausland' die konventionelle, aber zunehmend fragwürdig erscheinende Trennung zwischen Industrie- und Entwicklungsländern aufgegeben wird: denn jede Stadt ist ein Fall für sich, während bestimmte Phänomene doch gleichzeitig in Nord wie Süd auftreten. So folgen Berichte über Spanien (jüngere Planungsstendenzen), Österreich (sanfte Stadterneuerung), Südafrika (Kapstadt), Brasilien (Stadtplanung in Rio) und die USA (NY City Housing Partnership) einträchtig hintereinander – wenn auch nicht immer in der gleichen Professionalität verfaßt. So fällt zum Beispiel bei mehreren Beiträgen auf, daß der hinlänglich bekannten Analyse der Vorgeschichte und der Rahmenbedingungen relativ viel Raum geopfert ist, welcher dann der Beschreibung der neuen und spezifischen Erfahrung des konkreten Falls abgeht. Auch der Satz der Publikation hat seine vertraute Unleserlichkeit beibehalten mit Ausnahme der fetten, überdimensionalen Seitenzahlen – schade, denn die Müdigkeit des Auges hält so leicht davon ab, wirklich interessante Informationen aufzunehmen.

Kosta Mathéy

Dittmar Machule, Olaf Mischer, Arnols Sywottek (Hg.). Macht Stadt krank? Vom Umgang mit Gesundheit und Krankheit. 318 Seiten, ISBN 3-930802-17-1. 1996, DM 34,-. Dölling und Galitz Verlag, Hamburg.

Hinter diesem geschickt gewählten Titel verbirgt sich eine Sammlung von 21 Vortrags-texten, die ihren Ursprung in einer Veranstaltungsreihe an der TU Hamburg Harburg haben. Daher bezieht sich ein Teil der Beiträge auch

direkt auf Hamburg, doch da diese Stadt in der deutschen Stadthygiene (insbesondere nach der Cholera-Epidemie von 1892) eine Vorreiter-Rolle einnimmt, ist die geographische Schwerpunkt-Setzung eher positiv anzumerken. Auch die Hinzunahme vieler Randdisziplinen des Städtebaus ist zu loben, da sie für Planer am Wahrscheinlichsten wirklich neue Informationen vermitteln können. So erfahren wir interessante Details in der Entwicklung des Bestattungswesens, über die gesundheitlichen Auswirkungen des motorisierten Straßenverkehrs im Vergleich zwischen Stadt und Land, oder über die Geschichte der Lärmbekämpfung in deutschen Städten und vieles mehr. Trotz einiger belangloser Beiträge bietet die Publikation insgesamt eine außerordentlich spannende und teils auch amüsante Lektüre – nur bei den Abbildungen hätten die Herausgeber weniger vorgehen können.

Kosta Mathéy

Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz; Michael Toyka-Seid. Bibliographie Stadtforschung und Stadtgeschichte zu Südostasien 1973-1996. 87 Seiten, ISBN 3-8167-4697-7. 1998. IRB Verlag, Stuttgart.

Diese Bibliographie entstand im Zusammenhang mit dem an der TH Darmstadt durchgeführten Forschungsprojekt zu historischen Altstädten in Südostasien und umfaßt rund 1000 neuere Titel, die größtenteils in deutschen Bibliotheken verfügbar sind. Allerdings sollte hervorgehoben werden, daß die erfaßte Literatur auch angrenzende Themen wie Metropolenforschung, Stadtmanagement, Dezentralisierung, Wohnungswesen, Architektur, Tourismuswesen usw. einschließt – weswegen die Sammlung interessant ist für alle Forscher/innen, die sich mit Stadtentwicklung in der behandelten Region beschäftigen (wollen). Die Titel sind länderweise angeordnet, außerdem sind jeweils die Bibliotheksorte angegeben, wo das jeweilige Dokument zu finden ist – beides erleichtert eine weiterführende Recherche ungemein. Leider gibt es außer dem Seitenumfang keinerlei Hinweise über die qualitative und quantitative Erschöpfung des Themas, das man unter der jeweiligen Überschrift erwartet – ein Manko fast aller Bibliographien: doch man sollte dankbar sein über die umfangreiche Information, die hier vorhanden ist und einer Reihe von Wissenschaftlern viel Arbeit ersparen kann.

Kosta Mathéy

Gerlach, P. / ApolinarSKI, I.; Identitätsbildung und Stadtentwicklung, Analysen, Befunde, planungstheoretische Ansätze für eine aktivierende Stadterneuerung - dargestellt am Beispiel Berlin-Friedrichshain; Peter Lang Verlag; Frankfurt et al. 1997 (ISBN 3 631 31747 6); 291 S., 89,- DM

Der Ausgangspunkt für die Veröffentlichung ist ein stadtplanerisches Gutachten für einen Teil des Berliner Stadtbezirks Friedrichshain. Die ersten Kapitel des Buches präsentieren daraus in Kurzfassung die baulich-physischen Gegebenheiten, die sozialen Charakteristika und einige repräsentative sozio-kulturelle Institutionen als vermutete Identifikationskerne. Der Befund bei den letzteren, z.B. Zimmertheater, Seniorenfreizeiteinrichtung, usw. bleibt jedoch unklar: Weder beschränken diese Institutionen ihre Ausstrahlung auf den Stadtteil noch scheinen sich die Bewohner insgesamt mit ihnen zu identifizieren; nicht einmal eine Liste von Identität stiftenden oder Orientierung setzenden Landmarken scheint konsensfähig.

Die Autoren isolieren einige Orientierungsmarken, konfrontieren ein Sample von Bewohnern damit und leiten aus den Befragungsergebnissen sieben Klassen von Grundeinstellungen zum Stadtteil ab: vom „Lokalisten“ bis zum „Ortsfremden“. Solche Befunde verleiten zu Fragen wie, ob derartige Einstellungen gesamtgesellschaftlich (Massen- und Konsumorientierung) induziert sind, ob Klassenauf- oder -abstieg stattfindet, ob „Lokalisten“ bei städtebaulichen Problemen spontan entstehen oder gemacht werden können. Die Autoren regen mit solch neuartigem Vorgehen zu spannenden Fragen an. Auf Antwortversuche oder konkrete Hinweise, wie Bürgerbeteiligung für Stadterneuerung aussehen und was sie bewirken könnte, wartet der Leser jedoch vergebens.

Jürgen Oestereich

Gesellschaft und Politik

Ted Bernard; Jora Young. The Ecology of Hope. Communities Collaborate for Sustainability. 234 S. ISBN 0-865761-355-3, 1997, US\$ 20,- incl. postage. New Society Publishers, P.O.Box 189, Gabriola Island VOR 1X0, Canada.

Die Autoren erzählen die Geschichte von 10 kleinen, aber erfolgreichen US-amerikanischen Bürgerinitiativen mit sozialen und ökologischen Zielen. Im Resümee geben sie 2 Auflistungen von wichtigen Voraussetzungen für den Erfolg solcher Bemühungen, darunter z.B. profundes ökologisches Verständnis, Überzeugung, Lernbereitschaft, Respekt gegenüber allen Beteiligten, langfristig angelegte Finanzierung, Begrenzung der geplanten Tätigkeiten. Eine Repräsentanz der gewählten Beispiele ist nicht beabsichtigt: im Gegenteil, die Einzelerfahrungen sollen Mut geben, neue lokale Initiativen zu starten. Aber eine Anleitung können die schwammigen Richtlinien, so stellen auch die Autoren fest, keineswegs darstellen. Was bleibt, sind nette Stories für lange Nächte am Kamin.

Kosta Mathéy



Burchardt / Kuba – der lange Abschied ...

Hans-Jürgen Burchardt. Kuba – der lange Abschied von einem Mythos. 264 Seiten, ISBN 3-89657-600-3, 1996. Schmetterling Verlag, Stuttgart.

Knut Henkel. Kuba zwischen Plan und Markt. Die Transformation der 'dualen Wirtschaft' seit 1985. 219 S., 1996. ISBN 3-8258-2629-5. Lit Verlag Hamburg.

Beide Arbeiten – etwa gleichzeitig entstanden – beschäftigen sich mit derselben Thematik, nämlich dem sozialen, politischen, politischen Transformationsprozeß in Kuba nach Zusammenbruch des sozialistischen Wirtschaftsblocks in Europa Anfang der 90er Jahre. Selbstverständlich ist dafür ein historischer Abriss der nachrevolutionären Politik unvermeidbar, der in den Büchern jeweils beachtlichen

Raum einnimmt und faktisch wenig Neues bringt, aber die verfügbaren Daten zumindest gut aufbereitet. Auch schlaue Ratschläge zu anstehenden Maßnahmen können sich beide Autoren nicht verkneifen – bei den vielen sichtbaren Mißständen auf der Insel eine natürliche Reaktion. Interessant und gegenüber anderen Publikationen neu und objektiv dargestellt sind dagegen die konkreten Informationen zur Politik in den vergangenen 6 oder 7 Jahren – garniert mit wehmütig linkem Bedauern über die unausweichlich erscheinende Erosion bisheriger sozialer Errungenschaften der cubanischen Revolution.

Was die beiden Publikationen unterscheidet, ist der eher akademische Aufbau der Arbeit von Henkel, mit umfangreichen Fußnoten aber ohne Illustrationen einerseits, und die anschaulichere Aufbereitung des Materials bei Burchardt mit Schaubildern und Fotos – aufgefädelt an sechs Thesen des 'Abschieds' von sozialistischen Prinzipien in Cuba. Es empfiehlt sich eines oder beide Bücher schnell zu lesen, bevor die notorisch-rasanten Reformen Cubas in der einen oder anderen Richtung die Publikationen zu stark veralten lassen.

Kosta Mathéy

Wolfgang Stark. Empowerment. 215 Seiten. ISBN 3-7841-0850-4. 1996. Lambertus Verlag, Freiburg.

In dieser Habilitation (?) führt der Autor, Gründer des Münchener Selbsthilfeszentrums, die Selbsthilfediskussion der siebziger und achtziger Jahre im Kontext des sozialen Zusammenlebens im heutigen gesellschaftlichen und wissenschaftlichen Kontext weiter. Dabei werden die Stationen Partizipation, Neue Soziale Bewegungen, Selbstorganisation, soziale Utopien usw. passiert, bis er schließlich am Begriff des Empowerment anhält und diesen vertieft.

Zunächst entfaltet der Autor die ideengeschichtlichen Hintergründe für die Entwicklung einer Empowermentperspektive und nimmt mit Hilfe wissenschaftlicher Diskurse der letzten Jahre eine Grundlegung des Empowerment vor. Sodann beschreibt er Dynamik und den Entwicklungsverlauf sowie die persönlichen, organisatorischen und strukturellen Voraussetzungen von Empowermentprozessen im Alltag und in der professionellen Unterstützungsarbeit. Und schließlich stellt er die Konsequenzen des Konzepts für die Praxis dar. Praktische Aspekte – wie Fragebögen, Anleitungen zu Zukunftswerkstätten oder Team-Coaching – finden wir dabei genauso wieder wie konzeptionelle Betrachtungen.

Angenehm ist, daß sich der Autor über weite Strecken von dem trockenen Stil typischer Wissenschaftsarbeiten löst, Betroffenheit manifestiert, und konkrete Lebenssituation einblendet. Obwohl nicht für Planer und Architekten geschrieben, sind, verglichen mit ihrem Arbeitsfeld, konzeptionelle Parallellösungen in psychologischen und sozialen Kontexten nicht zu übersehen.

Kosta Mathéy

Murray Bookchin; Die Agonie der Stadt, Aufstieg und Niedergang des freien Bürgers; Trotzdem Verlag, Greifenuau 1997 (ISBN 3 922209 67-X); 336 S.; 36,- DM

Ein geprüfter Essay mit einem im Deutschen besonders mißglückten Titel (nachdem schon der Originaltitel, „Urbanization without Cities: The rise and decline of citizenship“, nicht besonders zutreffend war). Es handelt sich

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nicht um den Todeskampf der Institution „Stadt“, sondern um ein in die Geschichte dieser Institution verpacktes Plädoyer für die direkte Demokratie als ein allen anderen Alternativen vorzuziehendes Prinzip. Bookchin diskutiert zunächst das Gegensatzpaar Athen (allgemeine Volksherrschaft) und Rom (repräsentative Republik) und bündelt schlüssig, was die jüngste Wissenschaft endlich im Detail belegen kann. Im europäischen Mittelalter heißen Bookchins Antagonisten die basisdemokratischen Comuneros in Spanien (über die insgesamt wenig bekannt ist) und die Patrizierherrschaften der Stadtrepubliken (deren politischen Konzepte breit erforscht sind). In der Neuzeit stellt Bookchin die klassisch-kommunale Selbstregierung etwa im USA-Staat Vermont dem Mainstream der repräsentativen Demokratie gegenüber. Allerdings sucht er hier weder Anschluß an teilweise Gleichgesinnte wie Benjamin Barber (von Peter Bickle u.a. im deutschen Sprachraum ganz zu schweigen), noch setzt er sich mit nicht unkritischen Mainstream-Forschern wie Robert Daland, G.A. Alford u.a. auseinander.

Weitgehend die gleichen geschichtlichen Konstellationen behandelt Richard Sennetts in seinem Buch „Fleisch und Stein“. Der Gegensatz könnte kaum größer sein: Bei Sennett die in die Vereinzelung führende Introperspektive, bei Bookchin die Perspektive heraus, in die Zukunft: „Eine politische Welt ohne Staat, an dessen Stelle ein föderalistisches Netz kommunaler Versammlungen getreten ist; die Wirtschaft nicht mehr von Konzernen beherrscht, sondern ... in der die Kommunen in ökonomischer Interaktion miteinander stehen... Am Ende wird eine menschliche Ökogemeinschaft stehen, gewillt, sich nicht nur geistig und psychologisch, sondern auch in Architektur, Technik und innerer Struktur in die natürlichen Ökogemeinschaften einzufügen, die unseren Planeten bedecken.“ Letztlich - dies ist die Botschaft Murray Bookchins - ist Demokratie immer gemacht worden. Sie muss nur gewollt werden - und zwar als direkte, den Einzelnen fordernde und befriedigende. Diese Botschaft hat er in vielen anderen Essays variiert und konkretisiert. Da diese höchst lesenswert sind, aber oft übersehen werden, seien hier einige deutsche Ausgaben erwähnt: „Die Neugestaltung der Gesellschaft“, Trotzdem-Verlag 1992, „Hierarchie und Herrschaft, Kramer Verlag, Stuttgart 1981, „Die Grenzen der Stadt“, Jakobsohn Verlag, Berlin 1974.

Jürgen Oestereich

Ökologie

Margrit und Declan Kennedy (Hrsg.). **Handbuch ökologischer Siedlungs(um)bau.** 238 Seiten, ISBN 3-496-02638-3. DM 68,-. 1998. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin.

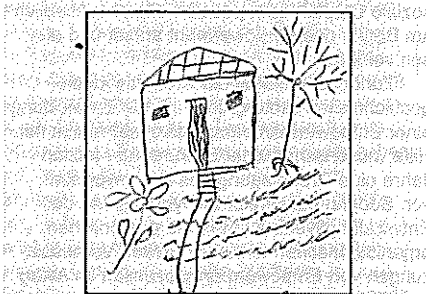
Grundlage des Buches ist ein von der Europäischen Akademie für städtische Umwelt in Berlin in Auftrag gegebenes Forschungsprojekt über neue ökologische Siedlungsprojekte. Aus einer Vorauswahl von 70 Referenzprojekten in Europa wurden 12 Beispiele für eine detaillierte Analyse herausgefiltert, und zwar sieben Neubau- und fünf Erneuerungsprojekte. Ein wichtiges Auswahlkriterium war dabei eine gewisse Mindestgröße des Projektes, wobei typische von den Bewohnern selbst initiierten Beispiele kaum berücksichtigt werden konnten. Dennoch steht die Ebene der Hausgruppe im Vordergrund: der Ausgangspunkt bleibt das Einzelhaus, und nicht die Stadt bzw. Ortschaft.

In dem Band werden zunächst diese aus-

gewählten Projekte auf jeweils zwei Seiten vorgestellt. Die folgenden Kapitel (geschrieben von unterschiedlichen Autoren) sind dann bestimmten Einzelaspekten gewidmet, die sich weitgehend mit den auch in anderen stadtökologischen Publikationen wiederkehrenden Sektor-Betrachtungen decken: Freiräume, Wasser, Energie, gebaute Umwelt (letzterer Aspekt aufgesplittet in Baukonstruktion, gesundes Bauen, ästhetische Qualitäten, Kostenberechnung). Nicht eigens hervorgehoben werden die Aspekte Verkehr und Müll, weil sie eben kaum auf der Ebene einer Hausgruppe lösbar sind. Jedes Kapitel faßt nutzerfreundlich die wichtigsten Punkte am Ende noch einmal zusammen und nennt umfangreich weiterführende Literatur.

Eine herausragende Qualität der Studie sind Daten und Erfahrungen, die auf konkreten Erfahrungen beruhen, statt - wie an so vielen anderen Stellen - akademische Wolkenschöser oder Zitatsammlungen aus der Sekundärliteratur anzuhäufen. Überraschend wirkt eine gewisse Schwerlastigkeit in Richtung Baubiologie, die eher der Haus- statt der Siedlungsebene zugeordnet werden könnte. Am wenigsten überzeugt das Kapitel über ästhetische Qualitäten - eine zweifellos wichtige Überlegung, aber in den herangezogenen Beispielen nicht überzeugend gelöst. Von einem 'Handbuch' zu sprechen, ist sicherlich eine Irreführung: dafür sind zuwenig grundsätzliche Informationen enthalten, und die Datengrundlage von 12 Projekten ist kaum repräsentativ (von dem unhandlichen A-4 Format einmal ganz abgesehen). Dennoch verdient die Publikation wegen der aktuellen Erfahrungen und der objektiven Berichterstattung eine uneingeschränkte Empfehlung.

Kosta Mathéy



Hartoch / Gärten in brasilianischen Ballungsräumen

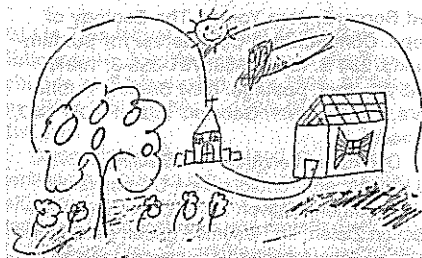
Evelyn Hartoch. **Gärten in brasilianischen Ballungsräumen.** 308 Seiten, ISBN 3-88559-065-4, 1996. Institut für Brasilienkunde, Suderstraße 15, 49497 Mettingen.

Die Veröffentlichung basiert auf einer Dissertation an der GHK, Fachbereich Stadt- und Landschaftsplanung. Die Autorin vertritt überzeugt ein Forschungsverständnis, das sich auf persönliche Betroffenheit über die in Brasilien vorgefundenen sozialen Probleme stützt, und Selbstbestimmung, Genderbalance, ökologische Entwicklung als Entwicklungsziele voraussetzt. Die Forschungshypothese besagt, daß selbstbewirtschaftete Nutzgärten für die Bewohner/innen von benachteiligten Wohngebieten in Brasilien (außer dem offensichtlichen Vorteil der direkten Nahrungsmittelquelle) in erster Linie sozial und psychologisch eine ganz wichtige und stabilisierende Rolle einnehmen, und deshalb in der Form von Freiflächen-Nutzungsplänen und ähnlichen Planungsinstrumenten der Siedlungsplanung Berücksichtigung finden sollten. Dazu werden eine Reihe von Forschungsfragen formuliert und teils mittels teil-

nehmender Beobachtung und Interviews, teils im Rahmen der Betreuung eines gartenbaulichen Pilotprojektes in Sao Paulo überprüft.

Ein Ergebnis der Forschung im klassischen Sinne wird - glücklicherweise - nicht präsentiert, denn bei dem partizipatorisch angelegten Vorgehen sind die Resultate ohnehin weder vorhersehbar noch wiederholbar. Wichtig sind die Lernprozesse der Autorin und der beteiligten Familien, welche eben keine neutralen Untersuchungsobjekte darstellen. Für die akademische Leserschaft ist insbesondere wichtig, zu zeigen, daß Doktorarbeiten auch anders und lebendiger als im Standardformat geschrieben werden können. Vor diesem Hintergrund tritt die nur eingeschränkt befriedigte Erwartung des Rezensenten, etwas zum Thema der städtischen Landwirtschaft hinzuleren zu können, zurück.

Kosta Mathéy



Hartoch / Gärten in brasilianischen Ballungsräumen

Detlev Ullrich (Hg.): **Stadt - Industrie - Umwelt. Städtisch-industrieller Umweltschutz in der Technischen Zusammenarbeit.** Schriftenreihe der GTZ Nr. 262, 303 S. ISBN 3-88085-519-6, 1998. DM 28,-. Universum Verlagsanstalt, Langenbeckstr. 9, 65189 Wiesbaden.

Unter dem Namen der 'brown agenda' ist der industrielle Umweltschutz im Gegensatz zum naturbezogenen Umweltschutz ('green agenda') inzwischen als wichtiges Thema in der internationalen Zusammenarbeit zwischen Nord und Süd eingeführt. Der hier vorliegende Sammelband umfaßt 22 Autorenbeiträge einer 1992 gestarteten Fachgesprächsreihe der Umweltabteilung in der GTZ. In zwei einführenden Aufsätzen wird zunächst der Versuch einer entwicklungspolitischen Einordnung des Themas unternommen. Daran schließen sich fünf Kapitel (mit jeweils vier Beiträgen) an, deren Gliederung die Struktur des handlungsfeldes wieder spiegeln soll: Städtisches Umweltmanagement, betrieblicher Umweltschutz, Wasserwirtschaft um Umwelthygiene, Abfallwirtschaft, Luftreinhaltung.

Kosta Mathéy

Wolfgang Geiger, Herbert Dreiseitl. **Neue Wege für das Regenwasser. Handbuch zum Rückhalt und zur Versickerung von Regenwasser in Baugebieten.** 293 Seiten, ISBN 3-486-26259-9, 1995. Oldenbourg Verlag, München.

Klaus König. **Regenwasser in der Architektur.** 236 Seiten, ISBN 3-922964-60-5. 1996, DM 56,-. Ökobuch Verlag Staufen.

Zwei empfehlenswerte Publikationen mit sehr ähnlichem Inhalt und sogar identischen Abbildungen - was einen Vergleich eher erschwert als erleichtert. Das etwas ältere Werk 'Neue Wege' wurde von der IBA Emscherpark und der Emschergenossenschaft in Auftrag gegeben, und richtet sich offensichtlich gezielt an ausführende Ingenieure. Darauf lassen die

vielen technischen Diagramme und Formeln schließen, die gleichzeitig die Seriosität der gemachten Vorschläge belegen. Kein Beamter wird dem das Argument der ökologischen Spinerei entgegenhalten können. Die Kapitel des Buches sind in der Reihenfolge des Funktionsflusses des Regenwasser-Managements angeordnet, und viele der Abbildungen vermitteln interessante Gestaltungsanregungen.

Der Band von Klaus König richtet sich an ein breiteres Publikum, und holt inhaltlich auch weiter aus: von der Entstehung des Niederstrichs bis hin zur Dachbegrünung oder den historischen Zysternenanlagen des römischen Reiches. Obwohl wie in dem anderen Buch viele konkrete Referenzprojekte vorgestellt werden, leitet hier der Autor allgemeine Kenngrößen ab, die als Ausgangsdaten (inclusive der Preisangaben) eher universell einsetzbar sind. Auch hier finden wir viele technische Detailzeichnungen, aber insgesamt scheint die Darstellung für Nicht- und Randexperten besser verständlich und auch ansprechender gelungen zu sein. Eine klare Bevorzugung eines Bandes gegenüber dem anderen scheint aber nicht angezeigt.

Kosta Mathéy

Biermann, F. / Büttner, S. / Helm, C., eds. Zukunftsfähige Entwicklung: Herausforderungen an Wissenschaft und Politik. Festschrift für Udo E. Simonis zum 60. Geburtstag; Edition Sigma, Berlin 1997 (ISBN 3 89404 174 9), 330 S.; 44,- DM

Der Band behandelt jene Themenfelder, auf denen der Laureat als Professor für Umweltpolitik am Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin eine reiche Produktivität und ein festes Netz intensiv-persönlicher Freundschaften entfaltet hat. So lauten denn die Überschriften der Abteilungen mit jeweils drei bis sechs deutschen oder englischen Aufsätzen: „Ökonomie und Ökologie“, „Zukunftsfähigkeit“ (die Herausgeber schreiben die Wortfindung dem Laureaten zu. Der Rezensent kann sich aber noch erinnern, wie er bei der Vorbereitung einer Podiumsdiskussion auf der TRIALOG-Konferenz „Zukunftsfähiges Wohnen auf der verstädterten Erde“ im Jahr 1990 Begriffe wie „zukunftsfähig“, „zukunftssichernd“, „zukunftsfähig“ gegen „nachhaltig“ abwog), sodann „Weltumweltpolitik“, „Zukunftsfähigkeit in der politischen Praxis“ und „Industrieller Metabolismus“.

Unter „Ökonomie und Ökologie“ beispielsweise vergleicht Paul Streeten (Universität Oxford) eine breitere mit einer mehr in die Tiefe gerichteten akademischen Ausbildung, zwar am Beispiel der Volkswirtschaft, aber durchaus übertragbar. Bernd Siebenhüner (WZB) läßt das Imago des homo oeconomicus mit anderen Imagines überlagern und kommt so zum Phantombild des homo oecologicus. Liisa Uusitalo (Universität Helsinki) skizziert den theoretischen Rahmen einer „Consumers' Cooperation for the Environment“ als Voraussetzung für politische Eingriffe einer neuen Qualität. Hans Christoph Binswanger (St. Gallen) geht in seinem Beitrag „Zukunftsfähiges Wirtschaften und ökologische Steuerreform“ bemerkenswert weit über sein Thema hinaus, indem er die Grundlagen für nachhaltige Ressourcennutzung generell und speziell für Energie erörtert, wobei er ganz beiläufig die eine oder andere Aussage vom Jahrbuch Ökologie (ausgerechnet!) relativiert.

Bei den übrigen Aufsätzen wäre vor allem hinzuweisen auf die von Elisabeth Brown-Weiss (Georgetown University) „Treating future generations fairly“ - was bedeutet aus juristischer

Sicht ein Generationenvertrag, der ja keine wirklichen Vertragspartner kennt -, Barbara von Mettler-Maibohm/Olaf Kaltenborn (Universität Essen) über „Lebensstilforschung“, Stefan Paulus (GTZ) über ökologisch ausgerichtete Entwicklungszusammenarbeit „Zwischen Weltumweltpolitik und Projekttilis“, Eckart Hahn (Öko-Stadt-Gesellschaft Berlin) über ein stadtoökologisches Musterprojekt in Leipzig und Engelbert Schramm (Institut für sozial-ökologische Forschung) über kommunales Wassermanagement. Ein Buch, das als Referenz für den state of the arts auf den angesprochenen Feldern dienen kann; eine würdige Reverenz an den Gefeierten.

Jürgen Oestereich

Technologie und Infrastruktur

Drangert, J.-O., Bew, J., Winblad, U. (ed.): Ecological Alternatives in Sanitation: Proceedings from SIDA Sanitation Workshop Balngsholm, Sweden, 6-9 August 1997, Publications on Water Resources No. 9, Department for Natural Resources and the Environment, SIDA, 90 S. (Bezug: SIDA, Department for Natural Resources and the Environment, S-10525 Stockholm, Sweden).

Dieser Konferenzbericht gibt einige wichtige, allgemeine Aspekte der ökologischen Abwasserbehandlung - weltweit und in Schweden. Diverse Fallstudien von Mexico, El Salvador, Pacific Islands, Japan, China, Bolivien, Namibia, Vietnam, Indien, Südafrika zeigen erste Erfahrungen mit der Trennung von Exkret und Urin, der Kompostbildung, und ‚night solid collection‘, und behandeln organisatorische und Managementaspekte. Der Bericht zeigt, dass es substantielle Erfahrungen der ökologischen Abwasserbehandlung gibt (einige davon uralte Methoden), aber wenig davon in der allgemeinen Praxis Eingang gefunden haben.

Florian Steinberg

Ricardo Montezuma (ed.). El Transporte Urbano: un Desafío para el próximo Milenio. 205 s., 1996. Cento Editorial Javeriano, cra 7a, no: 40 -62 Of.208. Bogotá.

Eine Sammlung von Konferenzbeiträgen eines Seminars zu städt. Transportsystemen. Auf eine allgemein gehaltene Einleitung folgen Fallstudien über Paris, Barcelona im Zeitraum der olympischen Spiele, und über Bogotá. Die präsentierten Untersuchungen sind statistisch gut belegt, aber eher in die Vergangenheit gerichtet. Gerade im Fall Bogotás mit der Übermacht der Mafia von Privattransporteuren läge das Interesse hauptsächlich in neuen Strategien für einen Ausweg aus der Misere, aber die ist vermutlich noch gar nicht in Sicht.

Kosta Mathéy

Björn Carlqvist. Maintenance of Institutional Buildings. Building Issues 9 (1), 1997. 22 S. John Norton. Woodless Construction: Unstabilized Earth Brick Vault and Dome Construction without Formwork. 1998, 26 S. Beide Hefte erhältlich von LCHS, Box 118, S-22100 Lund.

Eine Publikation, die eigens dem Thema der Gebäudeunterhaltung gewidmet ist, kann in vielen Ländern des Südens mit Sicherheit als wichtiger Impuls der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gewertet und empfohlen werden. Dieses Heft zeichnet sich zudem durch seinen klaren Aufbau, nützliche Planungshilfen und eine Fallstudie aus Kenia aus, die zeigt, wie man die Vorschläge konkret in die Praxis umsetzen

kann (mit Musterformularen).

John Nortons Heft über Lehm-bau zeichnet sich durch die gleiche Anschaulichkeit früherer Publikationen des Autors zum gleichen Thema aus, geht aber wegen des dünneren Umfangs weniger in die Tiefe. Es ist aber sicher eine gute Einführung für Bauherren und Auftraggeber, die noch nie etwas über Lehm-bau gehört haben.

Kosta Mathéy

Muller, M.S. (ed.): The Collection of Household Excreta: The Operation of Services in Urban Low-Income Neighbourhoods, Urban Waste Series 6, Gouda 1997, 73 S. (Bezug: Waste, Nieuwehaven 201, 2801 CW Gouda, Niederlande).

Diese kleine Publikation der Waste Consultants bietet einleitend eine kurze Literaturübersicht. Dem folgt ein kurzer Artikel zu der von WASTE entwickelten MAPET Technologie der kostengünstigen Entleerung von Latrinen in Niedrigkostenwohngebieten Dar-Es-Salaams. Der Beitrag eines indischen Kollegen von Sulbh International gibt eine kurze Darstellung des ‚Scavengers‘ Problems (d.h. der kastenlosen Toilettenarbeiter), ohne jedoch vertiefend auf die von Sulbh angebotenen Programme einzugehen. Die weiteren Beispiele aus Accra/Ghana und Yichang/China sind illustrativ für die im öffentlichen Sektor Systeme der ‚night soil‘ Beseitigung; hier steht die Privatisierung oder Schaffung von Kooperativen noch bevor. Das Büchlein schließt mit einer finanziellen Analyse der Manual Pit Emptying Technology and Services (MAPET) und einer Thematisierung der Exkretabeseitigung als prominentes Urban Waste Management Thema der Zukunft.

Florian Steinberg

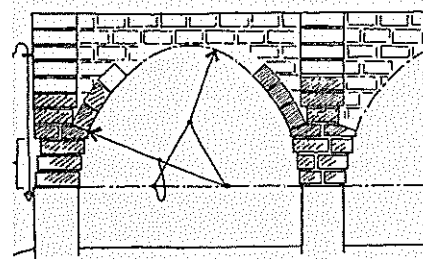
Nachschlagewerke

Dieter Nohlen (ed.). Lexikon Dritte Welt. 873 S. ISBN 3-499-16527-9. Paperback DM 30,-. 1998. Rohwolt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbeck.

Konzipiert als Nachschlagewerk und Lexikon erschien eine ältere Version dieses Buches schon 1993, wurde aber für die Neuauflage komplett überarbeitet. Enthalten sind sowohl Länderanalysen wie organisationskundliche wie begrifflich-systematische Stichwörter.

Verglichen beispielsweise mit dem ‚World Guide‘ (siehe Rezension TRIALOG 56:59) ist diese Ausgabe pseudounvoreingenommen (entgegen der bewußt südlichen Sichtweise in der anderen Publikation) und vor allem weniger anschaulich, da die vielen Bilder, Karten und Schaubilder fehlen. Dafür finden wir Aufklärung über die deutschen und europäischen Institutionen, Abkürzungen und Interpretationen, mit denen wir es im täglichen Leben ja viel zu tun haben.

Kosta Mathéy



Carlqvist / Maintenance of Institutional Buildings

Veranstaltungen / Forthcoming Events

Oct. 5 - 9, 1998 in Witzenhausen, Germany
Projektmanagement in der EZ - Grundlagen u. Tendenzen. Organisation: Intern. Bildungszentrum Witzenhausen. Info: <http://www.wiz.uni-kassel.de/abw/ditsl/inhalt.html> Seminargebühren: 1.000 DM, erm. 650 DM. Info: DITSL, Postfach 1652, 37206 Witzenhausen, Germany. ☎ (*49 5542) 607-0, Fax: (*49 5542) 607-39, e-mail: ebaum@wiz.uni-kassel.de

Oct. 6 - 8, 1998 in Geneva, Switzerland
WORLD AID '98 - Global Expo & Conference on Aid in Action. Organized by the International Council on Voluntary Agencies and the Orgexpo Foundation. Contact: WorldAid'98, PO Box 112, CH-1218 Grand Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland, ☎ (*41 22) 761 1111, Fax: 789 0100, e-mail: info@world.org website: <http://www.worldaid.org>

October 19 - 31, 1998 in La Habana, Cuba
Curso-taller internacional: Salvaguardia integral y desarrollo de ciudades históricas. Organizado por: Centro Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museología (CENCREM). Costos: incl. pasaje aéreo, alojamiento y matrícula: entre 1.600 y 2.200 US\$. Contacto: Lic. Mirta Llanes Godoy, Jefe Departamento Docente-Metodológico CENCREM, Calle Cuba No. 610, entre Sol y Luz, La Habana Vieja 10100. ☎ (*53 7) 61-3775,-2877,-5043. Fax: (*53 7) 33 56 96.

October 20 - 23, 1998 in La Habana, Cuba
Comunidad 98. 3er Congreso Iberoamericano y Caribeño de Agentes del Desarrollo Sociocultural Comunitario. Organización: El Centro Nacional de la Cultura Comunitaria, el Gobierno Provincial y la Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana. Info: Waldo Leyva Portal, Director Cultura Comunitaria, Centro Nacional, Calle 8 No 469 esq. 21 El Vedado, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba. ☎ (*537) 39796 - 37251. Fax: (*537) 308066 /303885. e-mail: comun@art.soft.cult.cu

October 30, 1998 in Berlin, Germany
TRIALOG - Fachtagung: Wer produziert die Stadt? Formelle und informelle Prozesse der Stadtentwicklung. Ort: TU Berlin, Ernst-Reuter-Haus, Saal A, Straße des 17. Juni 112, 10623 Berlin. Nähe S-Bahn Tiergarten. Info: Klaus Teschner, TU Berlin, Habitat Unit, Sekr. A 53, D-10623 Berlin. ☎ (*49 30) 314-21905, Fax: 314-21907, e-mail: tesc0831@mailszrz.zrz.tu-berlin.de

October 31, 1998 in Berlin, Germany
TRIALOG- Mitgliederversammlung 1998. TU Berlin, Architekturgebäude, 1. Stock, Raum A 101, Straße des 17. Juni 152, D-10623 Berlin (U-Bahn Ernst-Reuter-Platz). Gäste sind willkommen / guests are welcome. Info: Klaus Teschner, TU Berlin, Habitat Unit, Sekr. A 53, D-10623 Berlin. ☎ (*49 30) 314-21905, Fax: 314-21907, e-mail: tesc0831@mailszrz.zrz.tu-berlin.de

Oct. 30 - Nov. 1, 1998 in Essen, Germany
Wem gehört die Stadt? Kolloquium zu Strategien zukünftiger Stadtpolitik. Mit Filmen über London, Chicago, Moskau und das Ruhrgebiet. Veranstalter / Info: Initiativkreis Emsscherregion e.V., Huckarderstr.8-12, 44147 Dortmund, ☎ (0231) 145 959, Fax: (0231) 142 798, e-mail: ibavonunten@aries.de <http://www.aries.de/ibavonunten/index.html>

November 7 -15, 1998 in La Habana, Cuba
XV ELEA - Encuentro Latinoamericano de Estudiantes de Arquitectura. Organizado por CLEA (Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Estudiantes de Arquitectura), FEU (Federación Estudiantil Universitaria), ISPJAE (Facultad de Arquitectura del Instituto Superior Politécnico „José Antonio Echeverría“). Tema: Arquitectura Participativa. Costos: delegados de CLEA 280 US\$, invitados 370 US\$. Contacto: Arq. Yanamari Bancroft / Orlando Inclán, Facultad de Arquitectura, ISPJAE, Calle 127 s/n, CUJAE, CP 19390, Marianao 15, La Habana, Cuba, ☎ (*53 7) 206997 / 206903, Fax: 271574 / 272964 / 277129, e-mail: eleacuba@tesla.ispjae.edu.cu

November 23 - 27, 1998 in La Habana, Cuba
Conferencia Internacional: Ecomateriales y Habitat Sostenible y Encuentro Estudiantil Aprendizaje Universitario para un Habitat Sostenible. Organizado por: Centro de Estudios de Construcción y Arquitectura Tropical (CECAT) del Instituto Superior José Antonio Echeverría (ISPJAE), Cuba; Grupo Sofonias, Suiza; Facultad de Arquitectura y Facultad de Ingeniería Civil, ISPJAE, Cuba. Costos: US\$ 200 , estudiantes US\$ 100, acompañantes US\$ 75. Contacto: CECAT - ISPJAE, CP 19390 Marianao 15, La Habana, Cuba. ☎ (*53 7) 201729, 206997, 206903. Fax: (*53 7) 277129, 272964, 271574 e-mail: acevedo@cecat.ispjae.edu.cu or: ecomat @faconst.quantum.inf.cu or: ecomat@dict.ispjae.edu.cu

December 14 -16, 1998 in New Delhi, India
International Seminar on „Urban Infrastructure: Financing and Pricing“. Organized by the Human Settlements Management Institute (HSMI / DTUDP). Contact: HUDCO Bhawan, India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi 110 003, India, ☎ (*91 11) 469 1834 / 649 3970, Fax: 4641292 , e-mail: SUPVSR@02HUD.5.icnet.ems.vsnl.net.in

March 25-26, 1999 in London, UK
International Conference „South to South: urban-environmental policies and politics in Brazil and South Africa“. Organized by the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the Univ. of London. Call for papers, deadline for abstracts (max. 300 words): November 30, 1998. Abstracts to: Dr. Edesio Fernandes, Conference Organiser, ICS, University of London, UK, Fax: (*44 171) 727 1271, e-mail: edesiofernandes@compuserve.com, Conference information contact: Ms. Imelda McGowen, ☎ (*44 171) 862 8844, Fax: (*44 171) 862 8820 , e-mail: imcgowan@sas.ac.uk

September 20 - 24, 1999 in Rome, Italy
4th International Congress on Energy, Environment and Technological Innovation - Technological Innovation and Compatible Uses of Natural Resources. Organized by La Sapienza / Roma Tre University and Universidad Central de Venezuela. Contact: EETI 99 - Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Ingeniería, P.O.Box 50656, Caracas 1050, Venezuela, ☎ / Fax (*58 2) 605 3086, e-mail: eeti99@camelot.rect.ucv.ve website: <http://www.ing.ucv.ve/ceait/eeti.htm> or: Prof. Gaspare Lavegas S., EETI99 - Università degli Studi di Roma „La Sapienza“, Facoltà di Ingegneria, Via Eudossiana, I - 18-00184 Rome, Italy, ☎ (*396) 445 857 64 / 445 855 24, Fax: (*396) 488 32 35, e-mail: eeti99@minerva.ing.uniroma1.it website: <http://minerva.ing.uniroma1.it>

November 1999 in La Habana, Cuba
Pedagogía de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo. 3er Seminario Internacional de La Habana. Organizado por SIPAU. Contacto: Prof. Dr. Arq. Rubén Bancroft H., Comité Organizador, SIPAU, Facultad de Arquitectura, Instituto Superior Politécnico José A. Echeverría (ISPJAE), Calle 127 s/n, CUJAE, CP 19390 Marianao 15, La Habana, Cuba. ☎ (*537) 206 997,-206 903. Fax: (*537) 277 129, 272 964, 271 574.