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Editorial

Urban Heritage in Transformation: Physical and Non-Physical Dimensions of Changing Contexts

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Abstract
Urban heritage is at the core of the process of many changes observable in the cities today. The pace of urban change in heritage contexts, however, differs widely across the globe. In some areas, it goes slowly, in others it is astonishingly rapid. In some cases, change is coupled with risks of erosion of heritage and urban areas of value and in others change is synonymous with prosperity and positive impacts. Change in urban heritage areas is not only confined to the physical and tangible aspects, but needs to be regarded as mirroring changes related socio-political practices, economic implications, and cultural impacts. In this regard, the present thematic issue looks at various patterns of the interrelationship between heritage and urban change from both the physical and the non-physical perspectives. This editorial presents the topic of urban heritage and patterns of physical and non-physical transformation in urban heritage contexts and introduces the thematic issue "Urban Heritage and Patterns of Change: Spatial Practices of Physical and Non-Physical Transformation."

Keywords
non-physical transformation; patterns of change; physical transformation; urban heritage

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "Urban Heritage and Patterns of Change: Spatial Practices of Physical and Non-Physical Transformation" edited by Frank Eckardt (Bauhaus-University Weimar) and Aliaa AlSadaty (Cairo University).

Heritage is regarded as being of value for generations under different circumstances. Reserving heritage means therefore that following generations can find some elements of continuation and can integrate current changes into a wider non-personal narrative. As centers of everyday life and venues for human interactions and experiences, urban contexts, and particularly heritage settings, are at the core of unavoidable processes of transformation to meet the changing needs and aspirations of successive generations and communities. In the path of their transformation, urban heritage contexts might undertake several trajectories and patterns of change, from radical and abrupt to minor and incremental transformations, and from change on the physical features and tangible aspects of settings to change in non-physical, intangible aspects of settings.

The physical change of urban settings has been the focus of several disciplines concerned mainly with the morphological characteristics of settings. Urban morphology is the field concerned with the study of physical forms of urban contexts and their formation and transformation through time. It is concerned with the examination of the relationship between the constituent elements of urban form as well as the part-to-whole relationship (Kropf, 2014). In addition, urban morphology is concerned with the understanding of driving factors driving urban transformations as agents and processes of change through time (Oliveira, 2016). The stream of knowledge of urban morphology provides a range of approaches and tools articulating the different aspects and elements of urban form as well as the relation between them (Kropf, 2017). Studies on the physical

aspects of form can enriching interventions including post-disasters developments, infill design, urban growth, and urbanization impacts, among others.

The physical forms of urban settings have been always interlinked with non-physical factors including the cultural, political, and socio-economical processes. Studies of urban forms cover non-physical issues related with human-environment relationship, activity patterns (Hillier & Hanson, 1989); sense of place and belonging (Relph, 1976); safety measures and crime rates (Jacobs, 1961); change of races and classes within societies; gentrification issues (De Cesari & Dimova, 2019), displacment of people, capitals, and goods; among other topics.

By addressing the complex and multilayered issue of urban change in heritage contexts this issue aims at a better understanding of the phenomenon of change and its implications on both the spatial and the social contexts. In addition, by providing a wide range of in-depth investigations of the phenomenon of change, the present issue seeks to provide insights on possible ways to control and tame this inevitable change towards more positive, non-destructive impacts to current and future generations.

This thematic issue includes 12 articles investigating urban settings located in three continents and 11 countries: Belgium, Egypt, England, Germany, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey. This transnational investigation provides a wide overview on the urban heriatge in transformation and brings together the issue of urban change across different cultures and backgrounds.

On the physical level, the selected articles tackle a range of urban contexts with diverse nature and different scales including dispersed territories in country sides, historic neighborhoods in central capitals, industrial heritage sites, historic towns, commercial cores in mid-sized cities, and central historic squares and spaces. On the non-physical level, the selected articles tackle topics including sustainability, historic character, patterns of attachment and detachment with urban settings, heritage perception, socio-spatial practices, urban food production and commercial horticulture, shared heritage against violent heritage management, cultural amnesia, building regulations and local conservation policies and development control, liveability of historic centres, and decision-making processes in urban practice.

The assemblage of articles in this issue begins with the article by Maarten Gheysen and Sophie Leemans (2023), which focuses on the phenomenon of change in dispersed territories, particularly on the evolution of moated farmstead in South-West Flanders. By doing so, this study investigates the change of the urban territory from the perspective of the architectural typology highlighting the importance of moated farmstead on the architectural, economical, socio-political, and ecological land management levels. The authors call for the re-interpretation of the moated farmstead as a new prototype to establish a more sustainable way of urbanizing the countryside in dispersed contexts.

Milica Muminović (2023) focuses on Nezu neighbourhood, in Tokyo, one of the very few historic neighbourhoods that has been spared destruction caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake and the Second World War. Despite constant change and lack of conservation, the neighbourhood has, however, surprisingly maintained its persistent urban character. Through her article, Muminović (2023, p. 19) illustrates how the historic character of Nezu is mainly maintained due to the continuity of the "complex system" of relationships between public and private spaces.

Leo Bockelmann (2023) analyses the perception of previous industrial heritage structures in the Vogtland Region, Germany. Through semi-structured interviews with the local community, the author investigates the role the industrial heritage plays for the local population and the local community perspectives for future developments of industrial structures. Findings reveal both positive and negative connotations linked with heritage sites in the Vogtland Region and highlight the importance of these sites for supporting local identity.

Heike Oevermann et al. (2023) highlight the possibility of informing sustainable urban transformations in historic towns by understanding the lessons offered by how continuity and change interact within commercial horticulture sites in Bamberg's old town, Germany—a town where long-standing family enterprises maintain traditional techniques in cultivating local varieties of fruits and vegetables, a culture that has mostly vanished elsewhere. The discussed case shows that the integration between urban development and food production is possible through urban horticulture. It also stresses that the continuity of the historical sites and their spatial structures are at the core of the dynamics through which urban horticulture can thrive.

Margarita Vološina et al. (2023) focus on Cēsis and Bauska, two medieval tows in Latvia that both have protection status and have been recently subject to public spaces improvements. The two settings, however, maintained different interplay between governmental and non-governmental players. The study evaluates urban interventions and implementations in the two towns, varying between top-down and bottom-up approaches. The authors end with a discussion on the spatial planning challenges of both approaches and suggest possible integrated solutions.

Mirhan Damir et al. (2023) delve deeper in the impacts of tangible transformation of industrial heritage sites on their surrounding urban contexts. The study documents and explores the patterns and spatial linkages produced by the successive industrialization and de-industrialization of the former phosphate processing plant in el-Quseir, a coastal town located on the Red Sea Coast, in Egypt, during and throughout the 20th century. By highlighting patterns of detachment with this industrial heritage, the authors call for the necessity of addressing the vacuum created by the dismission of these physical sites both economically and socially.

Helena Cermeño and Katja Mielke (2023) tackled the issue of common heritage transformation in post-conflict societies. Based on empirical data collected on heritage practices in the Old City of Lahore, Pakistan, the authors assess heritage management policies towards shared history with Hindus and Sikhs before and during the 1947 partition of British India. This article points out that heritage management policies can, however, pave the ground for future reconciliation and coexistences between local communities.

Ilgi Toprak (2023) focuses on the transformation of Rum community's urban narratives that were manifested with the different urban transformation phases of Fener neighbourhood, Istanbul. The author adopted qualitative research methods to approach the complex urban narrative provided by the Rum community in the periods of stability, unrest, displacement, and gentrification. Results reveal that reconstructing fragmented narratives is essential to fight cultural amnesia and reach a better connection with the urban setting.

Catarina Fontes and Graça Índias Cordeiro (2023) portray urban change in the historic Alfama neighbourhood, Lisbon. Through a spatio-ethnographic lens they investigate impacts of regeneration and urban development policies; more specifically, they examine the urban change driven by tourism. The authors describe responses where traces of the community's resilience emerge. The article highlights socio-spatial practices driven by the community to benefit from the new possibilities brought by tourism.

Helena Gutmane (2023) analyses the micro landscape of decision-making processes using the theory of practice by Bourdieu. The author focuses on the case of the reconstruction of the Castle Square in Riga, Latvia. Gutmane examines the interrelationship between motivation and actions of professionals involved in the reconstruction. Findings confirm the relevance of habitus for the investigation of urban practices.

Cilísia Ornelas et al. (2023) focus on the contribution of institutional stakeholders in improving the implementation of urban and building regulations to assist decision-making processes, especially when facing rapid transitions and transformative changes in urban heritage areas. In this study, the authors analyze and compare urban and building regulations of three Southern European countries, namely Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Then, using the same countries, the study proceeds with a comparison of implementations at three different levels: national, regional, and municipal.

Finally, Heather Barrett (2023) investigates local conservation policies and their impacts on the trajectories of development and change within historic cities, with special reference to the commercial core of the historic city of Worcester, England. Using the idea of conservation planning as an "assemblage," the article highlights how deficiencies in articulating urban values and character could lead to incremental erosion on the morphological and functional levels.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Change in the Dispersed Territory: (Proto)Types for a New Urban Paradigm

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Abstract
Dispersed territories such as Flanders (Belgium) have been amongst others described as layered territories, as a palimpsest landscape, or as both a selective and a-selective infill of the territory. In the constant re-editing and change of this territory, historical remnants remain visible and often form a departing point for further adaptations and changes. One of these remnants, the moated farmstead, has evolved from a historical (proto)type to a common typology in South-West Flanders and enabled inhabiting the territory dispersedly. Moated farmsteads are typically composed of a series of different buildings and are surrounded by an artificial water body. The moat formed the central point of a larger land management system. Nowadays, many of these farmsteads still exist, however, over time they lost their original purpose and transformed into a variety of uses. The design of a prototype, i.e., a first model later evolving into a type, a recurring model, as an architectural object can simultaneously relate to a larger theoretical reflection on the scale of the territory. Subsequently, these farmsteads lead to the question: What (proto)types have been developed to demonstrate the uniqueness of the relation between the land/labour/living in a dispersed territory? Can we re-interpret the moated farmstead as a new (proto)type to establish a more sustainable way of urbanising the countryside in a dispersed context? Therefore, this article first documents the historical figure of the moated farmstead as an architectural object, socio-economic and political organisation, and ecological land management, and documents its change throughout time. Then, a reflection is built on how, at the time of their emergence, these moated farmsteads were an exponent of a sustainable and ground-breaking type that enabled a dispersed settlement pattern. Finally, the potential of the farmstead as a new prototype for a twenty-first-century dispersed territory is discussed.

Keywords
architectural prototype; architectural typology; Belgium; dispersed territories; Flanders; moated farmstead; urban transformation

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1. Introduction

1.1. New Urban Paradigms

Large parts of the European territory are described by different authors and institutions as sprawl, or “the physical pattern of low-density expansion of large urban areas, under market conditions, mainly into the surrounding agricultural areas” (European Environment Agency, 2006, p. 6). However, the comparison of different definitions in literature reveals that there is no general agreement, no exact definition of what sprawl is (Bruegmann, 2005; European Environment Agency, 2016, p. 20). As a result, the term “urban sprawl” is used in different and often contradicting readings, leading to inconsistent interpretations and comparisons. This is particularly the case in the field of architecture and urbanism, in which urban sprawl was described by different authors, interpreted, and coined as for instance the patchwork metropolis (Neutelings, 1990), *città diffusa* (Indovani et al., 1990), *Zwischenstadt* (Sieverts, 1999), the horizontal metropolis (Viganò et al., 2017) and so on (for a more extensive

reading of this genealogy of sprawl, see Gheysen, 2020, pp. 42–52), each time describing particularities and qualities of a specific territory as opposed to the generic urban sprawl. As a result, the generic urban sprawl was localised as a non-hierarchical juxtaposition of urban fragments in the Netherlands (patchwork metropolis), the description of a new urban form (*città diffusa*), an awareness of the qualities of the daily environment in the Ruhr-area (*Zwischenstadt*), or the valorisation of a natural, social, and infrastructural capital in Switzerland (horizontal metropolis).

Flanders (Belgium) in general and South-West Flanders in specific is no exception to the continuous transformation of greenfields into housing or industrial areas (Vermeiren et al., 2018). When looking at historical maps such as the de Ferraris map (1771–1778), one can already distinguish an almost completely man-made landscape with a mosaic of agricultural fields, grassland, orchards, and built-up spaces structured by roads and paths. The absence of a pronounced topography and the omnipresence of fertile soil facilitated a dispersed occupancy pattern, i.e., a dispersed territory long before the post-war suburbanisation (De Meulder & Dehaene, 2001).

This dispersed pattern was strengthened in the nineteenth century when the Belgian government decided to avoid the densification of the cities by a growing labour force and instead urbanised the countryside with a vast railroad system that enabled factory labourers to be housed in the countryside through cheap train subscriptions and housing policies(De Block, 2013; De Decker, 2020; De Meulder et al., 1999; Grosjean, 2010). This railroad system was constructed to such an extent that it inspired scholars such as Seebohm Rowntree (1910) for his *Lessons From Belgium*, advocating a dispersed territory to concur poverty. South-West Flanders, and to a larger extent the area reaching from Rotterdam (The Netherlands) to Lille (Northern France), has a dispersed built surface pattern (sometimes called the North Western Metropolitan Area; Academic, n.d.). Contrary to what is often thought, this is not (merely) the "spillover" of sprawling post-war cities, but also (and rather) strongly linked to the territorial characteristics of this region (see also Smets, 1986). By incorporating the countryside in urban development, the dichotomy between urban and rural dissolved and was replaced by in-situ urbanisation of the countryside, an urbanisation that did not erase the countryside as the city expands, but, on contrary, an urbanisation that inscribed itself in the spatial logics of the countryside and that resulted in an urban condition (connectivity, ecology of choice, etc.) without an urban form (density, open/built, …). Historically, the in-situ urbanisation made it possible to tie together the place where one lives, a means of growing food nearby, and small scaled economical activities in a domestic context (in this case the weaving of linen). This triad of living/land/labour, historically an economic necessity, is clearly opposed to centralised models of production and could only thrive due to its dual relation with both the urban and rural.

Confronted with this dispersed territory and its historical overlaps and overlays, the constant rewriting and re-editing of the territory (Corboz, 1983), we started to rethink its name-giving. Sprawl, the low-density expansion of the urban fabric in the countryside, simply deficits the multi-layered and historical richness of this territory. As written above, this is not a generic expansion of the city. Moreover, many of the terms used depart from a dominant urban perspective (for instance peri-urban), stressing the centre-periphery relation and thereby implicitly subordinating this territory. Therefore the territory of Flanders was coined "all city/all land" (Figure 1) as it holds characteristics of both (Gheysen & Van Daele, 2016), a territory that is both urban and rural and positioned as a third term in relation to the "city" and the "countryside." The long history of an in-situ urbanisation, the political project of dispersion, and the presence of a social, ecological, and infrastructural capital are just a few of the characteristics that serve as an argument for the name-giving. Without denying the difficulties dispersed territories are facing and certainly not advocating a further land take, this name giving enables to reflect on qualities and possible futures without being trapped in a discourse that focuses solely on the lack of urbanity or the loss of agriculture and nature (Sharpe, 1932).

1.2. Scope of the Article

To deal with the challenges of this territory we took a particular interest in the role of the prototype. As the scale of the territory is too large to be the subject of a project (Viganò, 2010), we reflected on the prototype as a knowledge producer. Looking at the work of Le Corbusier with his "Unité d'Habitation" and "La Ville Radieuse" or Frank Lloyd Wright with his "Usonian house" (De Long, 1998) and "Broadacre City" (Lloyd Wright, 1932), one clearly sees the relationship between the theoretical model on the territorial scale and the prototype as a demonstrator and test. As elaborated further in the article, both for Le Corbusier and Lloyd Wright, the built tested the theory, as a "proto-type" to reflect on the parcel, the house, the family, and ultimately on the city. The *prototype* later became a *typology* for modernist apartments (in the case of Le Corbusier) or suburban detached single-family houses (in the case of Lloyd Wright). A prototype can thus be considered a test configuration or a first model, while a typology can be considered an already established model that exists in different locations.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to further elaborate the thesis that the moated farmstead once was a prototype that enabled the transformation of the proto-urban territory of Flanders at the end of the eighteenth century to an in-situ urbanisation. Rather than an extensive historical reading, this article offers an interpretation of the moated farmstead as a historical typology for

Figure 1. An urban condition that no longer coincides with the form of a "city." This condition is built upon an ecology of choice enabling its inhabitants to live an urban life in diffuse settlements. Source: Photograph taken by Maarten Gheysen, 2016.

the dispersed city through case studies and ultimately calls for new prototypes with similar sustainable socio-economic and ecological relations with the territory. For this reason, the moated farmstead will be discussed as an architectural (proto)type, as a particular land management system, and as a social and economic model. To conclude, the current state of these moated farmsteads is further examined as a possible prototype to tackle the contemporary challenges all city/all land is confronted with.

1.3. Method

The research presented in this article is based on both a literature study and case study research. The literature study focuses on existing historical and archaeological literature (Becuwe et al., 2016; De Gunsch & De Leeuw, 2022; De Gunsch et al., 2022; Despriet, 1978; Goedseels & Vanhaute, 1978) to explore the historical role and dimension of the moated farmstead as a prototype. The literature was selected based on its historical and geographical relevance, meaning studying moated farmsteads in South-West Flanders. Based on the existing literature, the moated farmstead is conceptualised as an architectural, economic, social, and ecological (proto)type and is thus described in the following section.

This literature study is complemented by two case studies, the farmstead Goed te Mouden in Moen, south-east of Kortrijk and close to the current Flemish–Walloon border, and the Heerlijkheid van Heule in Heule, just northwest of Kortrijk (Belgium). The cases are chosen as an empirical inquiry to test the contemporary notion of the (proto)type as a phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 2003). These cases are analysed using images and plans to illustrate their different elements. Both cases are situated in South-West Flanders, a part of Flanders characterised by medium-sized cities, small towns, and hamlets, interwoven with small and medium enterprises in agriculture and industry. Within this region, the typology of the moated farmstead gave rise to the study of its historical value as a prototype to inhabit the territory in a dispersed way.

2. The Prototype as Territorial Research

In reaction to the dense and overcrowded city, architect Frank Lloyd Wright developed Broadacre City as a new urban model (Lloyd Wright, 1932). One of the main elements is a one-acre parcel provided for each family (approximately 4,050 m^2) resulting in a dispersed city model driven by the automobile. While Broadacre City never was realised, Frank Lloyd Wright simultaneously

designed and constructed a series of 60 so-called Usonian houses (De Long, 1998, p. 204). These were visionary houses intended for the Broadacre City model and therefore mass-scale produced with a moderate cost of approximately $10,000. Interesting is the relation Lloyd Wright established between the theoretical model for a new city and an actual design and build on the scale of the single-family house. In this regard, the Usonian house functioned as a built experiment or test, a "proto-type" for the urban theory which enabled Lloyd Wright to reflect on the parcel, the house, the family, and, eventually, on the city. In this Usonian house prototype, two lines of thought are particularly interesting in relation to the contemporary dispersed territories. First, the Usonian houses urges to reflect on the nature of the prototype. Conceptualised as houses in a settler's tradition, they were easy to set up (brick, wood, metal) and easy to adapt to whatever later needs (Maumi, 2015, pp. 86–87). The house was not to be considered as a finished object but instead in continuous transformation, as never-ending research answering different phases in one's life. Second, the Usonian houses open the question of how the "new" territory is constructed. Where Le Corbusier departed from a tabula rasa to imagine his Ville Radieuse, Broadacre City was developed along a grass-roots strategy. By constructing its smallest unit, the house, and multiplying it, the traditional city would vanish over a time span of four generations. Building a series of these houses ultimately started to form a city (Maumi, 2018, p. 57).

The *prototype* later became a *typology* for suburbia as the suburban detached single-family house. A prototype can thus be considered a test configuration or a first model, while a typology can be considered an already-established model that exists in different locations (von Ballestrem & Gleiter, 2019).

Lloyd Wright's Usonian houses as a reaction to urban questions in the dense city are illustrative examples of how architectural prototypes become a test of an urban planning model that addresses a new urban form. The dispersed territory context of South-West Flanders can be read in a similar way because today it is confronted with important, yet complex urban questions: How to deal with a changing climate, the need for sustainable energy production, ageing populations, and social disparities (Secchi, 2009)?

The solutions proposed for large-scale urgencies in the dense urban fabric of concentric cities cannot just be projected onto the dispersed territory. Centralised systems, density, and collective modes are absent in the dispersed territory and urge to rethink, amongst others, the infrastructure networks that support the occupation of the dispersed territory (Leemans et al., 2021). One way of dealing with these urban questions within the disciplines of architecture and urban design is to work with prototypes. As illustrated by Lloyd Wright's Usonian house, the prototype can be considered a testing ground to become an architectural typology. Even though the emphasis of a prototype can easily be put on the small-scale architectural form of the building itself, it inevitably interacts with its context or surroundings, engaging with the present large-scale urban questions. In the framework of this article, we distinguish the historical moated farmstead as a typology that once unlocked the territory and the moated farmstead as a prototype for a future recalibration of the living/land/labour triad in answer to a series of contemporary challenges this territory is facing. Building upon the knowledge of the typology, the prototype allows to experiment in search of new dialogues and to question society through the architectural prototype.

3. A Brief Historical Reading of a Multi-Layered System

Apart from large-scale infrastructure interventions such as roads, polders, and dikes, the historical architectural prototypes and typologies have played a substantial role in South-West Flanders' dispersed settlement pattern (De Meulder & Dehaene, 2001). The moated farmstead as depicted in Figure 2 is such a typology that contributed to a rationalisation of the Flemish territory from the Middle Ages on. Besides being organised as a collection of architectural elements or buildings, they were also inscribed in a social, economic, and ecological land management system and thus connected to large-scale networks such as water. Close observation of the Popp maps (Popp, 1842, in Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-c) reveals hundreds of these moated farmsteads in South-West Flanders, with an average distance of 500 m between them (Figure 3). Even though the farmsteads found on the Popp maps are all unique, they do show similarities and thus form(ed) a dense network representing an isotropic, dispersed settlement pattern.

When comparing the Popp map to today (Figure 3), it becomes clear that many moated farmsteads have been (partially) destroyed or abandoned and have made a place for allotments or road infrastructure. While most of these farmsteads in South-West Flanders were originally established before the fourteenth century (Despriet, 1978), it was not uncommon for one to burn down or get destroyed the following centuries, mostly being (partially) rebuilt after. This continuous (re)building and adaptation of the farmsteads emphasises its prototypical character, each time adapting to the zeitgeist and timely challenges and needs. In the current debate on sustainability and dispersion, the rhythmic presence of these moated structures raises questions on their historical and multi-layered importance as (a) architectural, (b) socio-economic and political, and (c) ecological land management prototypes.

3.1. An Architectural Prototype

First and foremost, the moated farmstead can be recognised as an architectural system with a number of typical spatial elements. Largely, four functions could be

Figure 2. Moated farmstead in Heule. Source: Courtesy of E. Falomo, J. Hallaj, and E. Froelich (personal communication, 16 December 2020).

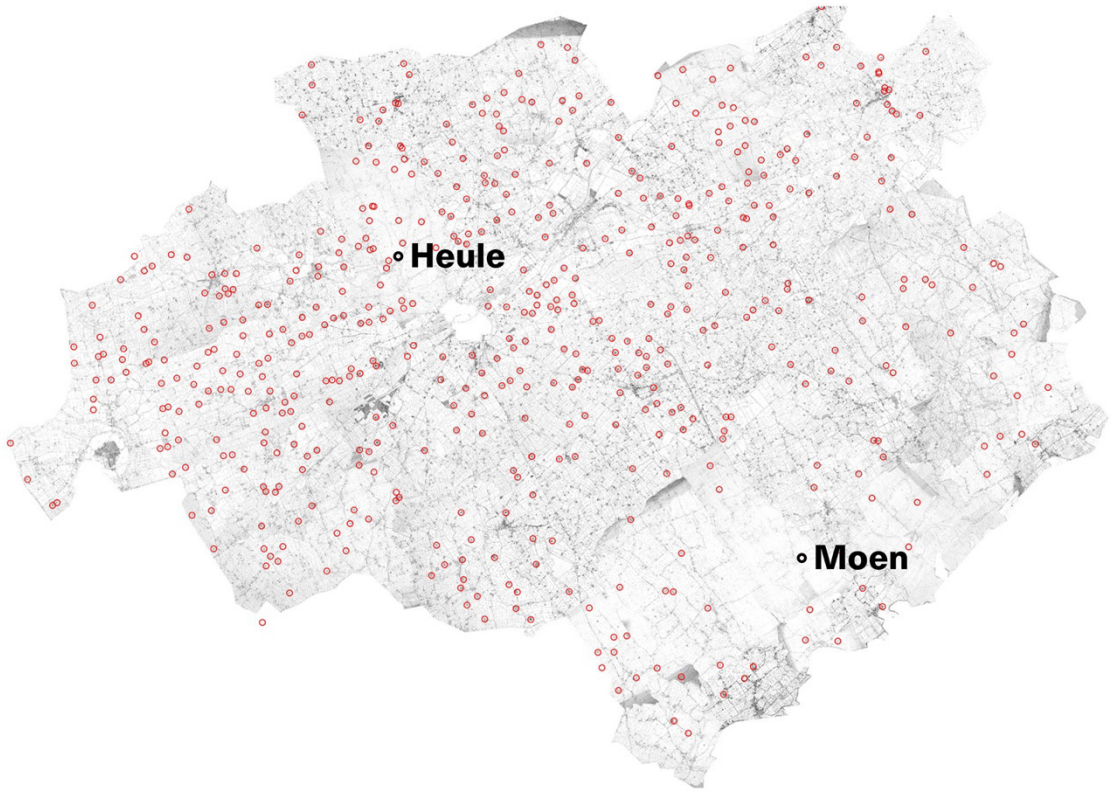

Figure 3. By the nineteenth century, hundreds of moated farmsteads in the region around Kortrijk formed a dense network. Source: Courtesy of E. Falomo, J. Hallaj, and E. Froelich (personal communication, 16 December 2020).

distinguished: (a) cattle stabling; (b) harvest, fodder, and tools storage; (c) product processing; and (d) living (Becuwe et al., 2016). These functions are articulated in physical spaces namely (a) stables, (b) storage space, (c) working space, and (d) housing. These buildings could be arranged in different configurations such as the long-drawn-out farmstead (*langgevelhoeve*), the farmstead with separate buildings (*boerderij met losse bebouwing*), the farmstead with semi-detached buildings (*halflosse bebouwing*), and the square-shaped farmstead (*vierkantshoeve*; Despriet, 1978; Goedseels & Vanhaute, 1978). Influencing factors for a type of configuration were both time- and place-specific.

For example, the farmstead Goed te Mouden in Moen was originally constructed with isolated buildings around the eleventh century but was rebuilt as a semi-closed constellation after a fire in 1893 (De Gunsch & De Leeuw, 2022). A possible explanation for this new configuration lies in the increasing size and amount of new farm buildings resulting in a square form as the most efficient to minimise the distance between the different elements. Additionally, after the rebuilding, the farm focused mainly on cattle breeding. A similar thing happened to the Heerlijkheid van Heule, which is preserved quite well, regarding severe fire and war damage at the beginning of the twentieth century. While the gate was reconstructed with old material, the barn and stables were never rebuilt. Clearly, farmstead buildings evolved and transformed throughout time (Figure 4). Yet, it is interesting to have a closer look at a number of recurring spatial elements to get a better idea of the farmstead's architectural configuration.

The close relation between living, labour, and land in the moated farmstead was facilitated by the fact that the farmer and his family would live on the premises. One of the main buildings would thus be the farmhouse, mainly consisting of a living room with a fireplace, an alcove, the pantry, the scullery, the upstairs room, the antechamber, the weaving room, and the attic (Becuwe et al., 2016, p. 10). Besides the farmhouse, the farmstead consisted of buildings that were related to labour activities. Sheds were intended both for storage of the harvest and for activities such as threshing grain. The space for animal husbandry on a farmstead usually consisted of several buildings such as horse, cow, pig, and fodder stables with a manure pit in between. Other buildings that were usually present were a carriage house, an oven, a gatehouse (often with a bridge), a small chapel, and a pigeon tower. All these architectural elements were developed and redefined over the years, leading to a set of specific architectural typologies.

From the nineteenth century on, besides the above-mentioned changing building configurations, the upscaling of agricultural activities also induces new types of buildings such as potato cellars, horse mills, breweries, and tobacco and flax processing pits. The industrial evolution can also be seen in the use of building materials. Whereas buildings were mostly initially erected with local, ready-made materials such as Roman rubble, straw, and wooden frameworks filled with wickerwork and loam, from the seventeenth century, farmsteads were more and more constructed with bricks, an emerging industry.

The farmstead's buildings were often located on a local elevation and surrounded by a moat of varying shape and size. Besides the buildings, land use within the moat consisted of small-scale farming such as a garden with vegetables, a kitchen, medicinal herbs and flowers, and a fruit orchard with chickens and small cattle. Large(r)-scale farming such as agricultural crops would take place on fields outside the moat. The way the

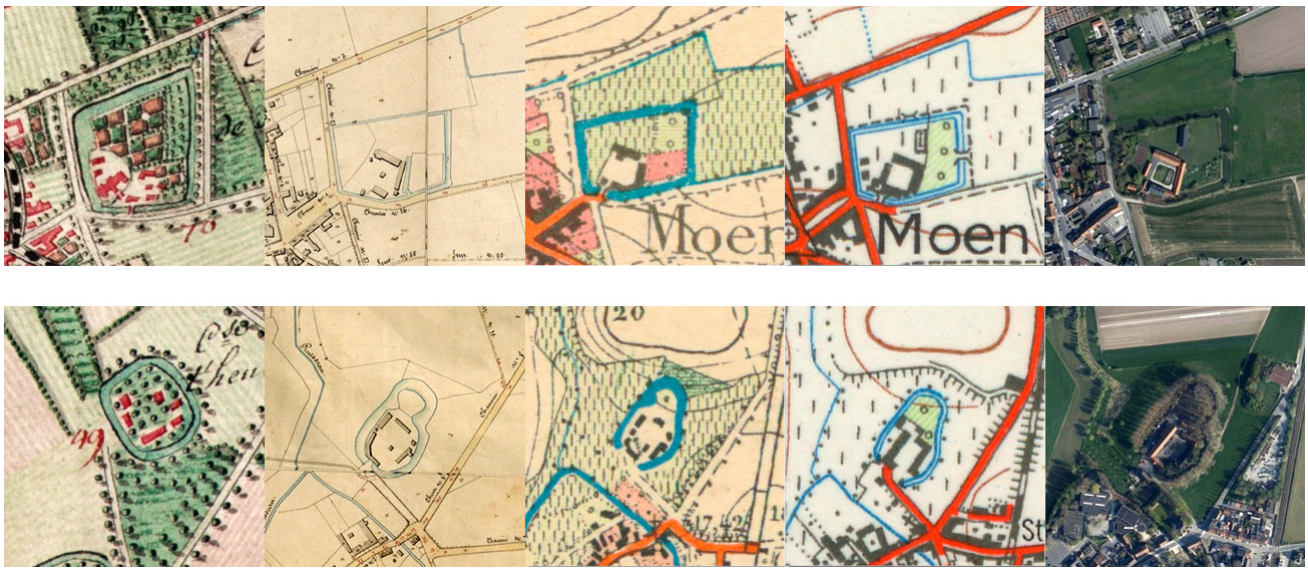

Figure 4. Farmstead Goed te Mouden in Moen (top) and farmstead Heerlijkheid van Heule (bottom) evolution. Sources from left to right: de Ferraris' 1771 map (Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-a), 1843 Atlas der Buurtwegen (Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-b), 1904 topographic map (Zwartjes, 2020a), 1969 topographic map (Zwartjes, 2020b), and Google Earth.

land was used in- and outside the moat had to do with the distance to the farmstead, instigated by a system of governance.

3.2. A Prototypical Expression of a Larger Socio-Economic and Political System

Besides its architectural or spatial composition, the significance of the moated farmstead as a prototype is simultaneously related to the larger socio-economic and political system, leading to the interpretation of the moated as a built expression of both. Most of the farmsteads in South-West Flanders originated within the medieval feudal system as a centre of a seigniory (*heerlijkheid*), a lord's property to which certain rights and duties were attached.

In this hierarchical system (Figure 5) feudal lords (*leenheren*) would "borrow" land from their vassals (*leenmannen*) to live on in exchange for loyalty, services, and goods. The vassal would then hold and cultivate the land through his own farmers and hand over the largest part of the revenue to his feudal lord. The farmers at their turn had their own servants and family helping them on the land (Becuwe et al., 2016, p. 27). Even the construction of a farmstead was often a community event, for example when inhabitants from a nearby village would come to help straighten wooden beams (Goedseels & Vanhaute, 1978, p. 14).

In a seigniory, three types of land existed in hierarchical relation to each other: the *foncier*, the *leengrond*, and the *cijnsgrond*. First, the *foncier* was owned by the lord himself, often containing a moated farmstead including the typical architectural elements described above such as a chapel and a pigeon tower, expressing secular or spiritual power. Another symbol of social status was the coat of arms on the buildings and the entrance gate as was the case in the farmstead Goed te Mouden in Moen (Despriet, 2018, pp. 92–94). Second, the *leengrond* was a piece of land "borrowed" from another person, which could also be a seigniory with an own *foncier* and so on. Finally, the *cijnsgrond* was the land used for agricultural activities, cultivated by farmers and their servants. The moated farmstead, both its buildings and its surrounding land were thus spatial translations of the (at times hierarchical) socio-economic and political system in place (Despriet, 1978, pp. 21–22).

Interestingly, around 1400, most of the owners of the moated farmsteads had moved to an urban agglomeration while leaving their farmstead to the care of a tenant. From their house in the town or city, they managed their property (Despriet, 1978, p. 13). This movement reveals a first hint of how living, labour, and land relations would be physically established over longer distances. However, the relationship between moated farmsteads and increasing urbanisation worked in two ways. While owners increasingly moved to towns or cities, urban concentration also grew around the moated farmsteads, often located in the proximity of a church, forming the core of a village or town. The moated farmstead was a nucleus around which urbanisation appeared.

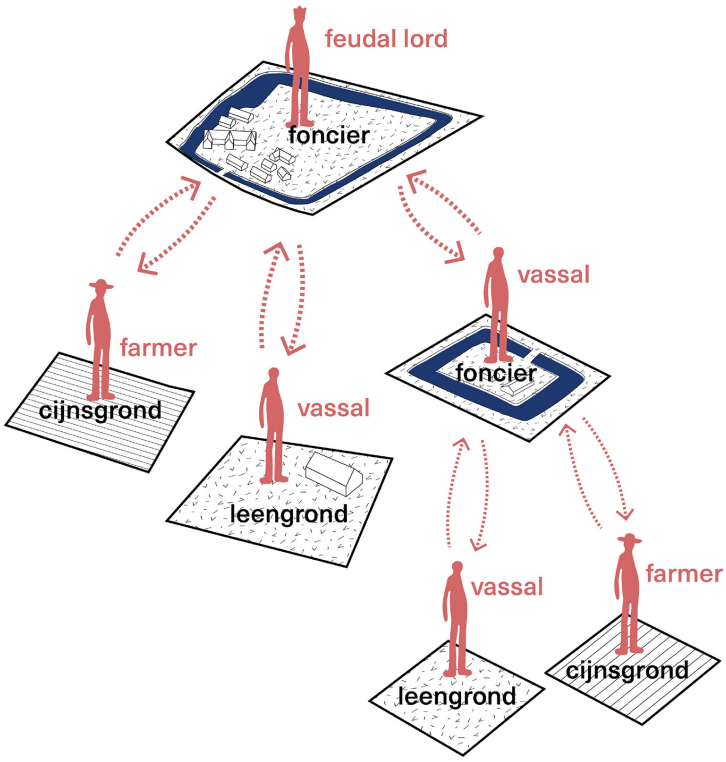

Figure 5. Moated farmsteads were ingrained in the feudal system, where a lord would allow a vassal to live and work on his land in return for revenues from labour activities. Source: Figure elaborated by Sophie Leemans, 2022.

The dialogue between the moated farmstead and its built surroundings provoked an incremental clustering ultimately making them one of the drivers for the urbanisation of the countryside.

The reciprocal relations between the moated farmstead and urbanisation are also articulated in the case of Goed te Mouden, which was the centre of the seigniory and county of Moen, including 59 feudal lords (Despriet, 1978, p. 121, 2018, p. 95). For Moen, not located in the proximity of a city, the moated farmstead clearly formed a centre of attraction (Figure 6) for settlement. This urbanisation was reinforced during the twentieth century with the construction of the Kortrijk-Bossuit canal and an extensive local railway network, providing labourers with cheap and easy transportation to factories (De Block & Polasky, 2011). A similar development can be seen in the Heerlijkheid van Heule. The growing large-scale infrastructures expressed another socio-economic and political system, with increasing distances between living, labour, and land.

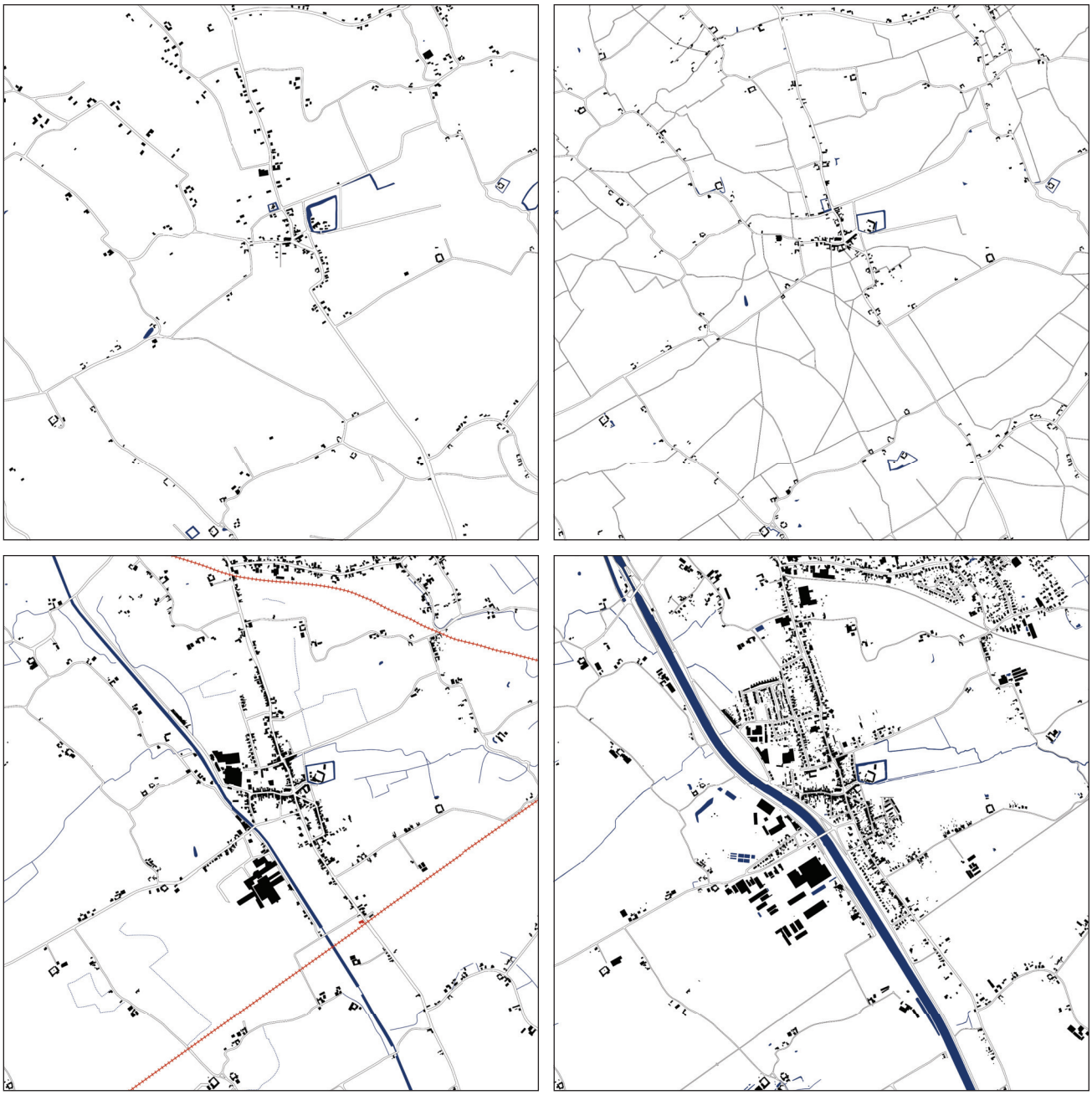

Figure 6. The presence of the moated farmstead Goed te Mouden and the church in Moen were important elements for the increasing urbanisation of the village. Sources: Sophie Leemans' work based on the de Ferraris 1771 map (top left; Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-a), Popp map (top right; Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-c), aerial picture (bottom left; Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-d), aerial picture (bottom right; Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-e).

3.3. A Prototype for Ecological Land Management

The moated farmstead was also ecologically ingrained in its surroundings. Its location was determined by territorial characteristics such as the alluvial valleys of the Scheldt, Lys, or local creek or a swamp, and thus inevitably also related to topography. The area within the moat was often raised to a higher level (*motte*), and the moat itself, of varying size and shape, was always (partially) man-made but also connected to a nearby river or creek (Goedseels & Vanhaute, 1978, pp. 57–67). This is the case in Heule, where the position of the moated farmstead maintained a constant water level of the nearby creek Heulebeek. In Moen, the marshy area and natural drainage of the surrounding hills ensure a permanent water level.

While the oldest moats could have had a defensive purpose, most of the moats were constructed as a symbol of status, similar to castles and monasteries. Additionally, the moat also ensured a constant supply of water, a fishpond, and property demarcation (for example for small cattle in the orchard). Around the mid-twentieth-century, more than half of the moats in South-West Flanders were filled in. As we know today, weather extremes and water dynamics urge us to think of resilient water systems in which the moats remind us of their usefulness as water buffers (Despriet, 1978, p. 7). The (re)construction of a vast and dispersed water system, based on century-old patterns, could build a more resilient territory capable of holding the water in place, feeding the groundwater table, and as a resource for a newly defined ecological land management.

Besides regulating ecological water systems, the farm also organised the surrounding land. Within the moat, land use consisted of small-scale farming for self-sustenance, usually a farmer's garden with vegetables, kitchen and medicinal herbs and flowers, and a fruit orchard with chickens and small cattle. Furthermore, specific types of plantings would shield off certain areas, while at the same time having functional purposes such as firewood and hedgerows. The large(r)-scale farming such as agricultural crops would take place on *cijnsgronden* outside the moat (Despriet, 1978, pp. 21–22).

4. Living, Labour, and Land Configurations

One way to position the moated farmstead as a historical typology is to look at it through the lens of living, labour, and land. The typology is an architectural expression of a way of living together, an economic model (labour), and a reciprocal relationship with the land or territory both in terms of food production and the resulting spatial organisation (think of water management and the spatial layout). As mentioned above, moated farmsteads clearly evolved throughout time, reflecting different both socio-economic and political and urban planning models. Whereas a medieval moated farmstead was part of the hierarchical feudal system with mainly agricultural activities, this was upscaled to industrial-like activities during the nineteenth century (Goedseels & Vanhaute, 1978, pp. 203–211). Despite these time- and space-specific characteristics, an optimal, harmonious living, labour, and land situation is imaginable, of which the moated farmstead was a spatial expression.

First, the moated farmstead was clearly (part of) a social system, initiated by the feudal system and expressed through the hierarchical organisation of the different social classes living on the farmstead premises, or by larger extent in the seigniory (Figure 7). Second, over time, the moated farmstead accommodated different types of labour: from agricultural activities such as land cultivation to proto-industrial crafts such as weaving (Demasure, 2011, pp. 432–434). Third, the moated farmstead had a strong relation of proximity with its surrounding land, both expressed in its geographic location and land use such as vegetable gardens and orchards within the moat and meadows and farmland outside the moat.

The moated farmstead clearly was based on the physical proximity of living, labour, and land. The lord or farmer and his family would live within the moat in a house and work on the premises or in the immediate surroundings. Additionally, the moated farmstead was anchored in its land and benefited from present territorial characteristics such as building materials (wood, Tournai natural stones, bricks), trading routes (over the Scheldt and Lys), and topography (water management).

When comparing the farmstead with other (later) typologies such as the semi-detached house and the *fermette* (a modern dwelling in cottage style), generally the elements defining living, labour, and land become increasingly detached from the territory (Leemans et al., 2021). When the large-scale construction of an extensive railway network in the nineteenth century stimulated factory labourers to live in the countryside, besides a small vegetable garden, their semi-detached houses did not have any need-based labour or land relations. Similarly, the construction of highways, the rise of the car, and increasingly service-based labour in the twentieth century were accompanied by the rise of the *fermette* typology, which besides some formal references, did not have any relation with its surroundings (Figure 8).

Today, many moated farmsteads have been repurposed as solely residential dwellings or recreational activities such as bed and breakfasts, wedding locations, and so on. However, the combination of living/labour/land configurations are rare. A recent publication by the Flemish Heritage Department strives for a valuable development of historical farmsteads adapted to a sustainable future but remains rather limited to the architectural elements (Becuwe et al., 2016). An exceptional example is the Heerlijkheid van Heule, which has been repurposed as a care farm, combining organically managed agricultural activities with a training and daycare centre for youth counselling. Again, the historical typology of the farmstead plays a leading example in the prototyping of new forms of labour and agricultural models.

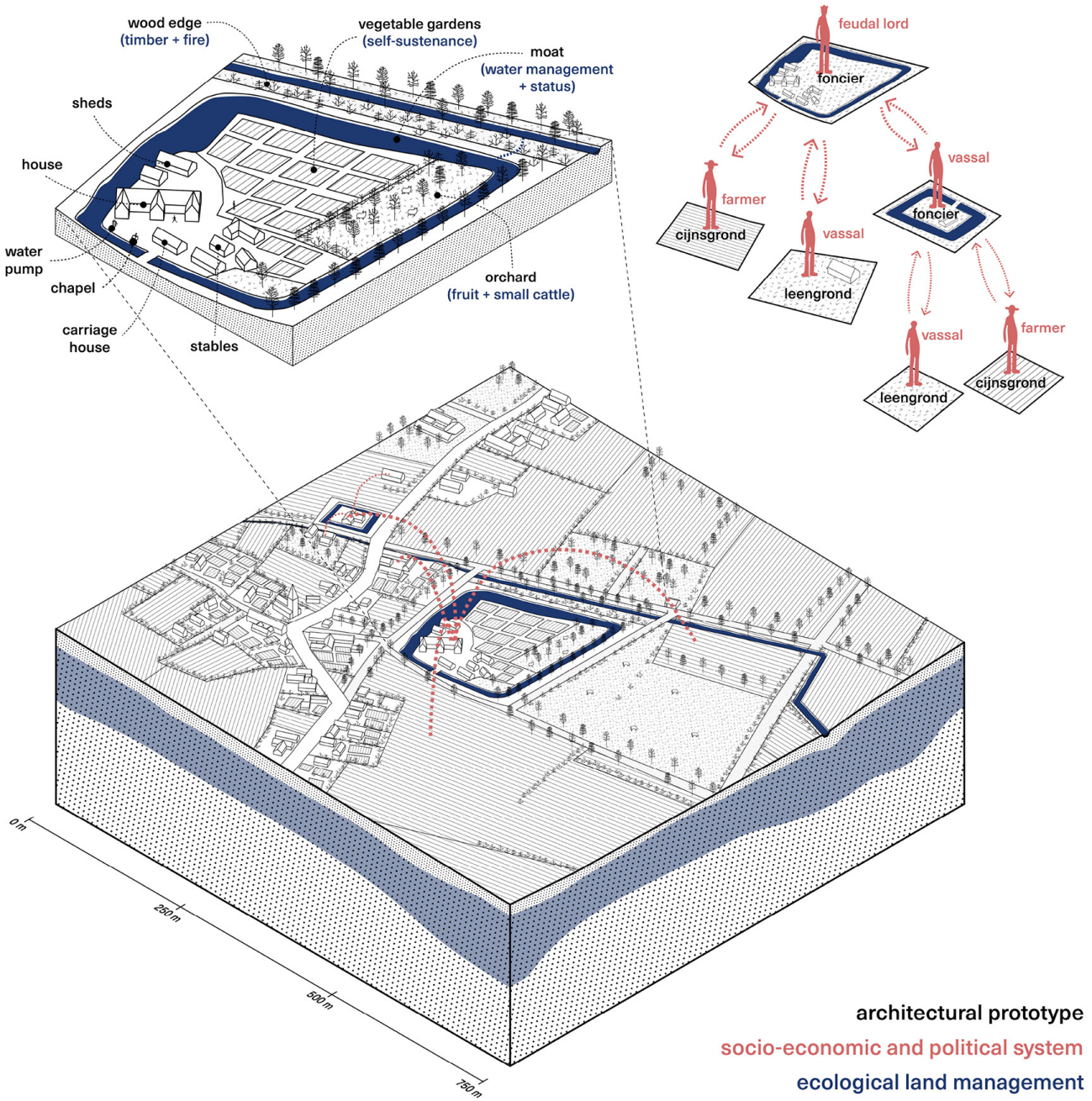

Figure 7. The moated farmstead Goed te Mouden in Moen, South-West Flanders can be considered an architectural typology, a typical expression of a socio-economic and political system, and a typology of ecological land management. Source: Sophie Leemans' based on de Ferraris' 1771 map (Geopunt Vlaanderen, n.d.-a).

5. Discussion: Towards Contemporary Prototypes

During the second half of the twentieth century, over a third of the original 800 moated farmsteads were demolished, due to increasing urbanisation and infrastructure construction (Despriet, 1978). While the moated farmstead once was a typology of a reciprocal living/labour/land configuration, it has nowadays become a shadow of its full potential. The moated farmstead no longer forms the centre of social logic, no longer acts as a farm, no longer organises the spatial layout of its surroundings, nor controls or regulates the water regime. And yet, there is a necessity for these kinds of prototypes.

While the in-situ urbanisation of the rural continued over the past decades, the rural substrate is no longer capable of supporting this continuous urbanisation (Dehaene, 2018). Mobility congestion, flooding, loss of biodiversity, and so on can be interpreted as the outcome of an unadopted common. While individual urbanisation grew, the rural substrate with its agricultural logic of water management, accessibility, and so on was never adapted in a collective way. While "problems" increase

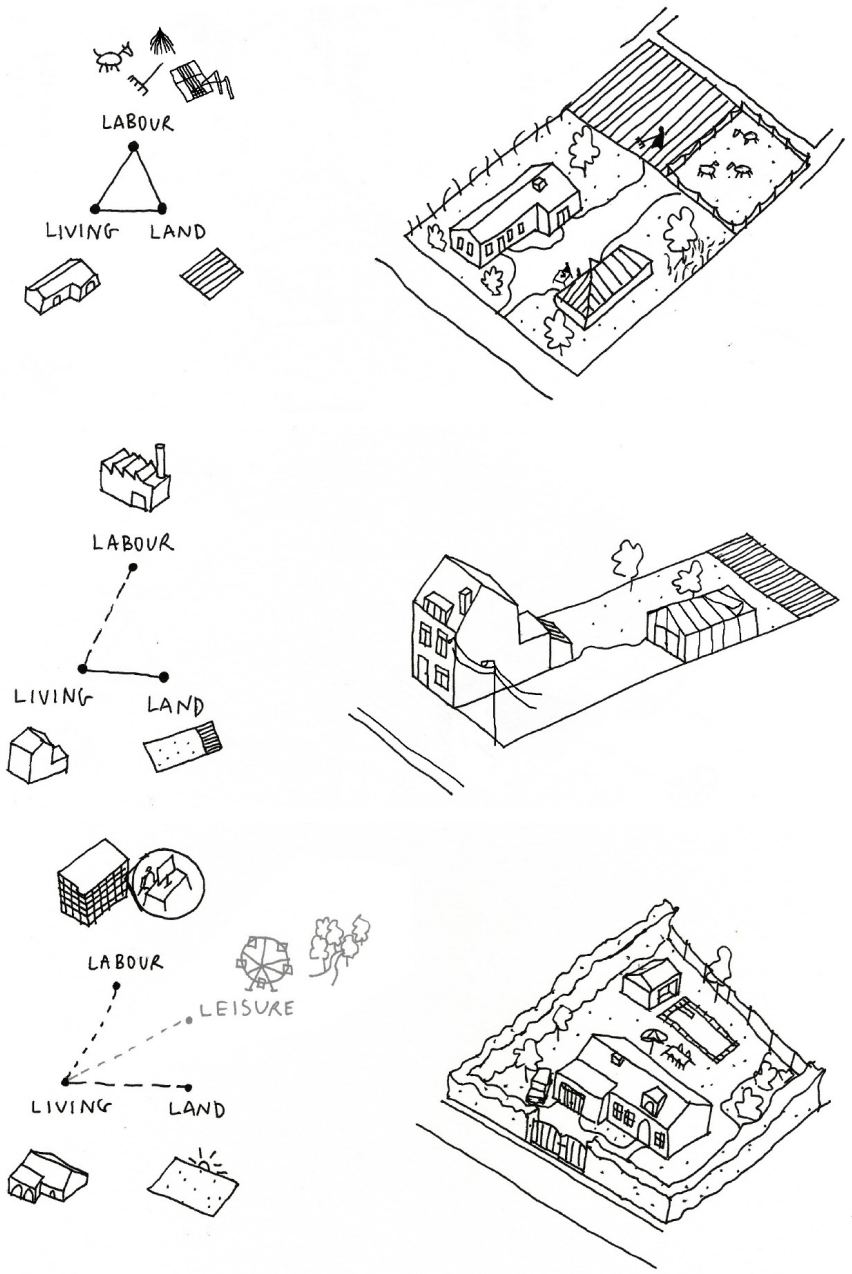

Figure 8. Different architectural typologies expressed different societal shifts: The farm (top), the semi-detached dwelling (middle), and the *fermette* (bottom). Source: Figure elaborated by Sophie Leemans, 2022.

year after year, the urge to intervene grows as well. Rethinking the relationship between the way people live on, work in, and co-exist with the land will lead to a new form of this territory (Gheysen, 2020). Just as the moated farmstead once defined and represented a specific arrangement of living, labour, and land, one could wonder what a contemporary interpretation of this triad would look like.

Although urgent, this moment is not unique in our Western history. Throughout architectural history, one can witness several similar critical moments. The housing crisis of the eighteenth century, the sanitary crisis of the nineteenth century, or more recently, the rise and failure of the welfare state, in the end, all resulted in a radically altered the form of the territory. During these moments of crisis, architects and urban designers experimented with new forms of arrangement for the triad living/labour/land with new *prototypes* in search of new dialogues. The collective ensembles of the Familistère (Jean-Baptiste André Godin; Techno-Science.net, n.d.) or the house or palace Villa Cavrois (Robert Mallet-Stevens) were at the time highly experimental and reflect a particular answer towards a changed society. Similar to the Usonian houses of Frank Lloyd Wright, these are designs that explore a new way of living together and question society through the architectural prototype.

While the moated farmstead is a historical typology in its architectural, socio-economic, political, and

ecological relationships, one could wonder how contemporary prototypes can redefine our relationship with the dispersed territory. Can we imagine new forms of moated farmsteads that answer the contemporary challenges of the territory with a particular architectural project? In South-West Flanders, we do witness the first germs of this new articulation. The Heerlijkheid van Heule is a clear example of a re-interpretation of the moated farmstead. A small scaled organic farm combines food production with youth care. Through the fields, meadows, and water management, the nearby surroundings are organised. This project reinterprets the historical moated farmstead to a contemporary co-existence of living/labour/land in a sustainable way.

6. Conclusion

The moated farmstead historically acted as a typology and made it possible to inhabit the territory beyond an urban/rural dichotomy. In its interpretation of living together in a specific architectural form, its definition of work in the combination of agriculture and proto-industrial production, and its relationship with the land through water management lies an enormous lesson. This particular typology was one of the drivers of the dispersed territory of Flanders.

As the territory is at present challenged by the co-existence of urbanisation and land, the typology holds substantial potential to reinterpret the land/living/labour triad into new prototypes and ultimately define a new future and form for the territory. Whereas the scale of the territory relates to the theoretical construct, the prototype can serve as a testing ground, a controlled experiment, as shown in the current redevelopment of the Heerlijkheid in Heule as a care farm and community project. The imaginary of a sustainable inhabited dispersed territory can be explored through a re-interpretation of the moated farmstead. But where the historical moated farmstead was a complex typology with interwoven relations between architecture, production, land management, etc., the contemporary Heerlijkheid is a pale shadow of what could be. As the prototype touches on the idea of constant adapting, it plays a role in exploring ways to deal with contingencies and the unprecedented that is linked with the new urban question for this territory.

Acknowledgments

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Role of the Public-Private Interface and Persistence of Historic Character in Nezu, Tokyo

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Abstract
The Great Kanto Earthquake and Second World War Fire Bombings have left contemporary Tokyo with almost no monuments from the past. One of the areas that has been spared in both destructions is Yanesen, part of the three neighbourhoods Yanaka, Nezu, and Sendagi located in northeast central Tokyo. Nezu has a peculiar urban character that persists despite the lack of conservation and constant change in its built environment. Its unique character is defined by a sense of local, domestic, and neighbourhood closeness and is linked to the traditional identity of Shitamachi. This article hypothesizes that the main element that preserves the character of Shitamachi in Nezu is based on the relationships rather than on objects that need to be preserved. The analysis focuses on the relationships between public and private spaces and captures changes in the built environment in Nezu over six years. The comparative analysis applied mapping and a photographic survey of the public-private interface. The results showed how the persistence of the urban character is supported by a dynamic change in the built environment which functions as a complex system. The relationships between elements of the built environment are demonstrating non-linear causality at the public-private interface and contribute to Nezu's enduring character.

Keywords
assemblage; change; interface; persistence; public-private; relationships; Tokyo; urban character

Issue
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1. Introduction

The built environment in Nezu, Tokyo has undergone constant change, while its urban character has endured. Although there is no formal preservation of the buildings, the area has maintained its sense of being a traditional town (Shitamachi). Previous studies about tangible aspects of urban character in Nezu demonstrated that the sustaining character was due to the complex relationships between the elements of the built environment, rather than due to the elements themselves (Muminovic, 2014; Muminovic et al., 2013, 2014). Because the permanent urban qualities in Nezu are a domestic atmosphere and a sense of closeness (Muminovic, 2014), the focus of the analysis was the interface of the public and private spaces that contribute to this domesticity. The aforementioned research found that an important aspect instigating this character was the sense of enclosure arising from the presence of the ephemeral elements on the street and how the public-private interface between the house and the street was assembled. The size of the streets and the public-private interface with ephemeral elements have shown not only that residential streets contribute to the sense of domesticity, but also that narrow mixed-use streets have the same effect.

Since Nezu's character is a combination of the unique and the universal and is not related to a particular monument or individual buildings, this article assumes that the buildings could be replaced if there is a continuation of relationships in the built environment that support this character. Thus, this article aims to investigate the short-term level and type of change in Nezu's two

main aspects of the built environment, which support its character: the public-private interface and ephemeral elements on the streets. This is not to oversimplify and assert that the character of Nezu is only based on the type of interface between the public and the private, yet this aspect seems to be a leading contributing factor to the sense of domesticity and its persistence contributes to the endurance of Nezu's character. Therefore, the analysis explores the change in the public-private interface patterns and ephemeral elements between 2013–2019. In general, it could be argued that six years is not a long enough period to demonstrate a significant change in the built environment, however, the speed and degree of change in Tokyo are considerably higher compared with other cities. The average lifespan of a house in Tokyo is only 26 years (Kitayama et al., 2010), thus a six-year time span is long enough to demonstrate change. In addition, the change of interface does not necessarily imply demolishing the building.

In the broadest terms, this research aims to contribute to the understanding of a dynamic place's character and to provide an alternative to the traditional analysis of the place that focuses on the preservation of the built environment. Previous studies on the persistence of a place's character have focused on the conservation of elements of the built environment (e.g., Cannigia & Maffei, 2001; Sepe, 2013). Limited studies are focusing on the morphology that positions change as part of the process of preserving urban character. At the theoretical level, this research contributes to the developing discourse around assemblage theory in urban studies. While Dovey (2010) introduced assemblage theory in urban design and aimed to understand the city through flux and relationships, the aspects of character and its persistence were not explored. This particular area in Tokyo is the exemplar of preservation that reaches beyond simple conservation and represents a potential to broaden the discussions and expand the application of the assemblage theory, where place character is defined over time by incorporating dynamic processes. The article recognises that the place as an assemblage has multiple dimensions and that this research reports on the findings which are limited to its materialist perspective. Furthermore, we acknowledge the importance of the sociocultural aspects of the assemblage, yet in this exploration, we are narrowing to its materialistic elements as an expression of the socio-cultural manifestations to explore and understand the fourth dimension of the assemblage, time.

The article is divided into four segments. Firstly, the theoretical framework for the preservation of the urban character is set within the assemblage theory, exploring how the change in the built environment can contribute to the preservation of urban character; secondly, a survey of Nezu's character is conducted in the tourist guide publications to determine changes over the period of inquiry; thirdly, the methods used to capture the patterns of relationships within the public-private interface and ephemeral elements are explained; and finally, the results are presented in the form of comparative mapping and visual analysis of the streets.

2. Dynamic Preservation and Assemblage Theory

The typical mapping of the preserved elements cannot reveal an understanding of the correlation between the urban character and the built environment in Nezu. Thus, this research applies the assemblage theory framework to obtain an insight into the dynamics of the place and the concept of preservation without the conservation of buildings. Massumi (1987) suggested and Dovey (2010) demonstrated that this theory can be used as a kind of "conceptual toolkit" for analysis of the place. Even though this theory has been criticised for its use of jargon and lack of clarity (Dovey et al., 2018), it becomes concretised once applied to a particular case (DeLanda, 2016).

To understand the change and persistence of urban character, first, the concept of place needs to be outlined briefly. The concept of place was largely developed from phenomenology. Most notably, the work of Norberg-Schulz (1980) in architecture and Tuan (1977) in geography, largely inspired by the concept of dwelling introduced by Heidegger (1972), defines the place as a phenomenon that emerges from the interaction between the built environment and people. The persistence of urban character assumes that there is an essence—a particular building or a building type or atmosphere—that needs to be conserved (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 18). In a more contemporary understanding of dwelling, Massey (1991, p. 26) discusses a need "progressive sense of place" and urges the reader to develop a more dynamic understanding that is not locally bound and nostalgic.

Dovey (2010) instigates a non-essentialist approach to place with the introduction of the concept of assemblage in the place theory. The place is defined as the assemblage based on the relationships of interiority and exteriority. Assemblages are "wholes whose properties emerge from the interaction between parts" (DeLanda, 2006, p. 5). The essence is replaced with multiple equilibrium states that provide more flexibility and change (DeLanda, 2002, p. 10). Assemblage emerges from the interaction between its parts; however, it cannot be reduced to them. Assemblages are made out of elements that are "self-subsistent" and can be detached and replaced with other elements (DeLanda, 2006, p. 18). Thus if some of the relationships change, but the overall quantity is compensated, it could be argued that the character of the assemblage is preserved.

Assemblage theory shifts the analysis from the phenomenological approach to a materialist understanding of the place. This is something that Deleuze refers to as "noumenon" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 222), which does not negate the existence of the phenomenon but adds the importance of the materialist perspective. In the application of urban theories, this shift could be framed

as morphology and patterns in the built environment (Dovey et al., 2018), which is not to ignore the importance of experience, perception and subjectivity in the place, but to complement one's understanding with the aspects of the built environment.

In assemblage theory, the identity of any entity is defined through morphogenetic processes guided by intensity (DeLanda, 2005, p. 82). The properties of all entities, and thus place as well, can be divided into two groups, intensive and extensive (DeLanda, 2002, p. 26). Extensive qualities are those that characterise the material aspects of the components of the assemblage, while intensive properties characterise their qualitative aspects. Identity can be understood at the level of extensive characteristics; however, its description demands exploration over time and intensity (Muminovic, 2015).

All elements of the assemblage are divided into two groups based on the role that they have in the assemblage. One role is defined as a material, where the focus is on how those elements occupy the space and concern only their physical characteristics (DeLanda, 2006, p. 12). The second role is the expressive aspect of the element, where the focus is on qualitative characteristics and their function as agents in the assemblage. For the example with the place, it might be argued that the material role is assigned to the built environment of the place (such as size or materials) while the expressive role is assigned to the interaction between people and the built environment (Muminovic, 2015). The important difference in the assemblage theory is that all elements of the assemblage are changing their roles over time, thus there is no one ideal state for the elements of the assemblage, no essence to be preserved.

The second dimension of the identity in assemblage theory describes how those agents are involved in the assemblage: stabilised or homogenised—territorialisation and destabilised or heterogenised—deterritorialization (DeLanda, 2006, p. 12). Throughout its history, a place can have various levels of the material-expressive dimension or the territorialised-deterritorialised dimension. For example, if a place has built its identity around the monuments in the built environment its role will be material, and expressive aspects will be minimised. The identity of that place is homogenised and stabilised, and if those buildings are demolished the identity will be lost or shifted to a different stage. However, if the elements of a place have a dominant expressive role, then their identity is not bounded completely within the built environment (the material role is reduced) producing heterogenised and deterritorialised assemblage. This particular case might mean that the elements of a built environment can change while the identity remains the same. This does not mean that all of the built environment can change completely, but there is more flexibility compared with the first case. The expressive role of agents in the assemblage is generated by the relationship between people and the built environment; thus, there must be something that evokes this experience.

3. Persistent Urban Character of Nezu

In Nezu there are no specific monuments that support the persistence of character (Shiihara, 2009; Shiihara et al., 2000); thus, we argue that, based on the assemblage theory, heterogenisation is producing the process where the expressive aspects of the elements of the built environment are evoking the persisting character, preserving the Shitamachi of the Edo period. This area is presented differently, in the academic literature and popular media, compared to other neighbourhoods in Tokyo (Waley, 1991, p. 191, 2012). Elaborated in Sand's (2013, p. 55) analysis of how *Yanesen Magazine* has contributed to the creation of "Yanesen" as a place, this supports the notion that the identity of this place is of a particular kind, built on expressive qualities of the assemblage. Extensive discourse analysis was performed on the popular publications about the Yanesen area spanning from 2010–2019. Part of this analysis from 2010–2014 has already been published (Muminovic, 2014) and this article extends that exploration to 2019. The resources included printed and digital media. Printed data consisted of material distributed in Yanesen (such as maps and brochures, advertising pamphlets for the shops, galleries, or cultural activities), tourist guides about Tokyo, and data from a Yanesen magazine. Digital data were gathered from online official tourist guides, blogs, and other non-organisational websites. To understand the fluid character of Yanesen, a qualitative summative content analysis was performed (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This analysis generated manifest and latent content, where manifest content is a visible and obvious component of the text and latent allows interpretation of the meaning of the text (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The discourse analysis produced four main themes around the Yanesen area (listed alphabetically): a sense of closeness and domesticity, history, smallness, and uniqueness, with 38 different keywords or codes (Muminovic, 2014, p. 383). These results confirmed what Sand (2013, p. 67) suggested, that "neighborliness" is correlated with traditional alley spaces not wider than 3 m. When revisited in 2019 the number of brochures and editions has been increasing and new editions of the same publications were found, such as the map of bookshops (Shinobazu Book Street Map, published yearly), the magazine about Yanesen, Taito City Ward's publication of Yanaka and Ueno, etc. In addition, the number of maps and promotion materials had increased, for example, one of the pamphlets found in Nezu is an "Osampo Map" (Strolling Map) titled "History Experience Nezu" and this neighbourhood is featured in new books (Hosei University & Politecnico di Torino, 2019; Imai, 2018; Nadarou, 2017; Tsuchiya, 2016; Ursic & Imai, 2020). Tourist guides in English are still promoting the town as a traditional historic Tokyo. Three new hotels

were built in this area, demonstrating the need for and interest in tourist accommodation. Furthermore, there are new guidebooks in the Japanese language about Yanesen that promote strolling in the neighbourhood. The *OZ Magazine* explores Tokyo's neighbourhoods featuring the area's new shops, local produce, renovations, and food (Yoshinaga, 2019, p. 562). As noted by Goddard (2017) there has been a recent proliferation of urban guides, mainly orientated towards rising experiential consumerist city-wanderers describing new and interesting places. Thus, Nezu is following the general trend in Tokyo, which is encouraging people to experience the city on foot and still presenting the traditional character of Shitamachi as the leading aspect of the urban character.

The fact that this area is still maintaining its expressive qualities through tourist guides and other promotional materials supports the continuity of its character. However, this aspect of the assemblage does need to be grounded in the material parts of the assemblage, i.e., its built environment. Therefore, this article explores the degree of change in the elements of the built environment, particularly focusing on the public-private interface to demonstrate the fluidity of the urban character and its material aspects.

In 2013, less than 3% of the houses in Nezu had a timber cladding façade. Timber is considered to evoke a sense of traditional Shitamachi. Today, 62% of those houses mapped in 2013 remain. Sparse and scattered around the neighbourhood, the impact of those reminiscent of the past might be considered insignificant. In addition, during the fieldwork, it was noted that 41% of the newer houses (constructed after 2013) had timber façade cladding and bore no resemblance to the traditional architecture. This demonstrates that preservation is not a prominent aspect of the neighbourhood, but the importance of the timber remains in its contemporary use and supports the universal character focusing on the human scale and tactile characteristics of softness in the street.

4. Method

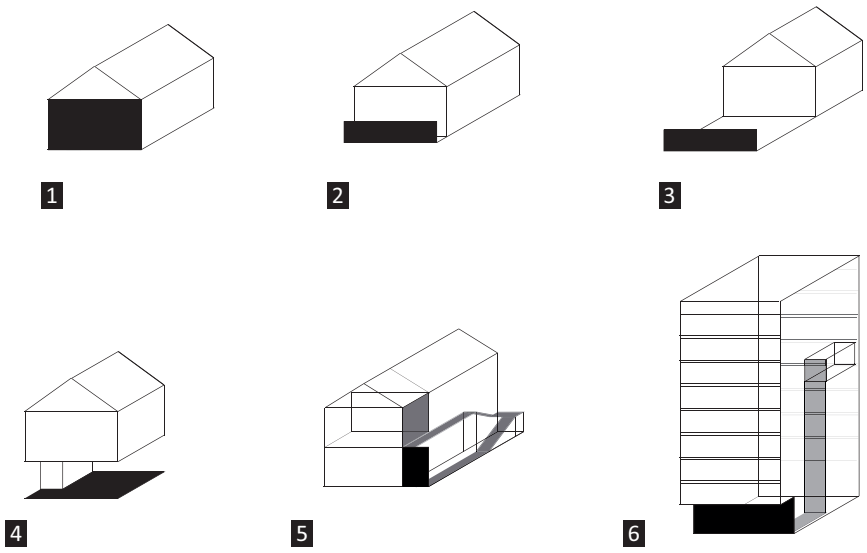
To explore how domesticity and a sense of closeness are generated in Nezu, the article focuses on the analysis of the public-private interface and the domestic ephemera that are present on the streets. In general terms, the existing urban theories, both essentialist and non-essentialist, have recognised the importance of the public-private interface for the definition of the character of urban spaces. Norberg-Schulz (2000, p. 164) emphasises how the articulation of the space between the inside and outside in architecture defines the character of the place. For Habraken (1998, p. 168) the essence of the urban lies in the boundary between the public and private spaces. Madanipour (2003, pp. 59–60) also reinforces that this space defines the character of the city. Bobic (2004) recognises this space as an important element of urbanity and classifies the spaces by what he calls "interface morphology." Recent research on this topic has identified a gap in the literature on the issue of the public-private interface, which demonstrates relationships rather than objects in space, and there is a need for further research (Dovey & Wood, 2015). Furthermore, this research adds to the ongoing development of understanding street edges as socio-spatial territorialised (Thwaites et al., 2020) assemblages by introducing the dimension of time.

The peculiarity of Nezu's character was considered when analysing the public-private interface. The sense of domesticity does not necessarily mean that something is private. Private is unwelcoming for the outsider, whereas closeness and domesticity are familiar and generate welcoming feelings. The way in which the private spaces in Nezu are mediated in relation to public spaces contributes to the welcoming character. Important aspects of this reconciliation are found to result from the location of domestic and ephemeral things at the interface, such as potted plants, umbrellas, shoes, etc. Those elements support the enclosure of the street's public space and promote a sense of being inside the neighbourhood (Aoki & Yuasa, 1993). They are not physically enclosing the space; rather their presence creates a sense of being inside, a sense of domestic public space.

The public-private interface is defined as the space between the private sphere of the interior of the individual dwelling (the house or the apartment) and the public sphere of the street, possessing qualitative characteristics of both spaces. Our fieldwork has identified six main patterns of the public-private interface that were mapped in 2013 and 2019 (Figure 1). Those patterns are defined according to the following morphological characteristics: position of the house on the plot, position of the entrance to the private space, and permeability from public to private spaces. Private awareness, setback, mode of accessibility, and fencing were also considered in the classification process. This classification follows similar criteria to those developed by Dovey and Wood (2015) with the addition of a clear boundary, such as a fence, and the size of the setback (Ohno, 2018, p. 107).

4.1. Private Awareness

Since the urban character is based on how the outsiders (visitors) relate to the lived experiences of the insiders (Relph, 1986, p. 49), the analysis has focused on the public's perspective of the permeability between the public space and the private sphere of the house. This permeability is not defined by how visible the private space is from the street, but often it is about sensing the private life inside, hearing the voices, showering, dishes or seeing the shadows, that is, things that evoke a sense of connection to the domestic life. In addition, this soft transition from the public to private spaces of the house contributes to the familiar, welcoming, embracing, and almost friendly aspect of the neighbourhood. Outsiders



	private awareness	setback	mode of accessibility	fence
1	○	X	P	X
2	○	S	P	○
3	X	L	P	○
4	X	L	C	X
5	○	S	P	X
6	X	X	P	X

○	yes
X	no
S	close together
L	apart
C	car access
P	pedestrian access

Figure 1. Patterns of the public-private interface in Nezu.

feel part of the neighbourhood and have a sense of belonging (Sand, 2013, p. 67). As noted in recent publications about the neighbourhood, "The more I walk through this neighbourhood, the warmer feeling I get" (Yoshinaga, 2019, p. 35).

4.2. Setback

This is the space between the façade of the house and the street. There were three patterns identified, based on the existence and size of the setback. If the house had an entrance directly from the street it was considered as not having a setback. If there was a setback, it was classified as either apart (more than 1 m) or close together (from 0.5 to 1 m; Figure 1).

4.3. Mode of Accessibility

This relates to whether the house can be accessed by a car and has parking space on the ground level, or it is only accessible on foot. The dominant transport used in this area is the bicycle; however, there are some spaces dedicated to the car. Often, in the case where the ground level is dedicated to the car, the entrance to the house is set back from the street, behind the parked car. Thus, the presence of the car interrupts the continuity of the public-private interface (Figure 1).

4.4. Fence

This element defines a clear boundary between the public and private spheres and does not contribute to the sense of connection and fluidity between the two. This element was noted as existing or non-existing (Figure 1).

Six patterns were mapped in 2013 and 2019, and the changes in the number and positions of the patterns were identified and quantified using QGIS software. The degree of change was mapped at the level of each block and defined as the sum of the area of changing patterns in relation to the sum of the area of all houses. The change was considered both when a new pattern emerged as well as when it disappeared as a result of the demolition of the building. The degree of change was measured in percentage; the highest level of change being 100%, which assumes that all interfaces in a given block have changed. Similarly, 0% change assumes that all interfaces in a given block have been preserved.

We conducted a photographic survey of ephemeral elements in the streets showing either a high or low degree of change and compared the results with those in 2013. Subsequent photos were taken every 10 m along the street and the area of coverage of ephemeral elements was measured as a percentage of the total area photographed. The more ephemeral things present on the street, the higher the percentage, and thus the sense of domesticity.

5. Analysis and Results

5.1. Comparison of the Public-Private Interface Patterns Between 2013–2019

The overall numbers of public-private interface patterns demonstrate low levels of change. Patterns 1 and 4 were found to have increased. Pattern 4 appears to be a popular solution for new family houses as it contains car parking at the ground level. This pattern is discontinuing the interface between public and private, thus, contributing less to the preservation of Nezu's character. In 2013, the most numerous public-private interfaces conformed to pattern 1 in 50% of all buildings, and by 2019, this number had increased to 61%. This pattern has the smallest public-private interface: The boundary between the interior of the house and the public space of the street is defined by only a thin wall. It usually contains many ephemeral things which extend the private space of the house towards the street and contribute to the sense of enclosure and domesticity. Thus, it could be argued that this trend adds to the preservation of Nezu's character. In 2013, 22% of all houses conformed to pattern 6, making it the second largest group, which had reduced to 17% by 2019. Pattern 2 decreased from 22% to 8% over time and similarly, pattern 3 decreased from 7% to 3%. Both patterns have a physical barrier that makes a clear distinction between the public and private space but has little effect on the presence of ephemeral things on the street. Thus, their decreasing numbers are still contributing to the preservation of the character. Pattern 5 was found to have plummeted and has mainly been replaced with high-rise buildings and in some cases with pattern 2.

Although the overall number of patterns showed little change over the last six years; the actual interfaces have changed, as demonstrated on the maps (Figure 2). Patterns 1 and 6 have increased in numbers, the least changes emerging in pattern 3, notably, the change was not concentrated in any particular location but dispersed over the neighbourhood. In addition, many houses had been demolished and replaced with the same pattern of the public-private interface. Those changes are not recorded here; however, they demonstrate the vibrant nature of this area.

The maps of the degree of change (Figure 3) showed that some areas have generally changed less across all patterns while some have changed significantly. To develop an understanding of how each block has changed, the maps of the degree of change have been overlapped with 30% transparency across all interfaces (in Figure 3, the map at the right shows the average degree of change across all patterns). To allow further analysis and to compare the photographic survey, three streets have been chosen that demonstrate examples of high and low degrees of change.

5.2. Comparison of the Photographic Survey Results Between 2013–2019

A photographic survey was conducted in 2019 for the three streets and compared with the same survey done in 2013. Street 1 demonstrated on average the lowest degree of change in the public-private interface, while street 3 exhibited a high degree of change. Street two was mixed with low and high degrees of change. The survey has shown that on average there is the same presence of ephemeral elements in streets 1 and 2 which have mainly preserved their public-private interfaces. The average percentage of ephemeral elements on street 3 dropped by 50% (Figure 4). Once observed in detail, sequences along streets 1 and 2 followed the same patterns of high and low numbers of

Figure 2. Map identifying change of the public-private interface.

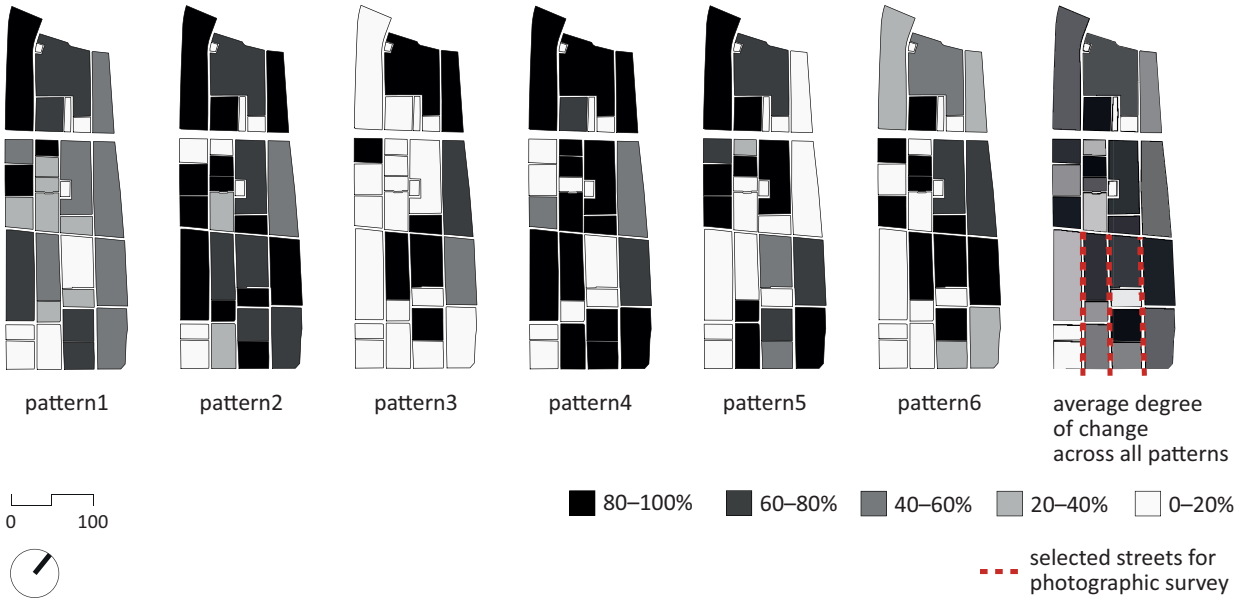


Figure 3. The degree of change.

ephemera. However, street 3 has lost the places of high concentration of ephemeral elements, which previously existed at three places along the street (Figure 4, ratio of ephemera).

The detailed photographic survey has shown no simple correlation between the houses that have changed, and the number of elements found on the street. The analysis confirmed that there is a link between the

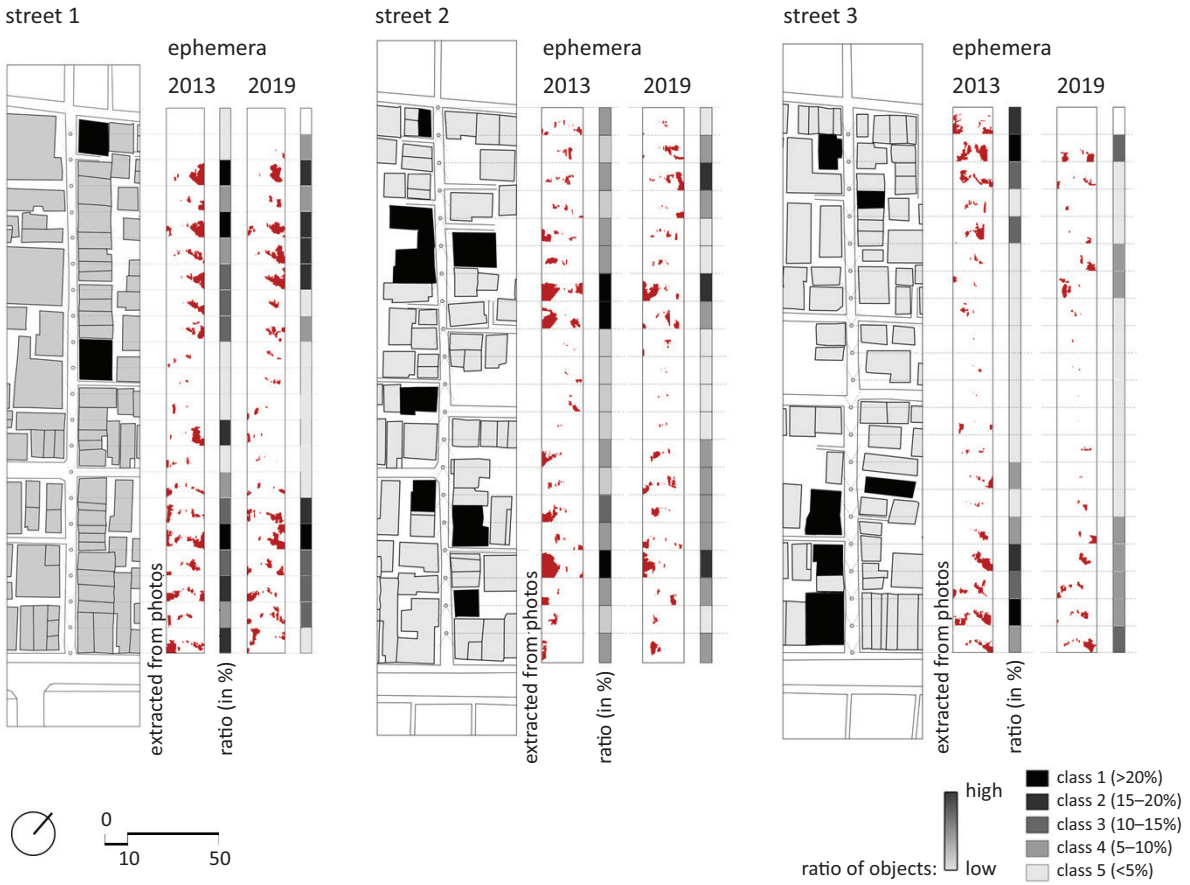


Figure 4. Mapping of the photographic survey of the three streets, highlighting the houses that were changed and the presence of the ephemera on the street.

pattern of interface and the quantity of the ephemera on the street. As expected, where the built environment had not changed, the number of elements remained the same. For example, the buildings on street 1 where the interface is preserved and the function has changed, have retained the same number of ephemeral elements (Figure 5a, the shop on the left changed from a tofu shop to a bakery, but preserved most of the old façade). On the other hand, although the house on the right in street 2 had changed (Figure 5b) and changed its interface by removing the fence, there was no change in the scale and size of the interface. In this case, the number of ephemeral elements remained at the same level. Another example was street 3 where a single-storey house was replaced with an apartment building (Figure 5c) resulting in a larger setback

Figure 5. Comparative photographic survey.

compared with the old house in 2013. Consequently, the number of ephemeral elements was reduced by 73%. Photo analysis has also demonstrated that the ephemeral elements on the street are not so ephemeral, and in some cases, the same number and the exact same elements were still present (for example Figure 5d).

6. Conclusions

This study has shown that many houses were demolished in Nezu between 2013–2019. The relationships amongst patterns of interfaces continue to be proportionally similar, but different in number, thus showing variation rather than a complete change. This variation seems to be an important element that supports the dynamics of the built environment. The built environment as assemblage is flexible to the point that the overall relationship between elements remains within acceptable levels of variation to maintain the character of the place. This also confirms that the character of Nezu is not bound by the buildings but is found in the relationships between elements. Furthermore, this aspect of Nezu demonstrates how a place can be observed as an assemblage of deterritorialised identity.

The ephemeral things such as personal belongings on the street, seem to be quite persistent. The photographic survey has shown that there are cases where ephemeral things are the same as they were six years ago. Our observations have shown that even despite the demolition of some buildings, domestic elements continued to be used in the same manner. When the building and interface have retained the same size, the presence of ephemera has been observed. In the example of the change of the interface, as well as the change in the size of the building, we have observed the change in the ephemera. This furthermore raises the question of the human factor, where the change of the building could also imply a change in the inhabitants and thus habits of occupying the public sphere. Moreover, it could also mean that the discontinuous nature of the space does not provide opportunities for occupying space. This question is beyond the scope of this research; however, it does confirm that the size of the interface is an important factor in presence of ephemera and a sense of domesticity. Furthermore, in the example of the shopfront (Figure 5a), the shop has changed but the façade and the number of ephemera remained. This confirms the importance of the material aspects of the assemblage as containers for a specific human inhabitation.

The character in Nezu showed high levels of deterritorialisation allowing for dynamic change in its built environment. The character of closeness and domesticity is both universal and specific to Shitamachi, and thus could be easily found in almost any location. This does not mean that if all interfaces are replaced with high-rise apartment buildings, Nezu will still retain its character. To operate as an assemblage, some elements in the built environment still need to evoke a sense of closeness. In Nezu's case, this is more flexible because its character is not based on the buildings but on the relationships. The expressive role of the elements in Nezu's assemblage is found within the relationship between public and private spaces. The ephemeral elements on the street support this expressiveness. Thus, the maintenance of the quality of the public-private interface contributes to the preservation of the urban character in Nezu. Although the buildings are changing, the relationships between the public and private spheres seem to be more stable. Furthermore, this expressive nature of Nezu's character is supported by the narrative around this neighbourhood. The proliferation of publications and promotional material continues to build this narrative around Yanesen. The narrative itself would not work without the support of the built environment and vice versa, the built environment is perceived in a particular way because of that narrative. Both spheres of the assemblage are maintained within a level of variation, generating a dynamic nature of this space. Thus, instead of focusing on the analysis of preserving the character of a particular building the assemblage approach encompasses the whole spectrum of elements and considers how they function together. If there are fewer elements with a material role in the assemblage, they can be supported with expressive elements. Therefore, this research has demonstrated how observing the place in its totality, comprising both material and expressive elements over time, contributes to a more holistic understanding of its complex nature and dynamic preservation.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Impacts of Change: Analysing the Perception of Industrial Heritage in the Vogtland Region

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Abstract
Beyond metropolitan areas, many peripheral regions and their cities in Europe have, in manifold ways, been significantly shaped by industrialisation. In the context of the relocation of industrial production to other countries over the last decades, the question has been raised as to the role this heritage can play in futural regional development as well as the potential local identification with this history. Hence, this article seeks to analyse the perception of the industrial heritage in the Vogtland region, located alongside the border of three German federal states and the Czech Republic. It inquires as to the perception of the industrial heritage by the local population and related potential future narrations. Based on spontaneous and explorative interviews with local people as an empirical base, a discrepancy between the perception of the tangible and intangible dimensions of the industrial heritage can be observed. On the one hand, the tangible heritage like older factories and production complexes are seen as a functional legacy and an "eyesore" narrative is attributed to them. On the other hand, people often reference the personal and familial connection to the industry and highlight its importance for the historical development and the wealth of the region. But these positive associations are mainly limited to the intangible dimension and are disconnected from the material artefacts of industrial production.

Keywords
industrial heritage; perception; regional development; transformation; Vogtland region

Issue
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1. Introduction and Background

Beyond metropolitan areas, many peripheral regions and their cities in Europe have, in manifold ways, been significantly shaped by industrialisation. In the context of the relocation of industrial production to other countries and the shutdown of several production sites, handling the material legacy of this development today is a major challenge for communities, which still face a massive process of transformation. In many places, significant amounts of money—extensively funded with public means in Germany—are invested in the demolition of these structures, which often seem to be considered worthless and a barrier to future development. However, the socio-spatial dimension and the appreciation of the local population, plus the importance of the industrial heritage for local identity, are barely taken into account in these debates. Therefore, this article seeks to analyse the perception of the industrial heritage in the Vogtland region, at the border of three German federal states and the Czech Republic.

In general, engagement with industrial heritage has seen an increasing interest in the last decades facing the context of a large transformation of the economic structures in many European countries. Therefore, the transformation of vacant industrial structures has become an important task of planning as well as other disciplines and today, especially in larger cities, is taken for granted. Hence, numerous publications address the re-use of industrial structures and seek to investigate best-practice examples for different typologies (e.g., Oevermann, 2021) or further develop design strategies

more deeply by researching single or multiple case studies (e.g., Loures, 2008; Samadzadehyazdi et al., 2020). Such approaches usually relate to the importance of the industrial heritage to the local identity (e.g., Cossons, 2012, p. 9), but do not outline what this meaning is explicitly about and how preservation can strengthen these bonds or use them to reinforce the legitimation of preserving. Instead, industrial heritage is primarily seen as a physical shell in planning, and the importance of social processes and memories connected with specific places as well as larger spatial correlations is only scarcely considered (Del Pozo & Alonso González, 2012, p. 447). As Jasna Cizler describes in the example of Leeds, in practical urban development, industrial heritage is often used as an image to attract financial investment and therefore reduced to a "marketing tool used to sell places for higher prices" (Cizler, 2012, p. 233). Further, established research concerning the transformation of industrial heritage sites is mainly focused on larger urban and metropolitan areas, whereas the often compartmentalised structures in rural areas are less acknowledged.

Existing literature regarding the perception of the industrial heritage focuses more strongly on its potential for tourism (e.g., Bazazzadeh et al., 2020; Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996). For example, Craveiro et al. (2013) research the potential of industrial heritage in rural areas along with the example of a post-mining area in Portugal using a mixed-methods approach with interviews as well as questionnaires, but their case studies are strongly focused on museal heritage sites and their potential for regional development. Additionally, Vander Stichele et al. (2015) presented a study at the TICCIH-Conference (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) in 2015 which deals with the perception of and participation in the industrial heritage and therefore approach a highly important field. However, it is mostly based on a narrow methodical approach using questionnaires with standardised answering possibilities and thus does not allow a deeper understanding of the importance of local identity, but rather highlights the tourism potential. The term "industrial site" in this context is more or less limited to industrial museums and comparable places.

Another approach is proposed by Đukić et al. (2018), who connect industrial heritage to the concept of place attachment and highlight the potential importance of intangible aspects like people´s interaction or memories linked to places, while practical planning usually does not consider these values but reduces the sites to their tangible, material aspects (Đukić et al., 2018, p. 301). However, like the other named studies, it is based on questionnaires and—although they have a broad range of possible answers—therefore restricted to tendentially superficial findings in a sense of measuring how important places are for people, but not dealing with the reasons and characteristics of this importance. So far, regarding the literature review of Lewicka, there seems to be a general lack of existing research concerning place attachment. In general, the field of people-place relations has seen growing interest within the last decades. But methodical approaches are mainly based on quantitative studies, more strongly asking "how much" rather than "what" and developing scales to describe the importance of places to people than asking what the meaning implies (Lewicka, 2010, pp. 220–221).

Therefore, this article focuses more strongly on "what" industrial heritage means to the local population. It searches for narratives connected to the material, and industrial structures as a potential for regional development and planning. With an added focus on rural industrial areas, new accesses and perspectives may be opened in heritage research. In connection with the cited literature, the article follows a qualitative methodical approach. Established approaches using comparability to measure the importance of industrial heritage and places, in general, may lead to well-applicable results. Against that, the aim of this research is not to quantify and hierarchise the findings, but to get an overview of the attitudes of the people towards industrial heritage and to understand how the social connection to spaces finds an expression.

Practically, spontaneous semi-structured interviews with the local population were conducted during explorative hikes in the region between June–September 2020. While the term "local population" involves all people living in the region, most of the respondents were born and have spent most of their life there. This might be paradigmatic for many peripheral regions in Eastern Germany, which have faced an enormous population loss since the German reunification. However, the role of the hiker was chosen deliberately to approach local people in their everyday environment to avoid formal interview situations and the scientific interest was not exposed until the first barrier of approach had been overcome. Next, the people were informed about the research and the reason for the conversation before further questions were asked. This approach was based on two guiding questions: Which role does tangible and intangible industrial heritage play for the local population? Which futural perspective do people see for vacant structures of industrialisation? In addition, people were asked which general characteristics of the region they valued and why they lived there to contextualise the findings towards the industrial heritage. To avoid extensive "storytelling'' from the respondents, a problematisation was conducted within the interviews, for example by pointing at vacant buildings and questioning their potential futural perspectives. Thereby, an attitude of the questioned person towards the industrial heritage should be provoked. Thus, people were specifically approached near vacant buildings if possible, or the topic was raised in interviews in general. Although this interview form might seem a bit unconventional in the way of approaching the interviewed persons, these have been semi-structured interviews methodically grounded on the established literature (e.g., Dunn, 2010).

Overall, 68 interviews were done with a length between 2–30 minutes, all of which were documented afterwards in a standardised pattern with further interview—and person—related demographic data. Three of the interviewed persons were under 18 (4.4%), five were 18–29 (7.3%), 17 were 30–49 (25%), 28 were 50–64 (41.2%), and 15 were over 65 years old (22.1%). 44.1% of the interviewed persons (30) were male and 55.9% female (38). The high shares of people over 50 years may be due to the aforementioned high population loss in the region since the 1990s, as well as the ongoing demographic ageing, and also because these people are retired and use these public spaces more frequently. After finishing the interviews, in a descriptive analysis, the results were sorted into categories inductively developed based on the findings. Then, generalising narratives were developed to summarise the central statements of the interviews. Next, these narratives were contextualised with the person-related data and some differences between different age groups could be found. These results are further described in Section 3. Again, it is important to mention that the aim was explicitly not to quantify the results, but to get an overview of the variety of attitudes towards the industrial heritage. Therefore, the narratives can be understood as the pointed reflection of the captured statements.

2. The Case of the Vogtland Region

The Vogtland region is located along the border of the three German federal states of Thuringia, Saxony, Bavaria, and the Czech Republic. The eponymous connection between these different areas relates to a medieval context when the region was controlled by the lords of Weida, Gera, Plauen, and Greiz (Bünz et al., 2013, p. 84). This important epoch is still recognisable along numerous buildings like old churches, castles, mansions, or ruins and also reflects in the public, mainly a touristic representation of the region, which predominantly relates to this heritage and creates an idyllic image of the Vogtland.

However, the Vogtland region gained its crucial character as a cultural landscape in the context of industrialisation beginning in the mid-19th century. Based on numerous manufactories existing since medieval times, the textile industry especially shaped the region with many factories arising throughout the area. The most famous product was the so-called "Plauen lace," which was exported worldwide and had an excellent reputation (Bünz et al., 2013, pp. 103, 114). Additionally, in the southern Vogtland, along the Saxon-Czech border, musical instruments were produced and also exported worldwide making the "upper Vogtland" one of the most prestigious producers all over the world (Bünz et al., 2013, p. 120). Other minor industries included machine production and tanneries, which grew as side branches of the textile industry. An important characteristic of the region similar to many parts of Thuringia and Saxony in general is the decentral structure with export-oriented consumer goods industries, whose production sites are spread all over the area and not concentrated in a few central locations. Their built structures often seem to be more "ordinary" and less architecturally outstanding or iconic than those of heavy engineering located in larger cities in general (Friedreich, 2020, pp. 275–276). Still, the region became very wealthy and the cities grew rapidly, as did the framing of social and technical infrastructure. Yet, the Vogtland region was and until today is mainly shaped rurally with many small and medium-sized cities. Because the region is quite hilly, many large bridges were built like the famous "Göltzsch Viaduct," which was opened in 1851 and today is being considered to become a UNESCO world heritage site.

In the mid-20th century, the German division marked an important break for the industrial development and structure of the region. In Saxony and Thuringia, nearly all private companies were closed and amalgamated into nationally owned enterprises, the so-called "Volkseigene Betriebe." These companies focused on the mass production of consumer goods based on the theory of economies of scale, which led to an overall reduction of the product line-up. However, although these were major changes on an administrative level and former owners left the German Democratic Republic, the development did not lead to major changes regarding the built structures. Production continued and most buildings were conserved by continuous use, while there had been only a few new building activities in comparison to other East German regions due to the peripheral location of the Vogtland along the inner-German border. However, this continuity and a lack of investment caused Eastern German industries to be hit even harder after the German reunification and the subsequent integration into the international markets. For example, the textile industry mostly used machines from the first half of the 20th century. In globalised production chains, the companies were not competitive and around 90% of the production sites were closed down, people lost their work and primarily young workforces left the region because they did not see a futural perspective there. The firms were reprivatised and often closed down after only a few years (Bünz et al., 2013, p. 134). Nonetheless, an important exception should not be kept unmentioned; while the textile industry was nearly completely shut down in the last decades except for some highly specialised firms, the manufacturing of high-class individualised musical instruments has made the upper Vogtland one of the most prestigious producers in the world (again; Bünz et al., 2013, p. 136). Still, today the vacant structures of industrialisation are a challenge for the communities and planning all over the region, which do not have the financial means for larger recreation projects. Due to ongoing decay, many buildings are being demolished, often with extensive funding from higher-level administrations.

So, the Vogtland region has only seen little building activity since 1945 in general, especially in comparison to

areas in Western Germany. Therefore, the region today is still significantly shaped by the material heritage of industrialisation, resulting in a unique landscape with often condensed settlement structures directly bordering the natural surroundings, as seen in Figure 1. Overall, the Vogtland region is an example of the challenges and potentials of many rural European regions characterised by a rich industrial heritage.

3. Results

In this section, the results of the interviews in the Vogtland region will be introduced. These were abstracted and summarised in generalising narratives, which pointedly describe the central attitudes of the local population towards the industrial heritage. These are the noticing-describing "yesterday" narrative, the badly associated "eyesore" narrative, the pragmatic future-related "nothing will happen" narrative as well as the "this is all over" narrative, and, last but not least, the more nostalgic "we are all connected to this and therefore it is important to us" narrative. Further, the results are distinguished concerning tangible and intangible aspects of the industrial heritage. The tangible dimension primarily involves production sites and other built structures as well as the products, while the interviews mainly focused on the buildings. Thus, this level mainly summarises results concerning the visible material aspects of the industrial heritage, which, because of their poor state, are often linked to bad associations. Against that, the intangible level describes advanced associations like nostalgic aspects and memories in a non-material dimension. Of course, such differentiation is only a theoretical construction and, in practice, the associations are closely connected. But especially when researching the industrial heritage, this construction helps to look beyond mostly negative interpretative patterns which often only describe a part of the perception and therefore open the view to new aspects.

A "yesterday" narrative is especially attributed to production sites because the function related to the buildings is obsolete nowadays. Therefore, it is important to mention that this narrative firstly is limited to a noticing and describing level and does not imply any emotional reaction like nostalgia or refusal at all. It is founded on links to the temporal distance like "it is long ago," "this is how things change over the years" or just "this is history" with explicit reference to the production and with the associated production sites. But additionally, often an emotionally charged "eyesore" narrative relating to the bad aesthetics of vacant buildings is added (Figure 2), usually directly connected with a call to remove these constructions. A renovation is considered to be unrealistic and this narrative reduces the industrial heritage to an aesthetic and short-term dimension.

Closely connected to these aspects is a narrative regarding the futural perspective of the industrial heritage. The respondents often stated that "nothing will happen" and then referred to other buildings in the town or region which had been demolished earlier and

Figure 1. Condensed settlement structures and natural surroundings in Mylau, Saxony (2020).

Figure 2. To various vacant industrial buildings like this former textile mill in Pausa, Saxony, an "eyesore" narrative is attributed (2020).

therefore saw no perspective for the still existing structures. This was not because they did not want these to be demolished, but because they were just not aware of successful examples of conservation in their everyday environment and therefore thought a demolition to be the only realistic perspective for the structures. Only in single cases did the respondents refer to cases of revitalised buildings and give ideas for potential futural developments and possible uses of the vacant structures. Some of these people expressed regret about the development stating "too bad, that nothing happens here," but often connected with the "there will not happen anything" narrative, showing they did not believe in a revitalisation. Further, most respondents did not see an initiative to act by themselves, but by external actors plus the communities and their administrations. They assumed these actors to be able to do more for the conservation of historic structure than they actually did. People often pointed to owners from other regions of Germany or even other countries, which had bought the buildings years ago, and often made enormous promises for revitalisation, but practically did not act out of various (speculative) reasons. Additionally, respondents thought the municipalities had the responsibility to take care of the vacant structures since they found them to be the ones with the instruments to act. Interestingly, people do not strongly blame the communities or feel explicitly frustrated but seem to be pragmatic and somewhat resigned, since they often recall the "nothing will happen" narrative. Sometimes they even pointed to buildings which had been demolished by the municipalities to illustrate that this is the "usual" way of handling this legacy.

The products only played a minor role in the interviews, but tendentially people showed a stronger attachment to these than to the buildings. They would name musical instruments or the Plauen lace first when asked about the industrial past of the region. After all, if one only considers the tangible dimension of the industrial heritage, one could assume that from the outside, there is no outstanding recognisable esteem of the people in the Vogtland region. Instead, relevant characteristics named by the respondents in tangible terms are natural highlights and the closeness of settlements to the natural surroundings. Regarding built structures, touristic marketed features like castles, churches, and the large bridges within the region were highlighted. Other important factors stated in the interviews were especially those of social and biographic integration, being a "homeland" for many people growing up and living there for decades. For people moving into the region, economic factors like jobs or educational opportunities have been important for their migration and no particular connection to the industrial heritage was identifiable.

These aspects show that factors regarding the tangible dimension of the industrial heritage and the region, in general, have only been one part of the interviews. They were often followed by statements relating to an intangible level. Also, in extension to the "yesterday" narrative, there has been a simple "this is all over" narrative, which refers to the shutdown of production and experiences of loss on different levels like work or the migration of young people, but also in the personal biography. It is often connected with resignation to the development of the last three decades. Therefore, the economic decline also caused a social and cultural loss of meaning, especially for people with a biographical connection to the buildings. In this context, the importance of the factories was explicitly connected to jobs for the region and with their loss and the (functional) relevance of these buildings for the local people was lost, too. Some of the respondents still seemed to be frustrated because of this development and especially blamed foreign companies for the decline, companies that had absorbed the former state-owned enterprises after the German reunification and often closed down after only a few years. But these have been exceptions. Most respondents seemed to be more pragmatic and answered, "That´s how it is and we cannot change it anymore."

Apart from that, the "yesterday" narrative is often explicitly related to the tangible dimension of the heritage, but not the intangible. For example, when stating "this is history," the same person subsequently asked to draw younger people´s attention to this history, which shaped the region in manifold ways. This need for sharing memories and awareness of its meaning is also expressed in numerous memorial plates along the region (Figure 3), which give information on the industrial heritage in general or on specific sites. Furthermore, there is a "We are all connected to this and therefore it is important to us" narrative because many interviewees referred to personal or familial connections to the industrial companies, but also the general importance for the region and the bygone wealth. It should also be mentioned that people in the region were mostly very well informed about the development of former production sites and often even knew about the destiny of the former owners.

However, it is important to distinguish between different age groups regarding the named concerns. Particularly, young people under 25 were often not aware of the importance of the industrial past for the region because they have no personal connection to it. Older people, in contrast, generally have a stronger

Figure 3. Numerous memorial plates along the region indicate the general importance of the industrial past for the people, like here in Auerbach, Saxony, titled "Expedition Through the Industrial Past" (2020).

personal and biographic bond towards the (intangible) industrial heritage, which sometimes was expressed in connection to specific places, but conservation was mostly not seen as realistic because of the long vacancy. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that especially younger adults between the ages of 25–40, who have no more direct biographical link to industrial production, occasionally pointed out the aesthetical qualities of the industrial buildings and therefore perceived this as a defining part of their everyday environment in positive and negative ways. Intangible aspects played a minor role in comparison to older age groups and these younger people primarily named familial, not personal, connections to industrial production. Additionally, some of these respondents shared memories of vacant factories as a sort of "playground" in their childhood and youth, which also made these places important for them, but for other reasons than for older people. Hence, differences between the age groups could primarily be recognised regarding the "We are all connected to this and therefore it is important to us" narrative since this narrative primarily relates to personal memories and an intangible level. However, additional and deeper research taking into account personal development and memories is needed to better understand the differences and potential reasons for the specific perception of the industrial heritage.

To sum up, concerning the perception of the intangible industrial heritage, there are significant differences in comparison to the tangible dimension. Besides the explicit narratives, many implicit and small hints indicate that the industrial heritage still has significance for the people in the Vogtland region in an intangible dimension. Though, the conservation of the industrial structures respectively the tangible dimension is not seen as a logical conclusion by the local population. Instead, there is a sort of resignation and pragmatism dominating when it comes to the potential of the industrial heritage.

4. Conclusions

This article aimed to investigate the perception of industrial heritage by the local population of the Vogtland region. Overall, a discrepancy between the general importance and the attitude towards the industrial heritage of the local population can be stated. The heritage is received as meaningful in some matters, but this does not lead to an action regarding the objects, instead, pragmatism is dominating.

Generally, the results only allow a limited interpretation regarding the reasons for the discrepancy in the perception of the industrial heritage. Based on the respondents' statements, a prior reason might be the actual dealing with former production sites and vacant structures in general. Predominantly, they are demolished—often with public funding—and only a few examples of successful reuse exist, which creates the impression this might be some sort of "inevitable" destiny of the heritage. The responsibility for this development is thought to lie with other actors like municipal administrations and external actors from foreign regions, many of whom own buildings but do not take care of them. Interestingly, this did not lead to frustration, but rather resignation and pragmatism. Another reason could be that people more strongly relate their appreciation for and memories of the industrial heritage with the products instead of the built structures. Generally speaking, more and especially profound research is needed, for example using in-depth interviews to understand the reasons for an individual´s connection to the industrial heritage. This is supported by the observation that in longer conversations, respondents stated the importance of specific buildings and places connected with personal memories, making them relevant factors in the construction of identity. One should be aware that the chosen methodical approach has given some interesting insights into the perception of the industrial heritage but is also limited because of its explorative character. Local people mainly perceived the researcher as a tourist, although the research interest was opened up during the conversations, and therefore often spoke about "usual" highlights, not important places for them personally. Hence, sometimes the interviews remained on a sort of "small-talk'' level.

However, based on the described discrepancy and complexity, existing findings towards the perception of industrial heritage and its importance for place attachment can be confirmed. Especially the already mentioned research by Đukić et al. (2018) shows that people often relate positive and negative aspects to the industrial heritage at the same time. It is often seen as a history of loss, but melancholia and nostalgia are connected simultaneously (Đukić et al., 2018, p. 307). They further state that in the investigated case of Smederevo in Serbia "people link industrial heritage with their own destiny, because, in their own opinion, these structures are spatial reflections of it" (Đukić et al., 2018, p. 310). This is a central difference to the results of the interviews in the Vogtland region, where the general bonding with the industrial heritage is often not explicitly connected to the spatial structures. One reason might be general differences in the researched cases, which leads to another important point.

Smederevo might be a middle-sized town like many of those in the Vogtland region, but in industrial terms, it is mono-structured with heavy and steel industries. Despite ongoing economic problems, they are still in production, while in Vogtland most of the textile and other industries are shut down today. Beyond that, the Vogtland region was shaped by decentral industrial production spread all over the region, whose built structures often seem to be more "ordinary" and less architecturally outstanding or iconic than those of heavy engineering and in larger cities in general.

The most famous example of a former highly industrialised area in Germany is surely the Ruhr valley, in which

a vivid industrial culture with catchy narratives along this heavy industry arose over the last decades; also because there is no other similar historical layer of development to relate to like in other regions (Berger et al., 2018). It became a major factor for the local identity and finds a primary consideration in planning strategies with many buildings getting adaptively reused or musealised. In contrast, for areas with a more decentralised industrial heritage, it is not that easy to develop such impactful narrations needing a more differentiated discussion. As the historian and ethnologist Sönke Friedreich outlines, industrial heritage is too often reduced to dominant production sectors disregarding smaller industries producing more daily and maybe less impressive products but also shaping regions' industrial landscapes in manifold ways (Friedreich, 2020, p. 281).

Instead, in the Vogtland region, the external communication relating to the industrial heritage is often reduced to impressive single structures like the Göltzsch or the Elstertal viaducts, while wide parts of the industrial heritage—which originally led to the erection of these infrastructures—are more or less ignored by such narratives. Additionally, in Saxony (and in Thuringia as well) today, primarily in connection to former kingdoms, funding of high culture is fostered, while the industrial heritage—although seeing an increasing awareness—only plays a minor role (Friedreich, 2020, p. 284). This also became obvious in the interviews, when numerous people pointed at the preindustrial heritage like churches and castles after being asked for important places in the region. It is obvious that there are no dominating narrations or self-conception like in other post-industrial regions, and instead, the communication is focused on natural qualities and pre-industrial heritage.

This article shows that more research is needed to understand the complex relationship between the local population and industrial heritage. Existing research in planning concerning the futural potential of industrial heritage might refer to its potential meaning for local identity but mainly reduces it to its tangible dimension. There is barely any knowledge as to which social connections to these spaces exist, what makes them important for people and how planning can address them or at least take them into account in the transformation of industrial areas. Instead, the case of the Vogtland region allows the assumption that practical planning also affects the perception of and the relationship to the industrial heritage. This practically expresses in a discrepancy between an appreciation of an intangible dimension and a lacking connection to the tangible structures.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Continuity and Change: Socio-Spatial Practices in Bamberg's World Heritage Urban Horticulture

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Abstract
The German city of Bamberg offers lessons in how continuity and change interact within the context of the inner-urban land use of commercial horticulture, thereby informing sustainable urban transformations in historic cities. The case of Bamberg shows that urban food production is not just well-established, but a consistent and centuries-old cultural structure that influences the fabric of today's city. In this article, we discuss what forms of urban horticulture (and thus also food production) are evident from Bamberg's past and which may prevail in the future. Two questions structure our analysis. First, how are historical sites and spatial structures of horticulture shaped in the tension between continuity and change? Second, which practices/forms of urban horticulture are taken up and how are they updated by which actors? Both the heritage and contemporary practices of urban horticulture, it is argued, can be conceived of as a resource to create sustainable places and ways of life for citizens. Two new contributions result from this work. First, the article highlights the ongoing cultural heritage dimensions of urban horticulture in a field still dominated by eco-technical contributions associated with post-industrial innovation in urban planning; in this respect, heritage should be recognised as a dynamic that shapes urban change. In addition, secondly, the application of Luhmannian concepts of evolution in social systems reinforces the interdependence of continuity and change in urban settings.

Keywords
Bamberg; food production; Germany; heritage; urban horticulture; World Heritage

Issue
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1. Introduction

Bamberg's old town is a UNESCO World Heritage site, and a central part of the heritage comprises inner-city commercial horticulture. The number of often family-run commercial nurseries has steadily declined in recent decades. In addition, revitalisation impulses can be observed over the last decade, which is leading to changes not only in urban horticulture (UH) but in the general form of urban land use and in the perception of the importance of public spaces. Bamberg's urban food production is not just well-established, but a consistent and centuries-old cultural structure that influences the fabric of today's city. Bamberg offers lessons on how continuity and change in inner-city horticulture interact to inform sustainable urban transformations in historic cities.

In this article, we discuss what forms of UH (and thus also food production) can be observed in Bamberg's past and consider which may prevail in the future. On one

hand, this heritage is at risk due to changes in markets and consumption, for example, buying food in discount stores instead of using locally produced offers, as well as "outdated" forms of production (inner city, small-scale, hand-made food). Such contemporary practices and lifestyles also contribute to changes in the foodscapes of inner cities (Ashley et al., 2004).

On the other hand, this heritage, combined with contemporary approaches to UH, we argue, can be conceived of as a resource to create sustainable places and ways of life for citizens. In this article, the current changes in UH in Bamberg are examined in more detail, drawing on our own research, especially with regard to the preservation and updating of heritage, thereby examining how traditional urban (spatial) elements can be used innovatively.

In this context, it is noticeable that especially the common good orientation and the objective of achieving sustainability through change can provide important impulses for urban development. We pay particular attention to the interconnectedness of physical and socio-cultural forms in change itself, focusing on the challenge of being a World Heritage site.

Inner-city horticultural areas in Bamberg have remained constant in their land use over centuries, a spatial pattern protected by the Bavarian Monument Protection Act. This spatial continuity, however, corresponds with a change in the forms that UH has taken. In order to grasp this dialectic of continuity and change in cultural heritage in theoretical terms, we enrich the discussion of cultural heritage, firstly, with Niklas Luhmann's concept of evolution in social systems to structure different rooms for manoeuvre for the actors in the UH systems and, secondly, the approach of core resources, which originates from urban sustainability research. We apply Luhmann's ideas to explain changes in practice that have spatial consequences. We illustrate how change occurs in a variety of social and economic constellations, and how the options of individual forms of change (and their sustainability) depend on the persistence of basic spatial conditions as well as on the willingness of heterogeneous actors to cooperate. We do not seek to explain social-spatial change as a wider urban phenomenon (cf. Harvey, 1989).

Our main argument is that in spite of constraints (including the limited area within the World Heritage boundary), inherited land patterns/uses serve as core resources for conserving heritage and promoting sustainable transformations of urban societies. This is contingent on the associated urban society, as an ecosystem, forging new coalitions between civic society, market, and administrative institutions that allow for (limited) experimental innovation.

2. Horticulture: New Ideas or Traditional Land Use?

The relationship between the process of urban growth and the consequent changes in the area of agricultural land and agricultural intensification is complex. In most urbanised areas, agriculture has given way to horticulture on a different spatial scale. Horticulture is an intensive form of agriculture at smaller scales, which produces non-staple food—essentially vegetables and fruits—that supply the city (Halfacre & Barden, 1979). "The closer to the city, the more agriculture assumes a horticultural mode of production, which suggests that 'urban horticulture' should be a useful expansion of urban agriculture terminology" (Gulinck et al., 2020, p. 136).

In recent years, UH has gained particular importance in normative discourses, for example how well-being and food justice can be integrated into urban planning (Tornaghi, 2017). Furthermore, "urban food growing can be seen as a postmodern response to socio-economic problems associated with…modernisation and related failings of neoliberal industrial urban growth" (Thornton, 2020, p. 3). Consequently, UH appears as an exciting new activity full of social potential and space-related challenges in a rapidly urbanising world. In practice, cities are fed from a diversity of sources which include urban and peri-urban areas and adjacent rural hinterlands, as well as from imports sourced via global supply chains. In the "Global North," Opitz et al. (2015) suggest that urban agriculture, in general, is mainly led by individual, non-professionals operating in short food supply chains, or for self-provisioning. Production activities may have community-related objectives and their importance for social cohesion and the augmentation of cultural capital can be greater than their productivity (Kirwan et al., 2013). This view, however, is too restricted as it neglects commercial aspects of UH as in the case of Bamberg.

Against the backdrop of current discussions on food security, problems of global commodity chains or the Covid-19 pandemic, a renewed excitement about the potential of localised and in many cases urban food systems has arisen (Jones et al., 2022). More broadly, UH supports efforts to tackle climate change and policies have emerged to integrate health benefits with the extension of urban green infrastructure—for example, Grün in der Stadt in Germany (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection, 2017), the Norwegian urban agriculture strategy (Norwegian Ministries, 2020), and Sustainable Development Goal 11. UH offers health and environmental benefits, examples of which have been highlighted in urban ecology (Johnson & Newton, 1992) and architecture (Viljoen et al., 2005), alongside the essentially innovative nature of urban food enterprises and community networks that produce these multiple benefits (Grivins et al., 2017; Mettepenningen et al., 2014). High expectations are being directed towards the planning profession to find ways to integrate urban development and food production, including community orchards or productive parks (Brighton & Hove City Council, 2020). The proposition of more or new forms of UH inevitably highlights land use tensions, requiring political commitment to navigate contested future urban

"foodscapes" (Moragues Faus & Morgan, 2015), as well as new tools for experimental and networked governance (for example living labs; Voytenko et al., 2016), although some critical research indicates the exclusion of socially marginalised voices in urban food-related decision-making (Brons et al., 2022).

UH remains, for all its contemporary potential to contribute to urban sustainability, an ongoing and ever-shifting facet of regional food commerce and cultural economy (Bell & Binnie, 2005). Heritage organisations play a vital role in facilitating the governance of material and intangible food heritage (Keech & Redepenning, 2020; Pearson & Pearson, 2017) and help cities continue their historical roles as locations of vibrant and evolving food cultures (Kershen, 2002).

In Bamberg, long-standing family enterprises continue to cultivate local varieties of fruits and vegetables, according to traditional techniques, and maintain the customs of a culture that has vanished from most cities. This makes an asset of intangible heritage and, therefore, UH in Bamberg was included in the German Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2016. Together with tangible aspects, such as land, seeds, tools, and farm buildings, the heritage value of UH that persists in many European countries has not been widely recognised. Domestic gardening, for example, helps to preserve old or rare varieties and introduces new species (Gladis & Pistrick, 2011). In Bamberg, each family enterprise has its own collection of seeds, few of which can be purchased in the market. The closing down of a family business (e.g., through retirement) leads to the loss of unique cultivars. Bamberg's urban gardeners have become modern citizens with changing lifestyles. Integrating UH into their daily life, they are important heritage conservationists in terms of traditional knowledge, material artefacts, and value. For them, the World Heritage designation does not necessarily freeze the dynamics of heritage. Rather, new ideas and knowledge of technical solutions, innovations in cultivation, and novel varieties have been gradually introduced.

3. Horticulture Within Bamberg's World Heritage Site

UH has been practised in Bamberg since the Middle Ages. The cartographic record by Petrus Zweidler from 1602 is the city's earliest map (Figure 1). It shows extensive,

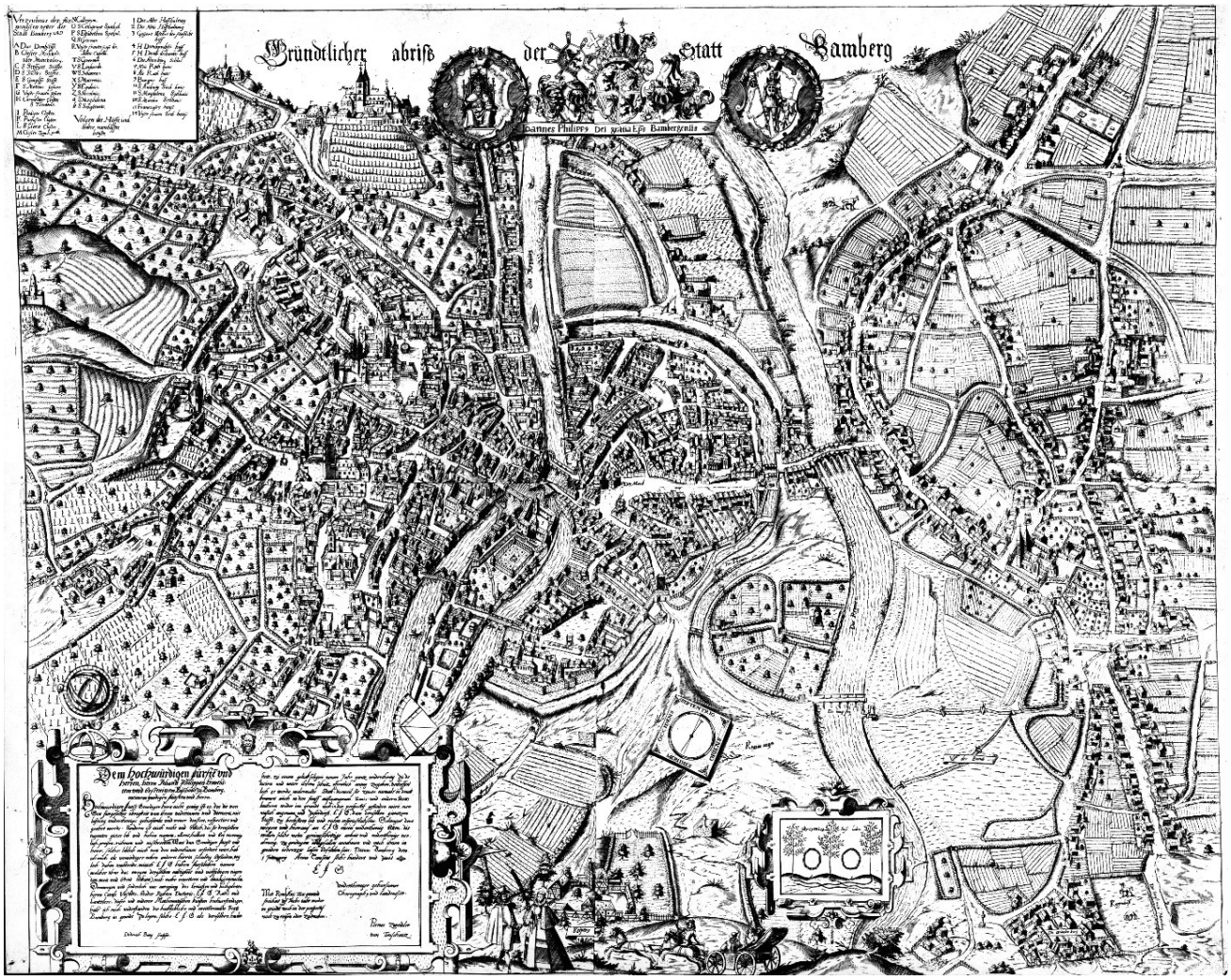

Figure 1. Map of Bamberg by Petrus Zweidler, 1602. Source: Zweidler (1602).

open horticultural spaces, which have shrunk over the centuries but continue to shape the cityscape. The cartouche, showing, for example, liquorice plants and root rings on the map, bears witness to the past economic importance of liquorice for Bamberg.

The confrontation between urban development pressure and historically rooted horticulture is a continuous one. The Town of Bamberg was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993 on the basis of its medieval urban layout and its well-preserved historic buildings, mainly from the Middle Ages and the Baroque era. The World Heritage site includes the three historic districts Bergstadt (City on the Hills), Inselstadt (Island District), and the Gärtnerstadt (Market Gardeners' District) with its urban fields. Accordingly, the horticultural land is protected by the Bavarian Monument Protection Act as an essential feature of the urban ensemble. This prohibits building on historic horticultural areas, although it cannot prescribe horticultural use. In other words, losing this land to non-horticultural use or to new construction includes the risk of losing the World Heritage status (as has happened with the Dresden Elbe Valley; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2009).

In contrast to the importance of the urban horticultural land and its continued use for the World Heritage status, the World Heritage nomination dossier dated 1991 makes comparatively little mention of the Gärtnerstadt, which is listed as one out of a total of 48 World Heritage attributes (Schiedermeier, 1991, p. 7) as follows:

> The socio-economic characteristics of the town must also be underlined, since they are of decisive importance for the town's historic appearance today: that is, the integration of agricultural areas—the commercial nursery in the valley area, and the agriculture, which evolved from wine-growing in the hillside area.

The City Council is expected to prepare a periodic report every six years on the application of the World Heritage Convention. The Gärtnerstadt was not explicitly mentioned in Bamberg's periodic report of 2006. Yet the report states that while there is adequate awareness of the World Heritage status in general among visitors, this remains minimal in relation to the Gärtnerstadt. This corresponds to results from the standardised survey conducted among tourists by the University of Bamberg (Kremer & Lehmeier, 2009, p. 70).

The situation slightly improved in 2012, when the 16th Bavarian State Horticultural Show took place in Bamberg and increased awareness about Bamberg's horticultural heritage. Moreover, €1.3 million from the national investment programme for World Heritage sites (2009–2013) were committed to the Gärtnerstadt, establishing (among other initiatives) the Interessengemeinschaft (IG) Bamberger Gärtner (interest group of Bamberg's commercial urban gardeners; see Section 6; Alberth, 2021). Nevertheless, the Gärtnerstadt was, again, not mentioned in Bamberg's periodic report of 2013, which merely stated that the relationship between landowners and city administration leaves room for improvements. In other words, there is an ambivalent situation: The UH land and its use are essential for keeping the UNESCO World Heritage status, but civic awareness and support are limited. Consequently, commercial UH struggles due to social-spatial changes, as introduced earlier.

Bamberg's horticultural area is mostly located between the city's main train station and the old town, concentrated in two places, Untere Gärtnerei and Obere Gärtnerei (the lower and upper gardens). Historically, agriculture covered a much larger area. Beyond the World Heritage site, three large-scale agricultural areas had been lost in earlier waves of urbanisation. Nevertheless, since 1930, the historical gardens of the UNESCO site have remained intact, together with historical houses surrounding the gardens (Schraudner, 2021; Figure 2). The gardens have been completely enclosed by buildings and are not open to the street. The area of historical gardens has not been significantly reduced, as it has in peripheral areas, although the shapes of the gardens may have changed slightly. Effectively, as the backyards of the houses, they are private spaces belonging to individual households. The gardens are accessible only by entering the distinctive building frontages, via courtyards where produce is available for sale. The Untere Gärtnerei and Obere Gärtnerei are important parts of Bamberg's urban heritage, with close links to the old town in terms of food supply and social networks.

Any development of the inner-city cultivated areas would clearly jeopardise the World Heritage title. In the past, the gardens were used for self-sufficiency and/or as a source of additional income. Today, the uses are more diverse including recreation, public events, and community gardening. Accordingly, the actors have become more diverse and besides enterprise owners and trained gardeners, city dwellers have embraced UH for themselves and seek advice from professional gardeners.

Notwithstanding the importance of UH for Bamberg, commercial horticulture has declined significantly in recent decades. As an analysis of aerial photographs by the municipal urban planning office shows, Bamberg's inner-city cultivation areas, partly affecting the World Heritage site, shrank from 57 ha in 1945 to 14 ha in 2021. Around 1900, at the height of the profession, Bamberg had around 500 market gardener families (Habel, 2015). The number of businesses has dropped to between 20 and 30 businesses today. This is due to unfavourable competitive conditions linked to the spatial form of the Gärtnerstadt: There are few parking spaces, the small cultivation areas constrain mechanisation opportunities, and irrigation costs are significantly higher than they would be in the countryside. In 1962, proposals to redevelop the area to become more car-orientated would have destroyed substantial parts of the Gärtnerstadt but were eventually dropped due to public opposition.

Figure 2. Gärtnerstadt, Untere Gärtnerei, 2021. Source: Schraudner (2021).

However, change is needed to reinvent UH in Bamberg beyond the constraints of the World Heritage status, and in ways which retain its core resources. In applying this concept, we follow a resource approach in the field of sustainable urban planning that bridges continuity associated with conservation and change associated with development (Mieg, 2012; Oevermann & Mieg, 2016). This outlines the need to identify core resources (land, knowledge, seeds, etc.) and conserve them, while also combining them with new resources (initiatives, ideas, uses, etc.). The main pillar of the resource approach is to distinguish between core resources and their services, where the core resource is a *conditio sine qua non* for changing and varying services. Furthermore, a core resource embodies a past investment, innovation, or idea that may have experienced rises and falls, but whose value lies in its non-repeatability following changed social, economic, and political contexts or spatial environments—no new Gärtnerstadt is conceivable today. Consequently, its heritage value becomes obvious and depends on the persistence of basic spatial conditions. We argue that slight changes in land use and more radical changes in actors, organisations, and governance are key to retaining Bamberg's horticultural heritage. After clarifying the theoretical implications of continuity and change, the following questions lead our deeper analysis of UH in Bamberg:

- How are historical sites and spatial structures of horticulture shaped in the tension between continuity and change?
- Which practices/forms of UH are taken up and how are they updated by which actors?

4. Conceptual Framework: Continuity and Change Linked to Social-Spatial Practices of Urban Horticulture

To understand the complexity of practices within processes of continuity and change in Bamberg's UH arena in a theoretically coherent way, we draw on Luhmann's (1984, 1997) social systems theory and especially his reflections on socio-cultural evolution. Luhmann's concept of evolution is applied here to structure the diversity of ideas and practices within social-spatial change, which is helpful for understanding which new ideas and innovations are articulated, introduced, trialled, retained, and/or set aside within a particular local governance constellation.

Luhmann's understanding of evolution differs strongly from any understanding that recognises evolution as a directed and planned process of improvement (Luhmann, 1984, p. 589). On the contrary, at the heart of Luhmann's understanding of evolution is the question of how something new emerges and is then selected and subsequently approved as a new social entity following decisions within social systems (Stichweh, 2007). Luhmannian evolution comes into effect through three mechanisms (Stichweh, 2007): variation, selection, and retention (Luhmann, 1997, p. 451). In short, variation entails the production of a variant for possible further selection, for example, if given social processes are felt to be inadequate or insufficient. Variation always produces difference and thus novelty in contrast to the usual, established social practices. This difference, in turn, forces a selection: against or for the novelty which then gets tested and evaluated by a system if, for example, some advantage can be gained from such a selection. At this point, the emergence of potential (social) innovations becomes evident (Christmann et al., 2020). Consequently, once the novelty (variation) is adopted, selection leads to corresponding movements of adaptation and integration into the whole system (Luhmann, 1997, p. 451). This will produce a structural shift in the system to achieve a new state of coherence and structure, following which retention, as the third process, is finally achieved. Therefore, variation and selection denote particular events and social processes, while retention emphasises a more structural level of self-organisation when new stability within a social system is put into effect. It is important that this third function of retention is likewise the prerequisite for the introduction of new variations; hence, evolution becomes a closed loop.

Translating these ideas into empirical research, we examine different emerging (other, novel) uses of urban space through horticultural practices and forms of cultivation to indicate elements of continuity (low degree of evolution) and change (high degree of evolution). In our case, *variation* is the emergence of a new idea to practice UH on-site. However, the idea must have a social dimension, i.e., it must be discussed collaboratively among people and be tested (even if only discursively) prior to implementation. It may even have been tried out in alternative spaces in the urban fabric, for example in private gardens or more publicly inaccessible urban green spaces.

A variation subsequently experiences a (positive) *selection* when it becomes part of a socio-spatial practice that is publicly accessible. This is achieved, for example, through the formation of civic associations or networks, but also in the private sector through the establishment of a new business or the reorientation of existing businesses. Of importance in the case of Bamberg is that these selections relate to the socio-spatial practice of UH and thus continue to use the core resource of land in a new or different way.

Armin Nassehi has remarked that *retention* is only present when one can detect "lasting changes" (Nassehi, 2021, p. 69) in the structures of a larger system. Retention would be achieved when the selections are perceived and integrated into the reproduction of the system in a durable way. This may be the case if new actors become part of meetings of existing actors in horticulture, when networks and co-operations between the old and new elements of the system are established, etc. This may occur when someone takes the first step to leave an established network in order to form new networks and thereby change older networks, possibly weakening them (Boschma & Martin, 2007, p. 544), yet also contributing to the success of dynamic social and physical movements.

5. Research Methods

This article is informed by a diversity of map and documentary analyses and on-site interviews. In order to understand the significance of the Gärtnerstadt for Bamberg's World Heritage status, the nomination dossier of 1991 and the two periodic reports from 2006 and 2013 were also analysed.

In October 2015, two of the authors interviewed 12 people including commercial and community gardeners, city councillors and officials, members of civil society networks and food activists, brewery employees, and heritage officials. Breweries were included because they play a key role in communicating and interpreting the meanings of local food, and represent important links in local supply chains, especially around Bamberg where breweries serving food are regular clients of the urban gardeners. For all interviews, 19 identical questions were used, preceded by documentary desk research that identified demographic, administrative, and agri-food and socio-economic details drawn from municipal data sources. In October 2016, an additional workshop was hosted by the World Heritage Office, attended by 20 participants including gardeners, council and heritage officials, and civil society groups to supplement initial interview data. Data from 15 student-led interviews linked to a teaching project on Bamberg's brewing culture were separately thematically analysed by two authors, drawing out material linked to UH.

6. Continuity and Change in Bamberg's UH: Evolution as a Framework to Understand the Dynamics of Socio-Cultural Practices

We have chosen four examples that show the complex evolution of Bamberg's UH, addressing continuity and change. Three examples relate to newly established actor networks (Table 2); the fourth example relates to the traditional commercial gardeners' families (Table 1). They were chosen because they introduce new ideas in UH and new forms of social organisation. Thus, they make a distinctive contribution to the continuation of UH in Bamberg. Firstly, the Liquorice Society revives the tradition of growing liquorice in the city and

introduces new marketing ideas. Secondly, the heritage garden intends to preserve locally unique Bamberg vegetable varieties that have lost their market viability and are consequently no longer cultivated by commercial gardeners. Nevertheless, the preservation of these cultivars enhances bio-cultural heritage. Thirdly, the self-harvesting garden enables the continued cultivation of traditional growing spaces through novel forms of community organisation that are motivated by sustainability objectives. Fourthly, one example of commercial market gardening is introduced to illustrate the gardeners' ability to adapt to new market conditions stimulated by changing lifestyles/consumer practices. In short, our four examples illustrate entrepreneurial, bio-cultural, sustainability-geared, and commercial engagements that stimulate social-spatial change to retain the overall structure of horticulture in the city.

As indicated, despite medieval origins and legal prescription, the commercial cultivation of the Gärtnerstadt has experienced declining gardener numbers to the extent that official concerns over its survival are expressed. To complicate matters, the gardeners do not consist of a single identity unit but are divided into two historical fraternities, mirroring parish divisions. Even today, there is strong membership allegiance to each fraternity but weak cooperation between them (Keech & Redepenning, 2020) and scepticism about cooperation with "outsiders."

As described in Section 2, an important outcome from the National Investment Programme for World Heritage Sites was the IG Bamberger Gärtner, established to stimulate and consolidate closer cooperation between gardeners. The majority of Bamberg gardeners have joined the interest group. Table 1 below describes the commercial gardeners in the Gärtnerstadt and their products.

In parallel, other new actor networks (cf. IG Bamberger Gärtner, 2019, pp. 30, 37) entered Bamberg's system of UH and provided for variations and selection in the recent evolution of Bamberg's UH system, as outlined in Table 2, below.

Additional, smaller initiatives such as the Intercultural Garden have also emerged but play a subordinate role in the change of socio-spatial practices in Bamberg.

6.1. Liquorice Society (Süßholz Gesellschaft)

The Bamberger Liquorice Society was formed in 2009 ("Süßholz-Ernte in Bamberg," 2013) to reactivate the

Table 1. Bamberg gardeners within the IG Bamberger Gärtner.

	Market garden	District	Product range
1	Bamberger Staudengarten Strobler	Bamberg East	Herbs, perennials
2	Gärtnerei Franz Böhmer	Gärtnerstadt	Bedding and balcony plants, floristry, grave care
3	Gärtnerei Böhmerwiese	Gärtnerstadt	Herbs, bedding and balcony plants, floristry, grave care
4	Gärtnerei Burgis	Gärtnerstadt/Bamberg East	Vegetables
5	Dechant Gartenbau	Bamberg East	Bedding and balcony plants
6	Gärtnerei & Floristik Dechant	Bamberg East	Vegetable seedlings, herbs, bedding and balcony plants, perennials
7	Gartenbau Georg Dechant	Bamberg East	Herbs, bedding and balcony plants, perennials
8	Gärtnerei Eichfelder	Bamberg East District	Vegetables, vegetable seedlings, herbs, fruit
9	Gärtnerei Emmerling/ Hopfengarten	Bamberg East	Vegetables, vegetable seedlings, herbs, bedding and balcony plants
10	Blumen Hohe	Gärtnerstadt	Herbs, bedding and balcony plants, floristry
11	Gärtnerei Hohe	Gärtnerstadt	Bedding and balcony plants, grave care
12	Lurtz Gartenbaubetrieb	Bamberg East	Bedding and balcony plants
13	LUSTER GaLaBau	Am Bruderwald	Perennials, tree care
14	Mussärol Bamberger Kräutergärtnerei	Gärtnerstadt	Vegetables, vegetable seedlings, processed products
15	Gärtnerei Neubauer	Gärtnerstadt	Vegetables, fruit, bedding and balcony plants
16	Gärtnerei Sebastian Niedermaier	Gärtnerstadt	Vegetables
17	Gartenbaumschule Preller	Am Bruderwald	Bedding and balcony plants, perennials, tree care
18	Zimmers Obstgarten	City on the Hills	Vegetables, fruit, processed products, tree care

Source: Authors' work based on IG Bamberger Gärtner (2019, pp. 7–25).

Table 2. Actor networks introducing evolutionary processes within Bamberg's UH.

Actor network	Founded	Objective
Liquorice Society (Süßholz Gesellschaft)	2009	Reactivation of traditional cultivation of liquorice root in Bamberg
Bamberg Heritage Garden (Bamberger Sortengarten)	2012	Cultivation/preservation of local vegetable varieties and adaptation of historical recipes for use of local vegetable varieties
Self-Harvesting Garden (Selbsterntegarten)	2016	Sustainable transformation to a post-growth format of urban society

traditional cultivation of liquorice root, since its commercial demise around the mid-1960s. Renewed cultivation was intended to restore the continuity that had existed for 500 years in Bamberg (Haupt, 1866). However, the initiative met with fundamental scepticism from established horticultural businesses because of perceived challenges in growing the plants profitably. Indeed, the continuity of cultivation could only be maintained through changed forms of production, sales, and markets on a very small scale. Land proved to be a missing core resource because, although the general availability of land around Bamberg at the time was high, landowners were doubtful about the likelihood of the initiative's success, as illustrated by this co-founder of the Liquorice Society: "Well, the constraint is that…there is land, but the owners do not support [us], they do not want this."

Despite this, a small quantity of liquorice was harvested and processed for local markets: The sticks of the new liquorice growth were cut and sold as a local speciality in shops targeted towards tourists, and a mint-infused liquorice tea was also produced. The Lebenshilfe, a social welfare organisation, helped arrange volunteer harvest labour, a response demanded not least because the legal form of the association is a non-profit organisation. An entrepreneur based in Southern Bavaria used processed liquorice powder as an ingredient for a Wunderburg gin, named after a district of Bamberg. Despite these challenges, the association reports that demand exceeds current supply capacity, but moves to extend production remain uncertain.

6.2. Bamberg Heritage Garden (Bamberger Sortengarten)

Another civil society group, the Heritage Garden, emerged in 2012, which represents a type of selected variation intended to retain UH spaces. In this case, a plot left uncultivated after the retirement of a commercial gardener was rented and became a repository for over 30 distinctive local Bamberg vegetable varieties. The Heritage Garden is cultivated by volunteers including a commercial gardener (similarly involved with the Liquorice Society) who provides the technical know-how to participants, which include local school pupils, and it has since become an important archive of Bamberg's bio-cultural and biological material heritage within the Gärtnerstadt.

As well as cultivating unique varieties, supporters have unearthed old recipes which list them as ingredients, in order that earlier culinary uses can be revived. Stakeholders claim that the research, discovery, and communication of knowledge and attributes of historical recipes will encourage commercial gardeners to grow local vegetable varieties once again, following their decline within common use in Bamberg. One interviewee recounted: "She had the idea and asked the individual gardeners and found out that everyone had their own distinctive vegetable varieties in earlier times."

The Heritage Garden also expresses a component of public action and public awareness-raising for local varieties. For example, the group organised public cooking classes at the Adult Education Centre (Volkshochschule) to demonstrate the possibilities of sustainable and culinary use of the World Heritage site. However, these initiatives were not stabilised, as there was no organised support from public administration actors and because the civil society commitment set narrow limits to the expansion of such activities.

6.3. Self-Harvesting Garden (Selbsterntegarten)

Securing urban sustainability through food production was an objective behind the establishment by Bamberg's Transition Town group of a collaborative Self-Harvesting Garden in 2016 (Transition Bamberg, 2022). Similar to the Heritage Garden, the Self-Harvesting Garden also refers to variations and selections within commercial urban gardening, especially through cooperation with another commercial gardener. This has also posed some problems for the collaborating gardener within his own community, which is critical about his decision to cooperate with amateurs. In contrast to the two associations mentioned above, the Self-Harvesting Garden as a whole pursues a more political concern for the sustainable transformation to a post-growth format of urban society. A distinction is that the group rents currently fallow land from a commercial market gardener who (as in the earlier examples), helps to train Transition Town members, but also manages their plots for a small fee. Further support is offered by the retired manager of the Bavarian State Institute for Viticulture and Horticulture. Significantly, the Self-Harvesting Garden lies outside the World Heritage area in the peri-urban zone of the city, although there is an ambition to expand into the

Gärtnerstadt should land there become available, as suggested by a local activist:

> I would like to wish explicitly for Bamberg, that the UH in the inner-city would be self-harvesting gardens, so that the potential of Bamberg in these areas is really used and that the constraints from the commercial gardeners decrease and both [approaches] interlink because this would help to conserve the World Heritage legacy.

Connecting commercial gardeners with new civil society groups to refresh UH is a new form of social selection which clearly benefits from Bamberg's continuing horticultural tradition. Such assertions provide encouragement for the survival of diverse forms of UH in Bamberg because its distinctive socio-cultural attributes are located within the city, the ancient fabric of which is renewed and enhanced through cultivation. Challenges remain, however. The payment of fees for ground rental and technical consultancy is notable in these cases, and these types of collaborative innovations are still rare in a city where commercial actors remain ambivalent about less business-focused civil society initiatives: Food sharing is the distribution method favoured in the Self-Harvesting Garden. Even so, the expert contributions of commercial gardeners in the innovations recounted contrast with the collective notion of commercial gardeners as sceptical about bureaucracy and "green" activism, while being hamstrung in their ability to innovate by the stifling force of tradition.

6.4. Variation and Selection Among the Gardener Families

Some interviews revealed variations and selections across generations of gardener families that have been stimulated by adjustments to changes in markets (caused by new lifestyles and fashions), or by new ideas introduced by generational succession: "In the 1980s, people bought flowers like crazy. That has gone now."

Commercial competition from wholesalers and supermarkets has stimulated variations and selections including the organisation of informal equipment-sharing circles and non-food enterprises producing plant-based cosmetics and oils. This again highlights the importance of core resources and of changing services linked with them. Several nurseries switched to ornamental plants in the mid-1960s, taking advantage of a boom in decorative houseplants that lasted until the 1980s.

A product that has diminished, however, is cut flowers, which are no longer bought from specialised nurseries, but from supermarkets. The reaction to this change has been to innovate. In particular, services for grave care and general garden maintenance have expanded, as well as a service for the overwintering of exotic or Mediterranean plants, which is increasingly in demand.

Other businesses have undergone similar specialisations. For example, the following quotation reveals how, having started in vegetable gardening, a new service, the care of hydroponics is offered. This new unique selling point has attracted custom from many commercial businesses in the city of Bamberg: "My father's focus is plant production for gardens and balconies, and before that my grandpa and my father had already introduced hydroculture as an innovation, and I have the opportunity of bringing in my own ideas now."

This innovation has given the nursery (located slightly outside the World Heritage boundary) room to manoeuvre, which the successor generation uses to offer new services, namely a pick-your-own nursery (not to be confused with the Self-Harvesting Garden in Section 6.3). In one case, diversification into multi-varietal hop cultivation and the establishment of a small brewery has proved successful. Brewed products make use of ingredients from the nursery (such as chillies, tomatoes, cucumbers, mint, etc.) and are colloquially called beers, but cannot be labelled as such, as the production violates the specifications of the Bavarian Purity Law which restricts beer to yeast, hops, malt, and water; accordingly, the term "brewing specialities" is used to describe the drinks. At the same time, small quantities of these products can be used for additional brewed and distilled specialities. On the one hand, this sets the nursery apart from the other breweries in Bamberg (of which there are 10), which brew according to the Bavarian Purity Law. On the other hand, this relationship is one of "muted" competition, because the nursery has become a hop supplier to some of these breweries.

These examples show how much change and evolution are recognised and practised by commercial gardeners. However, this evolution happens either at the level of individual enterprises or radiates towards informal agreements and co-operations between gardeners. Structural processing of these evolutionary effects to prepare retention is currently recognisable only in rudimentary ways.

To summarise, although Bamberg's horticultural heritage has, until recently, attracted limited attention in the management of World Heritage conservation, our results indicate that governance of material and intangible food heritage should be optimised (Pearson & Pearson, 2017), namely in relation to the continuities of land, knowledge, and varieties of seeds, as well as in changes in associated UH organisations, networks, and practices.

7. Discussion and Conclusions: Continuity and Change Understood Through Core Resources

Generally, our findings in Bamberg confirm changes in the foodscapes of inner cities (Ashley et al., 2004) and views by Kirwan et al. (2013) and Opitz et al. (2015), who argue that UH operates within short food supply chains or for self-provisioning and production activities have multiple community-related objectives.

Importantly, Bamberg illustrates that UH is not principally a community-related objective, although these have become more prominent, but has a long-standing commercial history. The case also shows that the integration of urban development and food production is possible. In fact, in Bamberg, demands for the continued maintenance of UH land within the inner-city, framed by heritage conservation, increasingly support this integration. Due to the constraints of UH (small-scale production, low levels of mechanisation, high cost of water supply, etc.), additional changes in the social practices of UH are needed beyond the continuous patterns of holding UH land.

This article has explored the relationship between urban continuity and change. The historic gardens represent vital material components of the city's World Heritage continuity, and the social-cultural practices of gardening reveal experimental innovations, which can be understood through the three mechanisms of Luhmann's idea of evolution: variation, selection, and stabilisation. Consequently, the continuity of the historical sites and their spatial structures represent core resources (Oevermann & Mieg, 2016) in the dynamics through which UH informs intangible socio-cultural legacies.

Urban planning action, such as the support of the national investment programme that supported the establishment of the IG Bamberger Gärtner, further enabled appropriate change within the demands of the World Heritage status. The basic idea of integrating urban planning demands with those of heritage is to identify core resources (land, knowledge, seeds, etc.) and conserve them and combine them with new resources (initiatives, ideas, land uses, etc.). Without the core resources, horticultural practices cannot continue. Therefore, we see both as indicators for Luhmann's understanding of evolution, namely the continuity of core resources and the changes in use and socio-cultural practices that do not destroy the core resources.

Bamberg's UH represents a fundamental and continual spatial structure which has developed through consistent land use and is now protected as a form of heritage. The continuation of UH, as market and consumer contexts have changed, now relies on experimental and cross-sectoral (commercial, state, and civil society) cooperation to stimulate incremental and multi-functional innovations. Such innovations could become successful evolutionary practices. Luhmann's concept enables a description of the experimental processes undertaken by different constellations of social actors, united in the objective of retaining UH as an element of Bamberg's spatial and material identity. The evolutionary concept highlights that not all experiments will succeed. However, new ideas will be imagined, discussed, and trialled. It remains impossible, in Luhmann's terms, to assess the evolutionary effectiveness of the innovations, because Bamberg's UH community remains engaged in the early variation and selection stages of the process.

The analysis shows that the rediscovery of the traditional cultivation of liquorice (Süßholz Gesellschaft) and the creation of a new local market, namely the use of liquorice powder as an ingredient for gin, is one variation that is promising in regard to stabilisation, as it protects the core resource of horticultural land. It also supports the continuity of knowledge and the revitalisation of forgotten seeds/plants. Both can be understood as *conditio sine qua non* for rediscovery and creation of new markets which, in turn, are preconditions for long-term perspectives in UH production. The seed repository and new collaborations were key in the examples of the Heritage Garden and Self-Harvesting Garden that allowed the transfer and thus continuity of knowledge, seeds/plants, as well as horticultural practices, albeit under the condition of collaborative practice between new actors, institutions, and the established gardeners. Informal equipment sharing is also a new practice of collaboration between established professional gardeners. Furthermore, new products (e.g., flowers and hops) and services (e.g., events) are part of the experimental innovation that may eventually help to stabilise the overall UH environment. Here, too, evolution can be seen in enterprises that clearly occupy niches. For example, the nursery specialising in hydroponics now cultivates products (hops) that, in the final analysis, return to the original orientation of the nursery that has existed for four generations, thus introducing an innovation that returns to its roots: vegetable gardening.

The small-scale socio-spatial structure of Bamberg's UH and its protection as cultural heritage may be an advantage, by securing UH production in the long term through direct sales and marketing opportunities, and by associated social contacts which arise when patronising the courtyard stalls of the gardeners. Finally, the historical significance of the land, along with the built and open green structures, is no longer the only decisive criterion for the definition and (conservation) of the UH heritage, which now also depends on newly selected socio-cultural practices and their actors. This finding effects the practice of World Heritage monitoring that, so far, only concentrates on the tangible assets (maintaining the UH land) but not on the intangible (using the land for UH production).

It has been argued that the core resource approach clarifies the idea that continuity and change processes are both necessary in urban planning as well as for heritage conservation, highlighting the interdependence of continuity and change. The additional contribution of Luhmann in this article is to explain how processes of evolution function in practice, and how variation, selection, and retention are sequentially realised. Consequently, planners, city administrations, and conservationists will need to collaborate closely to embrace experimental innovations in the management of urban change, while anticipating future limits and processes of stabilisation, especially in regard to heritage conservation.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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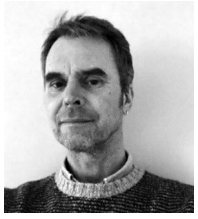

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Article

Towards Liveability in Historic Centres: Challenges and Enablers of Transformation in Two Latvian Towns

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Abstract
This article describes two Latvian towns, Cēsis and Bauska, which have medieval origins and noticeable layers of subsequent historic periods. Both of their town centres have historic heritage protection status and a complex mixture of values, needs, and opportunities for the locals and visitors. The towns have recently had some physical improvements implemented in their public spaces, with key differences in the interplay between local governments and stakeholders. The Cēsis case was a municipality-initiated and public-led intervention to build awareness. The Bauska case was mainly a plea from active inhabitants that was only partially realised by the municipality, with limited support. In both cases, the introduced changes tackled some accumulated challenges, such as insufficient walkability, degraded public space, and car-centric town centres, but they also provoked discussions about the quality of the achievements, which raised questions about collaboration culture and practice between stakeholders. This study evaluates the interventions initiated by the municipality and the initiatives by nongovernmental organisations from the point of view of the tools applied and from the point of view of the civil process. This research contributes to discussions about the challenges of different approaches in spatial planning and provides recommendations about possible integrated planning solutions, as well as about the formation of the civil process.

Keywords
historic centres; Latvia; liveability; local governance; participation; spatial planning

Issue
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1. Introduction

The small towns of Latvia and their historic urban centres, like many other places, are undergoing a multitude of changes and challenges that local governments and inhabitants must address. Similarities between small towns, especially those with historic centres, can be found in the present trend where historic houses, squares, and former high streets are deteriorating under the effect of competition with other places such as suburbs or other towns. At the same time, due to the complex entanglement of the social, economic, and environmental aspects of each individual town—varied local conditions and changing social forces—spatial planners are forced to develop and apply tailor-made, innovative, and participatory approaches (Evans et al., 2021; Gale, 2004; Scholl & de Kraker, 2021; Zetti, 2010) in order to counteract the conditions. In this context, an important starting point is the recognition of historic urban landscapes as vaults of different tangible and intangible values (Vehbi & Hoskara, 2009; Wang et al., 2018) and great development assets (Gale, 2004; Heath et al., 1996). The next important component is the liveliness and diversity of the social fabric, comprised mainly of people for whom the historic centre is a place of everyday life—a place to live, work, access services, and meet others.

This research examines two small Latvian towns, Cēsis and Bauska, which have historic medieval centres. The historic centres of both towns formed over the centuries as organic and functional urban spaces. In the period after the Second World War, these territories were defined as architecturally significant and protectable. During the period of Soviet rule, they were identified as areas with historic heritage protection status, and regeneration projects were developed but not realised. In the last two to three decades, the development of these historic centres was determined by so-called territorial plans covering the town as a whole, determining land use and building rules. The historic centres were identified as special, valuable territories both because of their urban structure and the presence of cultural and historic heritage elements. The towns are similar in scale, having been regional administrative centres for several decades. This meant that, especially during the Soviet era, the administrative service facilities were located in these towns and, in general, they were the biggest recipients of investment. The fact that the historical centre of Cēsis was also developed as an administrative core was of great importance, while the old town of Bauska was not.

The urban patterns of both towns have experienced changes in the last two decades. In the case of Cēsis, these are characterised by improvements in functionality, value preservation, and quality of the urban environment; in the case of Bauska, a similar trend has not been observed, and the historic centre is still a kind of quiet "inner island" of the town. In this research, we seek answers to why this has happened and what the main factors influencing these contemporary transformations are. By analysing the development processes, we come across different approaches that are implemented in the two towns. In Cēsis, the municipality is a main driver of development, while actual demand and attempts for the revival of the historic centre are mainly initiated by NGOs in Bauska, and the municipality has realised only a few distinct projects. Therefore, the main focus of this study is to evaluate the interventions initiated by the municipality and the initiatives of the NGOs with regard to the tools applied and the civil process.

2. Theoretical Framework

For a long time, the development of urban historic centres had focused mainly on the preservation of their values (Hurley, 2010). As a result, the practice of spatial planning in Latvia mainly focused on determining restrictions, paying little attention to the vibrancy of the historic centres, public participation, and the well-being of users. Changes in the urban environment were implemented mainly through distinct and small infrastructure projects.

Recently, there have been discussions in Latvia about the development of valuable urban structures in connection with the need for modernisation, which would largely take into account the needs of local community life. Through accumulated experience, groups of stakeholders (e.g., entrepreneurs, residents, representatives of the administration, researchers, and activists) cooperate with each other more and more often, initiating projects and ideas for the development of the historic urban environment. A key issue in the transformation of historic centres is the move from a restrictive physical planning approach to a community-strengthening approach involving participatory activities and the promotion of urban environment changes as a tool for community activation. The development of historic centres is possible in the context of contemporary trends of urban transformation, with requirements determined by technological solutions, increasing differences in the needs of social groups, as well as changing public sector and management topics—for example, growing interest in innovation and urban liveability (Couch et al., 2003; Munthe-Kaas, 2015, 2017).

Over time, the responsibility for improving the quality of the urban environment has changed. This role was initially assumed by organisations and activists, but now it has become an essential role of the local government (Healey, 2010). In the case of Latvia, it has been the other way around; however, today there is a search for balance, where civic initiatives play an increasingly important role. The urban transformation narrative is based on the possibility of adapting and creating conditions that enable and promote sustainability, the resilience of the urban environment, and quality of life in the cooperation between local governments and social groups (Couch et al., 2003; Ellery & Ellery, 2019; Hölscher et al., 2020; Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Rossi, 2004; Syrett & North, 2008).

New innovative governance approaches are constantly emerging around the world to carry out urban transformation and promote sustainable change dynamics (Couch et al., 2003; Evans et al., 2021; Lever, 2005). In this context, the contemporary development of urban historic centres is of special importance (Chahardowli et al., 2020; Fabbricatti & Biancamano, 2019; Fekete et al., 2021; Ferretti, 2015; Fouseki & Nicolau, 2018; van Oers, 2007). It is clear that civic initiatives are supported in all forms, and the use of traditional techniques in urban planning in Latvia has continued. In planning the development of small towns, new approaches and tools must be sought. One possibility involves experimentation and interventions in the urban environment (Eneqvist & Karvonen, 2021). In recent years, they have increasingly been seen as a working tool of the local government or as a way to achieve more dynamic changes in the urban environment (Evans et al., 2021; Healey, 2010; Munthe-Kaas, 2015; Scholl & de Kraker, 2021; Sehested, 2009; Wanner et al., 2021), which responds to the demand of the population. The intervention approach means that activities are directed by the municipality along with the creation of new types of interactions with civil society and its activities.

Cities are actively using the intervention approach—for example, Copenhagen carried out a large-scale

project called "Create Your City" (Munthe-Kaas, 2015). Tērbatas Street was closed to automotive traffic in the historic centre of Riga to test its possibility of becoming a pedestrian street in the future ("Mēnesi transportlīdzekļiem plāno slēgt Tērbatas ielu," 2020), while Vabaduse Avenue was closed for a month in the city of Tartu (Tartu City Government, 2020) with exactly the same goal—to create an intervention that shows the city and its inhabitants the possibilities for increasing liveliness and the diversity of activities. In Cēsis, an experimental approach and municipal interventions were implemented in the town's historic centre as a tool for promoting changes in the urban environment, taking into account the possibility of introducing innovations that respond to the challenges of the current situation in the local and global context through targeted transformation. This was done both by involving citizens in the experimentation process and by using tools available to the municipality. Estonia also targeted the reconstruction of central squares in a dozen small towns (Vellevoog, n.d.). The interventions enhanced Estonian landscapes, including nature, architecture, and public space. The interventions implemented acknowledged the decline of small towns but also the potential to boost the rebirth of town centres with the redesign of public spaces (Printsmann et al., 2019).

The development of historic centres is always unique and closely related to the national and local context. According to experience and conceptual vision, there are two further lines of development: the strengthening of civic activities and interventions with fragmentary effects and the elaboration and implementation of comprehensive strategies. The cases of Cēsis and Bauska reinforce the question of how to choose the best solutions and approaches.

3. Methods

Our path towards understanding the potential and limitations of approaches to realise socially inclusive planning for historic centres is captured in qualitative and explorative case studies of two towns. The empirical data gathered for this article consist of town structure analysis, on-site observations, and semi-structured interviews.

3.1. Town Structure Analyses

For both towns, the historic development of their spatial structure was analysed through documents and site visits in order to understand the existing urban landscape of the historic centres and the adjacent parts of the towns. These materials were complemented with careful examination of articles from local resources (newspapers, websites) and discussions in social media for broader context on the transformations and events taking place, as well as on the public opinion accompanying these processes. Furthermore, we analysed local interventions, their results, and the role of both local governments and civil society as participants in the process.

3.2. Site Visits

Several site visits were organised in 2020 and 2021 to observe how the public and private spaces of the historic centres (streets, parks, courtyards, places of retail, and services) function in daily life and on specially organised occasions. During the site visits, special attention was focused firstly on both old towns as unified ensembles in the urban structure, secondly on the places where the latest interventions had taken place—the reconstructed squares of Līvu, Rožu, Vienības and Rīgas Street in Cēsis, small infrastructure improvement sites, the town hall, and the town hall square in Bauska.

3.3. Semi-Structured Interviews

To obtain in-depth information about the interventions (intended and realised) in both cases, semi-structured interviews were held in remote and face-to-face settings. The interviews consisted of three interrelated blocks of questions: perception and knowledge of historic and current situations in the historic centres (and towns in general), professional and civic involvement of respondents in actions related to the historic centres, and professional and personal outlook on the challenges, needs, and perspectives in the development of historic centres. The interviews were organised with local stakeholders representing different fields—entrepreneurs, NGOs, and representatives from town councils, institutions, and planning and development departments. The interviewees were encouraged to clearly distinguish their personal and professional opinions, as almost all of them are not only relevant professionals (e.g., spatial planners, head of a museum, head of a cultural centre) but are also local inhabitants, and some are involved in NGOs or are owners of local enterprises. Notably, in the case of Cēsis, one of the authors of this article has been working as a spatial development planner in the municipality, and she was the designer and manager of (and participant in) the intervention projects described below.

4. Two Towns and Their Paths Toward the Liveability of Their Historic Centres

Cēsis, in the northeast part of Latvia, and Bauska, in the south of Latvia, are both of medieval origin in the Livonian Order period. Both have castle residences as their historic centres, which, through centuries, sometimes gradually and sometimes abruptly, were developed by various events and ruling powers. It is important to note that they were included in the Latvian state's list of protected cultural monuments as urban ensembles, based on the 1992 law on protection of cultural monuments—Bauska Old Town in 1992 and Cēsis Old Town (a designated territory by the status of historic

cultural heritage protection) in 1998. Due to this, both municipalities developed a set of rather strict development regulations included in the Cēsis County Spatial Plan 2016–2026 and the Bauska County Spatial Plan 2012–2024. The regulations are legally binding for every property owner and include points on the preservation of historic building volumes and restoration of architectural solutions and details (windows, doors, construction parts, etc.). However, without any substantial support from the municipalities, this often causes negligence of historic architectural values by owners and tenants, as well as delays in the development and improvement of the historic centres.

4.1. Bauska Town

Bauska, with a population of 9,755, is situated 70 km from Riga and 20 km from Lithuania. The geographical location of the town on the peninsula made by the confluence of the Mūsa and Mēmele rivers was strategically important, and the Bauska Castle was built in the mid-15th century. Later, in 1609, by receiving town privileges, settlements that accompanied the castle were fixed at the present location of Bauska Old Town. The spatial structure of the Old Town is captured in a grid-type street network and low-rise buildings (see Figure 1). Two main streets, Rīgas Street and Plūdoņa Street, along with many cross streets, were laid down parallel to the Mēmele River. The layout of the Old Town was developed historically to ensure densely mixed and residential use. The 20th century brought abrupt changes in the town's space and population. Before the Second World War, urban structures spread to the south from the Old Town, where new housing, school, hospital, and other public facilities appeared. The Second World War hit Bauska with a dramatic 50% loss of urban structure, including notable landmarks, as well as devastating losses within the community, followed by the period of Soviet occupation. New Soviet Bauska was built around the historic core when new residential neighbourhoods with multistorey apartment buildings, kindergartens, shops, essential services, and several manufacturing and processing factories were developed. A new, wider bridge across Mēmele increased car traffic, so Kalna Street was widened by taking down parts of the Old Town's historic quarters. Since 1991 and the regaining of Latvian independence, the Old Town continues to be significantly influenced by the traffic flow on Kalna Street. With no real bypass and figures on the busiest road in Latvia (Latvian State Roads, 2021), it creates physical barriers, environmental pollution, and disturbance.

4.2. Cēsis Town

Cēsis, founded in 1206, is located 80 km from Riga, with a present population of 14,800. It experienced rapid growth in the time of the Livonian Order when the town became the capital of Livonia. Since the end of the

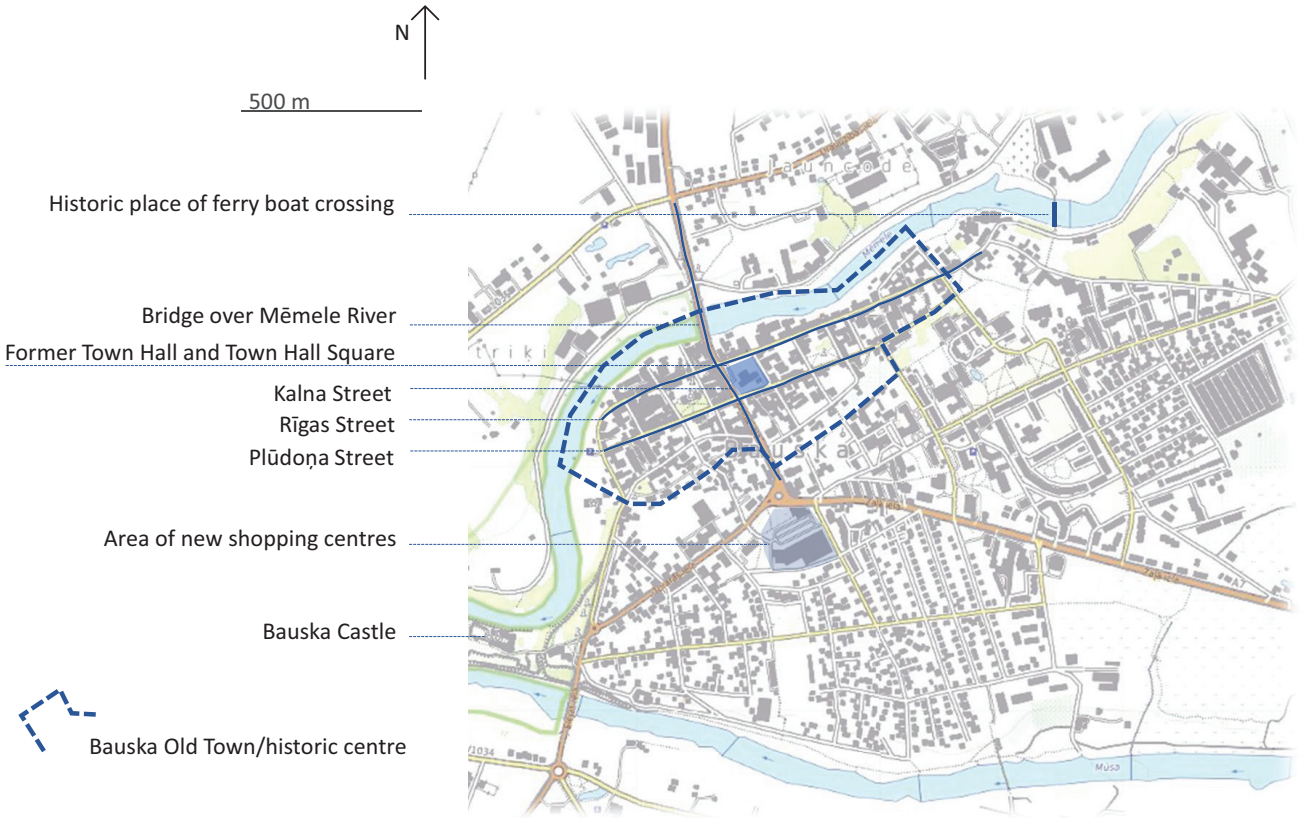

Figure 1. Spatial structure of Bauska.

19th century, Cēsis has been known as a place of arts and recreation; today, Cēsis is an important cultural and artistic centre on the regional and national levels. The spatial structure of downtown Cēsis is dominated by cultural and historic heritage—notably, the medieval castle and the Old Town with the remaining street network (Polis, 2006). The Old Town is bordered by the town centre; it is joined together by an axis of four public squares (see Figure 2): Stacijas Square, Vienības Square, Rožu Square, and Līvu Square. Vienības square also ties together the historic and new parts of Cēsis. During the wars of the 20th century several central quarters in the historic centre of the town were destroyed. Similar to Bauska, Soviet rule in Cēsis also brought in massive development—new residential neighbourhoods with multistorey apartment buildings and standard model private housing, kindergartens, schools, and factory buildings. The new development formed around the historic centre and spread out in all directions, filling up space between street networks and leaving out massive green territories.

5. Processes and Transformations

Understanding the general spatial structure of towns and the relation of central and historic parts with the rest of the town is important in order to introduce the identified challenges. Although the Old Town of Bauska is geographically central, it is barely noticeable when compared to the density and variety of functions available in other neighbourhoods of Bauska Town. Today, almost all public functions and services, as well as the majority of commercial services, are located outside the Old Town, the same holds for the availability and density of housing. The historic centre is a more occasional place to visit; it is not a part of the town's daily life. As one of the respondents notes:

> Feels like objects which would invite people to be in the historic centre are decreasing as well as the range of services which still exist there that attract only a few and specific users, for example, there are several car repair services and spare parts shops, but almost no groceries.

In contrast, the historic part of Cēsis functions as the central part of the whole town, hosting a variety of functions that are important and used by inhabitants on a daily basis. However, there are still some challenges to be mentioned that are relevant for Cēsis and Bauska alike.

For several decades, the historic centres of both towns were facing the loss of their substance and role of being the central places of social life. Although the population density in the historic parts of both towns is balanced (Stapkēviča, 2018), the populations of both towns are declining (see Figure 3). Although this decline is more visible in Bauska, in both towns, there is a perceptible presence of vacant plots and unused or even abandoned spaces. This spreading of emptiness, not least at the street level, is caused by shifts in the marketplace (in Bauska) and the building of new shopping centres (in both towns) that outcompete individual retail and services in the central parts of the towns. In the case of Bauska, ethnic diversity and household income gaps are also noticeable challenges for the municipality. According to a long-time inhabitant, "Difference in the situation [with inhabitants] is dramatic, although

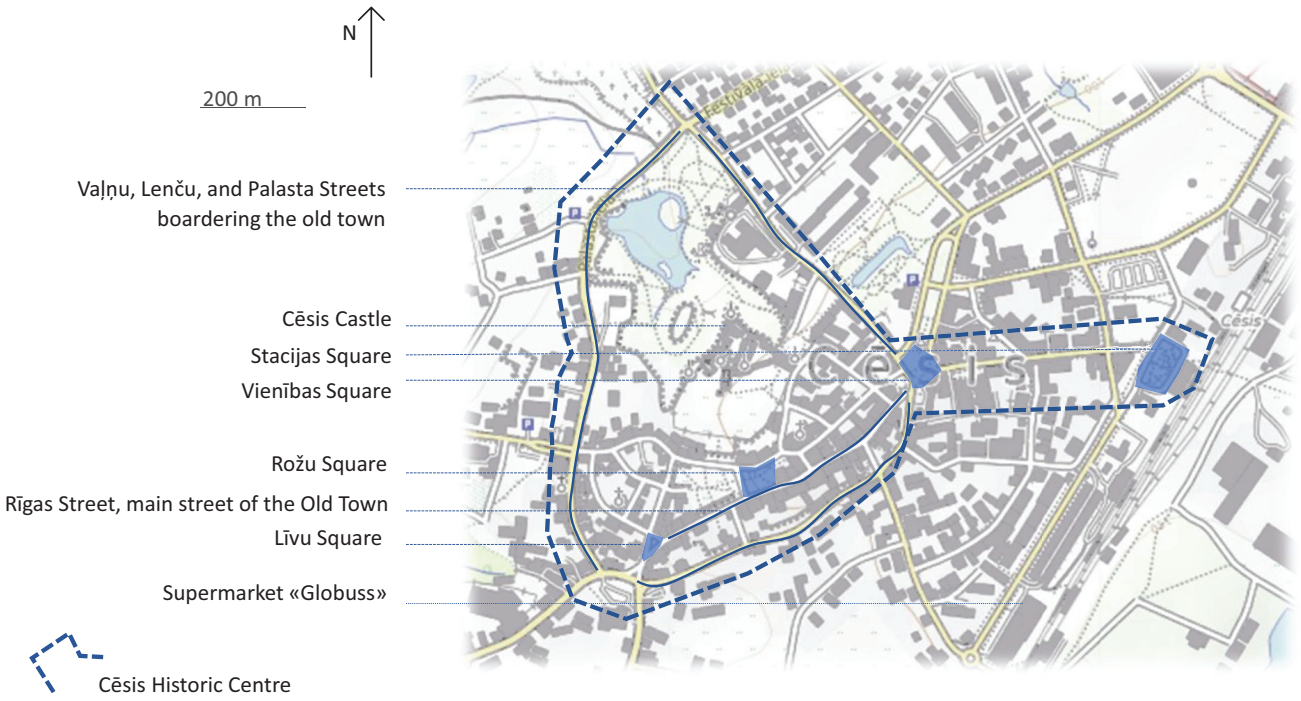

Figure 2. Spatial structure of Cēsis.

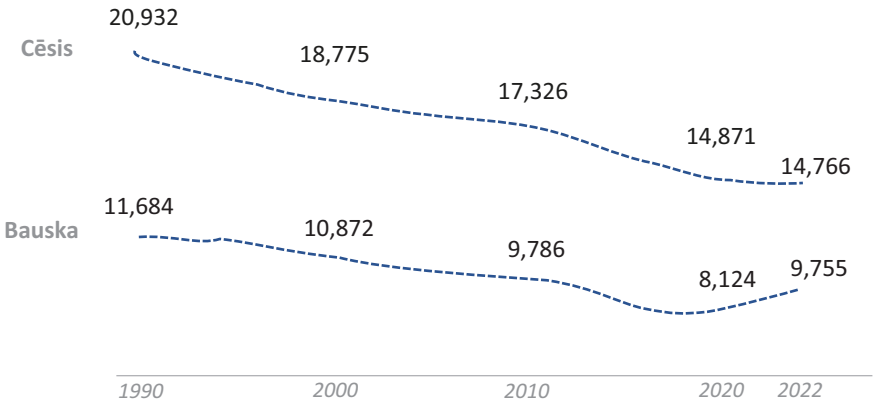

Figure 3. Population dynamics in Bauska and Cēsis. Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (2022).

there are different people living [here], visibly there are many poor [people] living in the neighbourhood." Furthermore, respondents representing the municipality note:

> It is also a great concern for us [municipality] that many Old Town inhabitants are in need of social and financial support; this also influences resources that could have been used to enhance the built-up environment in the required amount.

The established structure of property rights is now often causing situations where the building and/or land has several owners with different needs, opportunities, incomes, and outlooks, which makes property maintenance and development challenging. Additionally, the quality of existing buildings, both housing and commercial property, remains low. For example, one of the respondents noticed that, in the case of Bauska, many property owners are reluctant to invest in improvements; at the same time, properties are still offered for rent, which is an appealing offer for socially and financially challenged tenants. This, in turn, is influencing the overall structure and challenges of the community, which various respondents representing NGOs and the municipality also noticed. Finally, both towns experience growth in private and commercial traffic and transit through the network of central streets.

During the past two decades, municipalities have gradually attracted funding from the European Union, so reconstruction has taken place for several selected buildings and streets (e.g., the castle, the historic town hall and square for Bauska and the castle, church, and Rose Square in Cēsis). The influence of governance has been central to all decisions and processes. In the case of Bauska, the local government has never prioritised partial or comprehensive regeneration of the historic centre. However, in Cēsis, the local government has turned out to be the key driver for change, establishing various supports and enabling mechanisms to enliven activities in the Old Town. Finally, the presence and activities of the local communities are noticeable in both towns. However, the specificity of the established citizen-led NGOs differs. In Bauska, a local NGO was the driver for bottom-up development of the Old Town. In Cēsis, the activities of local inhabitants have been much more scattered in time and place, though mutually complementary.

The historic centres of Bauska and Cēsis contain internal spatial assets and cultural, social, geographical, and potentially also economic values, but many of these existing assets are neglected or poor in quality, inaccessible, or weak in capacity to act. In both towns, the activity and capacity of local communities are increasing, but municipalities looking for new approaches must be able to more effectively direct the unlocking of this potential. Some municipal support mechanisms and participatory procedures exist—more so in Cēsis and less so in Bauska; however, as mentioned by many interviewees, these are rather uninviting and unclear.

5.1. Bauska Town: Fragmented Space and Interests

The ongoing gradual and multi-layered decay of the historic urban landscape of Bauska was triggered by the fragmented and short-sighted decisions that made several socially important functions degrade and vanish. These decisions also caused many other functions to switch their locations to the outside of the historic centre, thus leaving the Old Town less attractive than its historic and geographic potential would allow. The municipality, as the responsible body for spatial planning and governance at the local level, was and still is lagging behind, with no comprehensive vision and scarce support regarding the much-needed regeneration. The Old Town's NGO was established in 2002 by local inhabitants, entrepreneurs, and enthusiasts who united to take action to preserve and develop the values of the downtown.

When interviewed, municipality representatives and various stakeholders suggested that the urban blight in the central part of the Old Town was noticed by the municipality, which attempted to slow it down through several reconstruction projects. The central square with the historic town hall and two parallel streets were

reconstructed with co-financing from the European Regional Development Fund. These projects had long inception phases, starting with ideas in 2010 and later met with bumpy realisation phases due to unexpected technical conditions requiring extra financial input.

Although established earlier, the Old Town's NGO became more activated with the reaction to the ongoing transformations. The realisation of reconstruction works bothered active inhabitants, and not without reason. When projects were finished in 2016, it became obvious that even though the streets were refurbished, the old historic paving stones had been changed to simple concrete bricks. Due to complicated geological conditions and limited funding, the street's surface became higher, disturbing the existing entrances of buildings at some points (see Figure 4). Most importantly, however, the refurbishment itself did not succeed in sparking the expected revival of street life—Small businesses and enterprises as well as inhabitants were still leaving the historic centre. In addition, these reconstructed streets became arteries of much more intense car traffic, disrupting the life of the Old Town.

Since the reconstruction, the situation with the central square and the historic town hall of Bauska has improved. The town hall building is used for many public gatherings and small exhibitions, and it is a magnet for locals and visitors alike, as the tourism information centre is placed on the premises. Several buildings forming the square are filled with private and public services; hence, the influx of people is steady on a daily basis and is multiplied by special occasions when the square is used for gatherings during the largest events of the year. However, both the square and the town hall are located right next to the busiest and loudest street in the town, Kalna Street, which is an intensive part of the European highway network that is heavily used by private and cargo traffic. The accessibility and comfort of inhabitants and visitors are thus being constantly disturbed in the Old Town (see Figure 5).

Further examples of fragmented space and interests are evident in situations with even a countrywide impact. Firstly, Bauska's medieval castle complex (see Figure 1) is a popular international tourist attraction, and it is protected and supported at the state level as a historic monument. However, it is lacking connection and synergy with the Old Town. Secondly, as mentioned before, the town is crossed by a busy European traffic corridor, and although discussions about bypass constructions have been going on for decades, it is expected to be a vastly significant investment project.

As mentioned, the NGO was formed under the common understanding of and belief in the existing historic and cultural values of Bauska. Furthermore, the activism of the NGO mainly targeted the local municipality with awareness raising, dialogue, and call to action to safeguard and develop the historic neighbourhood. As one of the respondents states:

> We were striving to bring back life [in the town's centre]. If the reconstruction of public spaces done by the municipality was scattered and questionable in terms of involvement of inhabitants, we discovered that the life of courtyards was very vibrant. That is how the idea of a festival of courtyards was born to open and demonstrate local private and seemingly mundane, but at the same time very understandable

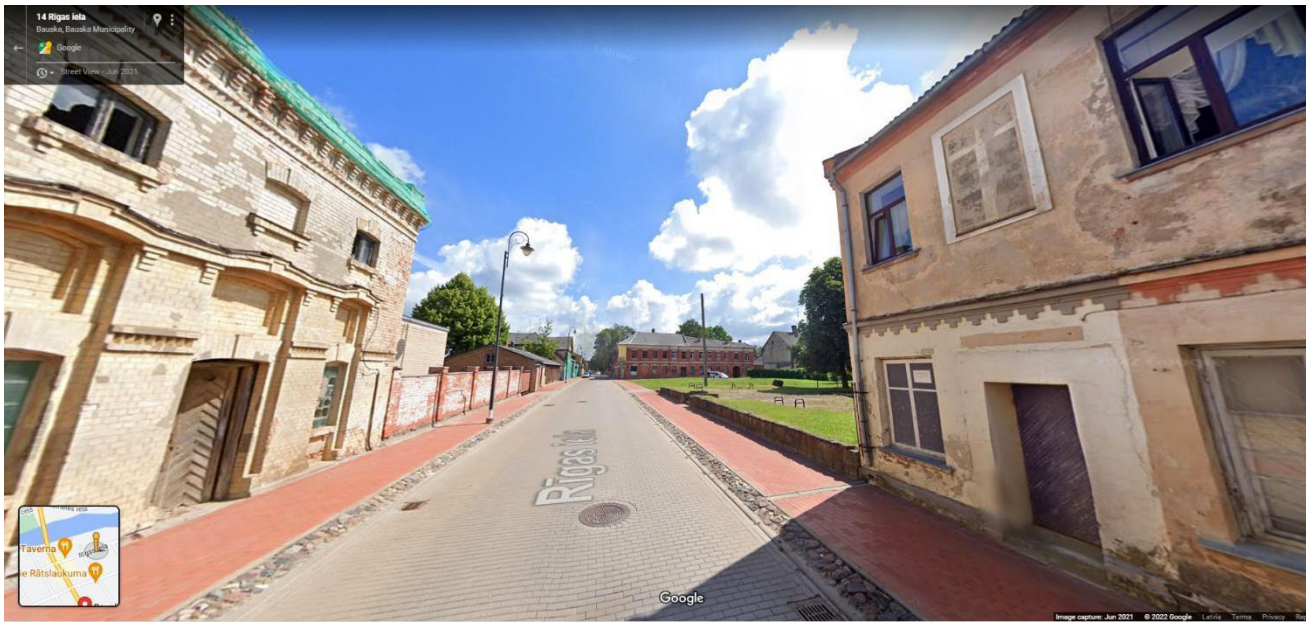

Figure 4. Rīgas Street in Bauska, 30 m from the central square. Abandoned buildings and spaces can be seen in the front; a bit further to the right, there is a vacant plot and an abandoned square, and in the back, the buildings to the left are partially abandoned and covered with a green safety net to guard against accidents. The quality of pavement materials can be observed, as well as the disturbed level of existing entrances and the reconstructed pedestrian pathway.

Figure 5. Aerial view of Bauska: In the middle are the former town hall and town hall square, with Kalna Street to the right. Source: Timermanis (n.d.).

and engaging everyday life. Furthermore, there is a great potential in local active citizens ready to act [for example] I recall an artist who decorated some shabby buildings in the Old Town to attract broad attention to the issues of dilapidation.

During the last decade, the NGO introduced and organised an annual festival of courtyards (see Figure 6), supported artistic and educational interventions within the Old Town, initiated and curated the reconstruction of the church garden, and introduced opportunities for local

Figure 6. Festival of courtyards in Bauska's Old Town. Source: Namiķis (n.d.).

inhabitants to receive advice and support if they decided to restore their historic wooden doors or windows. Finally, the NGO initiated constant discussions with the municipality, which in turn led to the establishment of a joint municipal council dedicated to issues related specifically to the Old Town.

5.2. Cēsis Town:Interplay of Top-Down and Bottom-Up Initiatives

At the beginning of the last decade, the historic centre of Cēsis was slowly vanishing due to the state-wide economic recession of 2008–2010. As a city representative noted during an interview, "The old town felt like a ghost town—Local businesses were closing due to insufficient business and high maintenance costs, streets seemed greyish and empty, even historic buildings had lost their charm." To change the situation of abandonment and lack of social activities and gatherings, the local administration searched thoroughly and decided to take a bold step to develop a bid to become the European Capital of Culture for 2014. Although the bid was unsuccessful, this effort started regeneration processes in the town through a heritage, cultural, and creative prism.

From 2010 to 2020, Cēsis implemented several infrastructure projects of different scales and developed several support mechanisms to foster the regeneration of the historic centre through creativity and culture. In addition to the implementation of relatively sizable projects like the construction of a regional concert hall or the organisation of annual festivals of public discussion, the municipality of Cēsis works closely with the local community. For example, support programs were developed—one for the refurbishment of the historic centre streets, financed by property tax income from the area, and another one for the property owners to restore or reconstruct historic architectural elements. Furthermore, a grant scheme was established to support entrepreneurs and businesses representing creative industries and aiming to reside in the historic centre, and a coworking space in the historic centre was opened. The involvement and engagement of the local community is a fundamental aspect of all of these activities.

The physical regeneration of the Cēsis historic centre can also be illustrated by its four key public squares (see Figure 2). Rožu square was renovated by one of the very first influxes of European funds. The square used to be a market square in medieval Cēsis and is located at the heart of the historic centre. Although the square is one of the few renovated public spaces, it is mainly used for transit and not for lingering, as it lacks shade and comfortable seating. Stacijas square is the greenest among the four.

The development of Vienības and Līvu Squares is particularly important, as car traffic had previously dominated both spaces. In the case of Līvu Square, the regeneration was a fully bottom-up initiative coming from local inhabitants in 2015. The square is located on the further corner of the historic centre and is formed by two converging downhill streets. New borders for the square were suggested, and two scenarios were tested on-site, discussed, and voted on by locals over a weekend. The results were then presented to the local administration, which then allocated support for simple landscaping elements—gigantic flowerpots to serve as bordering elements and materials for benches. However, as humble as this initiative was, it showed a new approach to public space renewal to the local municipality and inhabitants, which played a significant role in the case of Vienības Square's alteration several years later.

5.3. Vienības Square: The Case of Intervention in the Public Space

Vienības Square is an important central part of the town, connecting the Old Town with the rest of the historic centre. On special occasions, the square is used for various activities—the Town Day, the celebration of New Year's Eve, and parades and concerts. Although it was one of the most important squares in the town, it was the least equipped and designed, with an enormous asphalt surface used mainly for car traffic and pedestrian pathways pressed against the facades of the surrounding buildings without any possibility of crossing the square in various directions.

In 2019, town-wide guidelines for traffic safety and calming were approved, and Cēsis started to slowly transform the traffic situation street by street, junction by junction (CIVITAS SUMPs-Up, 2019). Vienības square was also about to be transformed from a traffic roundabout to a public square. The aim was to start with the improvement of the traffic situation and deal with the design later. A Cēsis city planner commented in an interview:

> In order to gain public support and to move deliberately, the municipality decided to implement intervention through experimentation with on-site testing. From the prior experience with the Līvu Square, this approach seemed an applicable one, only this time organised by the municipality.

To find logical boundaries for the square-to-be, the sneck-down method was applied—an aerial photograph of the space taken shortly after a snowfall was analysed and measured. This allowed for settling the dimensions necessary for the one-directional traffic lanes around the square. Furthermore, the shape of a future public square started to become more visible. Later in the spring, the square got its outline—A pop-up square was created over one evening by placing metal construction fences and traffic signs, drawing a pop-up crosswalk to join the square with the surrounding pedestrian pathways and putting up informational banners around the area for car drivers to be informed of the sudden change (see Figure 7). During the next couple of weeks, two scenarios for traffic organisation were tested, and a town-wide

Figure 7. Cēsis Town: Realisation of the intervention at Vienības Square in 2019.

online and on-site survey was conducted to gather the opinions of the public on the changes, traffic safety, and potential functions and uses of the public square.

Although widely discussed at the beginning, from the realisation of this intervention, it became quickly visible that the community gained a new valuable and appreciated public space. The pop-up square became a meeting spot; it was used by pedestrians to shorten the walking distance between parts of Cēsis, and the historic monument also became more accessible and visible (Figure 8). However, a noticeable part of the local society, mostly everyday car users, vocally protested the changes by claiming that it made driving through the space more inconvenient. When asked about the intervention, one of the local council members disclosed:

> It was not an easy everyday task to implement change in the public space, in a public square that had not seen change for more than 50 years. While specialists of the municipality carried on the weight of the task, we had to carry the weight of polarised public opinions. To realise this [closing the square for traffic] in such a fast, ruthless, intervening manner was somewhat brave and somewhat reckless; it was certainly like ripping off a bandage, and some [people] were happy, some were furious, no one was indifferent to the fact.

Despite many bumps in the process, the public space experiment was carried out due to the high strategic and political priority, a clear end goal, and positive feedback from pedestrians and occasional drivers. Lessons were learned from the process, coordination, implementation, and analyses, including the capacity of public servants and the involvement of stakeholders. Now, three years after the proposed changes, Vienības Square has become a well-used space that livens up the central part of the town. People of different generations use it as a meeting spot and as a place to have a rest, enjoy a takeaway lunch, or cruise around on skateboards. Nevertheless, it still poses several challenges, such as what could encourage lingering as opposed to transit, how to balance the grand scale of the surrounding buildings and the monument with human-scale objects in the square, and how to introduce activities while preserving the significant and commemorative nature of the monument (Figure 9). Another representative of the town stated: "Whatever we do in this space, we will be judged for it. This square will forever be a gauge for the municipality's ability to experiment and adapt."

Figure 8. Vienības Square in 2022 with mobile furniture and Cēsis Old Town in the background.

Figure 9. Annual city festival in Vienības Square, 2019. Source: Courtesy of Cēsis Municipal Archive.

6. Discussion

In the cases of Cēsis and Bauska Towns, problems of viability for the historic centres since the 1990s gradually became apparent as the number of inhabitants and business activities and the quality of public space decreased. Restrictions, controls, and lack of support created complications for the potential individual activities and creativity of businesses, property owners, and users. The aim of creating a quality urban environment for modern life, to increase the sense of identity, and an urge for the people themselves to take more responsibility for the liveliness of the central area grew with the gradual development of civil society and the planning paradigm shifting from mainly preserving historical value to creating lively places in balance with modern needs and sustainability (see Figure 10). Discussions and initiatives gradually rose with the formation of NGOs rooted in the local communities. Similar processes also took place in other historical small towns in Latvia. Similar to Cēsis and Bauska, such development took place in a fragmented process, rooted in individual projects and initiatives scattered in time and place. Today, the development of historic centres is an ongoing process, where the interaction between communities, stakeholders, and municipalities plays a major role. Therefore, the experience of Cēsis and Bauska is also valuable in the spatial planning of other towns in Latvia. Pairing these two Latvian towns highlights the importance of connections between various existing stakeholders and initiatives on the one hand and governance structures and procedures on the other. In both cases, valuable assets—tangible (architecture, environment) and intangible (civic society, activism, openness to dialogue)—can be identified. However, some gaps and weaknesses are also present; for example, in Bauska, interviews mentioned slowness and tension in dialogues between NGO representatives and the municipality, and although active society and political willingness to act are commonly considered as prerequisites to succeed in common tasks, it is clear that leadership in sustaining productive communication and links is also important.

Until now, the development of historic centres has taken place in the form of individual infrastructure and public space improvement projects. Current practice shows that planning in relation to historical centres is not in line with the new development requirements. Now, both towns are in search of a more comprehensive development approach to historic centres, as the normative territorial planning practices and individual development projects are not sufficient.

Interviews with local planners, active inhabitants, authority representatives, and representatives of NGOs revealed that the development of historic centres should be based on the special values of these territories, strengthening their identity and community participation and that their vibrancy is also closely related to modernisation. In the case of Cēsis, municipal specialists emphasised that a special, clear development plan for the historic centre is needed. Almost all interviewees expressed the opinion that further development of the centre is related to deeper cooperation between stakeholders and the need to look for new techniques in spatial planning. One step in this search involves experimental interventions in close cooperation with local stakeholders. In the case of Bauska, in circumstances where there is also a lack of a common vision for the development of the Old Town, NGOs and stakeholders largely express a similar opinion.

Cēsis provides valuable experience regarding municipality-led interventions. In the case of Vienības

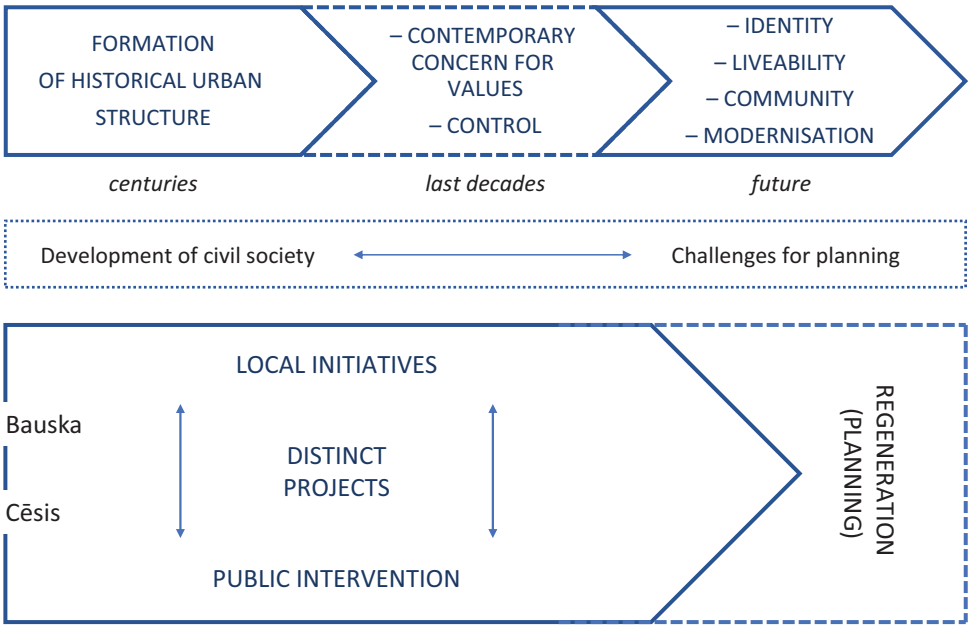

Figure 10. Development processes, enablers, and challenges for planning in two Latvian towns.

Square, the municipality acted as an initiator, trying to be agile in their experimentative approach, but also confronted a range of bureaucratic, organisational, financial, and communication challenges. This approach contrasts with the traditional ways for any introduction of changes in public space, which demands different resources and is often over-regulated in planning in historic centres. Furthermore, the example of Cēsis highlights the possibilities of a new type of interaction between the municipality and the inhabitants, which in turn demands new management and planning tools. In the case of Bauska, stakeholders representing the municipality, civil society or entrepreneurs expressed their concerns about the condition and neglected potential of the Old Town and the central part of the town. However, the fragmentation of realised initiatives, lack of principles, and coordination of support on one hand and the aware and concerned stakeholders on the other are quite contradictory, and the situation signals that communication and cooperation among stakeholders are rather weak or inconsistent regarding a common vision. In order to achieve the readiness of municipalities to change their mode of operation, it is important to design an applicable methodology to manage the processes. Furthermore, municipalities need to take the lead in facilitating dialogues and changes, while civic society needs to be accepted as the main partner.

7. Conclusion

Cēsis and Bauska are comparable in many aspects, not only with each other but also with other small and medium towns in Latvia going through similar socioeconomic trends and transformative challenges. The analysed cases show that one very important aspect is the role of the historic centre in the everyday life of the whole town. In Cēsis, the historic centre still needs significant improvement in the quality of public space to strengthen conditions for living and commercial activities, but it is generally entwined with the rest of the town through a variety of social, public, commercial, and cultural functions and services. In Bauska, however, the context of disconnectedness from adjacent neighbourhoods, physical fragmentation, and periodic fatigue of the local community demands not only improvements but also integration, attention, and targeted collaboration between the municipality and the active inhabitants.

Each town has taken a different trajectory for the processes of physical transformation of the historic centres—top-down projects and bottom-up initiatives evolved through the different extent of local community involvement and cooperation between various stakeholders. All these aspects are fundamental for spatial planning professionals. In general, the processes taking place in both towns can be evaluated as educative and provide an important experience of interventions initiated by the municipality and initiatives of NGOs. At the same time, further development is required.

To move forward, it is necessary to develop and implement new planning processes. In both cases, a strategic vision for the development of the historical centres is clearly needed. One of the options is to elaborate on the comprehensive regeneration or revitalisation plans with a clear common vision, which would include the improvement of public space, preservation of historical values, strengthening of commercial activity, and deepened community participation (see Figure 5). Special management for the collaboration of communities, stakeholders, and local government institutions, as well as the consolidation of public and private finances, must be created and managed within their framework. A successful process requires a strategic, local needs-based, cross-sectoral, multi-stakeholder approach. In the qualitative regeneration process, the existing and potential users of the territory should be maximally involved in development planning, with ideas and practical activities alike. The challenges of the urban historic centres cannot always be solved only with public and municipal resources, so it is necessary to simplify and facilitate the process for activities that can be performed by or together with private resources, including the willingness of local residents to sustain the liveability of their historic centres.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Patterns of Detachment: Spatial Transformations of the Phosphate Industry in el-Quseir, Egypt

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Abstract
The establishment of phosphate mines and processing plants by Italian entrepreneurs in el-Quseir in 1912 revitalized a town that had faced a steady decline after the opening of the Suez Canal and re-linked it to the world economy. To this day, the now defunct industrial site occupies a large section of physical el-Quseir and plays a key role in its identity. In this article, we explore the impact of the company's successive industrialization and deindustrialization based on archival research, interviews, and mapping. By tracing physical changes on-site and in the city of el-Quseir from the founding of its phosphate industry until today, as well as the historical and current interactions of citizens with the industrial facilities, we hope to better understand the "cluster value" of the industrial plant in quotidian life and the effect of the vacuum left behind after the termination of production. As machinery and buildings are slowly eroding in the absence of expressed interest by the former Italian and current Egyptian owners, we aim to discuss the relationship between the citizens and their el-Quseir phosphate plant as a crucial element of its heritage value at the local level.

Keywords
Egypt; industrial heritage; industrialization; Italy; mining; phosphate industry

Issue
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1. Introduction

The peripheral industrial history of urban development in Egypt remains largely unwritten. Only recently have industrial sites come into the scope of a mainly expert-led public discourse. Research on industrial heritage in Egypt remains primarily focused on architectural features and industrial history (Alsadaty, 2020; Bodenstein, 2010; Damir, 2022; Nassar & Sharaf Eldin, 2013). The research largely omits the urban scale and the physical and intangible transformations evident in the transboundary spatial-temporal dynamics, i.e., linkages and dependencies that go beyond the site perimeter (Damir, 2022; Leung & Soyez, 2009). Transcending the acknowledgment of individual industrial facilities, their spatial interlinkages contribute to what Lu (2015, p.71) refers to as "cluster value," i.e., the agglomerative effects of industrial development on fostering urbanization and urban life. Therefore, our perspective on industrial heritage is not limited to conservation concerns but is integral to cities and their transformations (Oevermann, 2015, p. 1).

In this article, we aim to explore the patterns and spatial linkages produced by the successive industrialization and de-industrialization of the former Italian phosphate processing plant in el-Quseir during the 20th century. The revitalization and expansion of the almost derelict historical city on the coast of the Red Sea

as an industrial colony and its impact on the geographically isolated region—which at its peak included seven phosphate mines spread out over almost 400 km^2—unfortunately has received little scientific attention and remains poorly documented (Pellegrini, 2011). Cabassi's (2012) "Kosseir, a phosphate-shipping town—La cité des mines de phosphates à Kosseir" on the development of the Società Egiziana per l'Estrazione e il Commercio dei Fosfati (Egyptian Phosphate Mining and Trading Company) remains the only authoritative academic source on the company during the Italian reign but is brief on its impact on el-Quseir. The company's activities after its nationalization, regional implications, and the socio-cultural transformation following the plant's closure in 1998 have not been previously studied.

2. Research Methodology

Our research aims to document the key physical transformations in el-Quseir before and after the nationalization of the phosphate company and explore their impact on socio-cultural patterns. One challenge in this regard is the predominance of an "Italian" narrative in available publications such as Cabassi (2012) and Pellegrini (2011). This narrative has affected both documented sites and recorded memories, leaving less room for an Egyptian recounting of the industrial site. At this stage of research, it is too early to diagnose a potential "dissonant" heritage representing conflicting or inconsolable memories as defined by Soyez (2009). Nevertheless, we agree with his call to "re-adjust" traditional perspectives by including "pluralized, fragmented or contested realities and ways of remembering" (Soyez, 2009, p. 44) and to challenge seemingly objective or universal narratives (Bhambra, 2014; Lähdesmäki et al., 2019).

We applied a mixed-methods approach to identify development patterns that include a local socio-cultural perspective on the regional industrialization around el-Quseir. Data collected from fieldwork and archives, reviews of secondary literature, publicly available satellite imagery, historical maps, and photography were used to map the industrial complex in QGIS. Given the lack of publications, especially in the post-nationalization phase, archival work and field visits were utilized as the primary source of data collection. Information in national Egyptian archives was mostly inaccessible due to unauthorized security permits. Between March and June 2022 archival materials were nevertheless explored with the help of private collections and the Gamal Abdel-Nasser Foundation. These materials included several magazines published in the 1950s and 1960s, such as *Al-Musawwar* and *Rosalyousif*, as well as a few books documenting the economic and socio-economic status of the industrial sector during the administration of the former president Gamal Abdel-Nasser.

Fieldwork included a four-day visit to el-Quseir in 2021 as part of the Modern Heritage to Future Legacy project. Site visits and photographs of the city and the phosphate company were completed between July 15 and July 18. Additionally, 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the local community who contributed to uncovering the linkages and detachments between the phosphate company and the city of el-Quseir. The interviewees included current employees at the phosphate company, NGOs in the city, and residents whose fathers worked in the company and retired early after it was nationalized. The interviews were focused on their memories and associations with buildings, functions, routines, and activities as well as accessibility for Quseirians over time. Open-ended questions resulted in interview durations of 30 to 90 minutes. Furthermore, data from the "City, Community, and Heritage" workshop held in el-Quseir in 2018 was re-evaluated. Due to corona-induced travel restrictions during the project's duration, the fieldwork remained exploratory and is still in need of more structured follow-up. Even with those limitations, the modified project framework produced relevant findings that are presented below.

3. El-Quseir: Historical Overview

3.1. Location and Formation of the Town

El-Quseir is a small port town of 50,000 citizens located on the Red Sea approximately 600 km from Cairo and around 200 km from the Nile Valley (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, 2022; Sachdev, 2017). It was founded during the Ottoman period, around 8 km south of the city el-Quseir el-Qadim, which dates to the ancient Egyptian era (Le Quesne, 2004). Over the centuries, el-Quseir el-Qadim connected Egypt to the international trade routes through the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian Ocean (Sachdev, 2017). From the Fatimid era onward, it was a departure point for Upper Egyptians towards Mekka for pilgrimage (Rashed & El Attar, 1999). After the destruction of el-Quseir el-Qadim by a Portuguese fleet in 1541, el-Quseir was established (Le Quesne, 2010). During Mohamed Ali's rule (1805 to 1845), the city flourished again due to trade and pilgrims. The city's population increased to 8,000 people during the beginning of the 19th century, and the pilgrims who passed through el-Quseir numbered around 30,000 annually (Klunzinger, 1878). After the construction of the Cairo–Suez railways and later the Suez Canal with its direct connection to the Mediterranean Sea, el-Quseir's importance rapidly diminished, and the population decreased to 1,500 people (Klunzinger, 1878). The city lay dormant until the establishment of the phosphate company.

3.2. El-Quseir and Phosphate Mining in the Red Sea Region

The first phosphate mining explorations in Egypt were conducted by British geologist Hugh John Llewellyn

Beadnell in the Western Desert at the end of the 19th century (Al-Alfy, 1946, p. 153). Scottish geologist Andrew Crookston was soon invited and granted the concession to expand the exploration area to the Red Sea region and the Sinai Peninsula since these are the three regions containing Egypt's phosphate deposits. Italian companies and investors had been active in Egypt since the 19th century in various industries including housing, transportation, and even maritime construction (Giacomelli, 2012). By the end of the 19th century, Italian investment in Egypt had expanded its territorial scope to the Red Sea region. The phosphate exploration concessions, granted to Crookston in the Quseir-Qena region, were transferred to Banco di Roma. In 1910, the bank invested in new geological expeditions in Wadi Hamadat (Cabassi, 2012). In 1912, four years after the first actual exploitation of phosphate beds in Egypt (presumably in Safaga), Banco di Roma founded the Società Egiziana per l'Estrazione e il Commercio dei Fosfati (Egyptian Society for the Extraction and Trade of Phosphate; Cabassi, 2012; Fitzau, 1914, p. 703; Phosphate production in Egypt, 1922, p. 547). In the same year, the total output of Egyptian phosphate mines reached 70,000 tons. The phosphate industry was monopolized by the British in Safaga and the Italians in el-Quseir. Owing to newly established rail connections, Egyptian phosphate quickly became an important factor in world supply (Phosphate production in Egypt, 1922, p. 547). In the year 1914, a second phosphate mine was opened by the Italians in Gebel Nakheil; factory equipment and infrastructures of various kinds were then gradually implemented.

World War I brought major interruptions but with fresh capital and a partial change of ownership, mining and production in el-Quseir continued. In 1927, all company shares were transferred to the Italian State Treasury, effectively resulting in the first (Italian) nationalization of the company. The Egyptian government cooperated with the company to construct a railway linkage to Qena on the Nile. A branch office of the Italian Fascist Party and several recreational facilities were installed as well (Cabassi, 2012, p. 109). Phosphate was principally exported to Italy, Japan, and Australia (Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 42, 235). After initial unsuccessful attempts by the Japanese to set quotas in December 1933 and August 1936, the el-Quseir Agreement of June 17, 1936, fixed quotas for export to Japan and Europe and granted a quasi-monopoly for export to Italy (United States Federal Trade Commission, 1946, p. 43). During World War II, the Italians in el-Quseir were briefly interned by the British but later allowed to continue production in the plant and seven mines in Gebel Duwy, Hamadat, Atshan, Nakheil, Abu-Tundub (North and South), Faraa, and Hamarawein (Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 22–23). By 1946, Egypt (together with Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) ranked second in terms of phosphate extraction and export after the USA, and phosphate was considered one of its three major export products (Al-Alfy, 1946, p. 153; El-Egeamey, interview, July 17, 2021; United Nations, 1953, p. 124).

3.3. El-Quseir and the Nationalization

After the Free Officers Movement in 1952, the ousting of the British, and the founding of the Egyptian Republic led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, industrial policy shifted towards increased state involvement (Karakoç et al., 2017, p. 14). The nationalization of the Suez Canal and the ensuing Suez Crisis led to the confiscation of British and French assets and companies after 1956 (Ikram, 2006, p. 3). In 1957, comprehensive economic planning was introduced, including a five-year plan for industrial development (Ikram, 2006, p. 5). The Egyptian government focused predominantly on constructing new industries and industrial towns countrywide, with less interest in the continuities of sectors from the former regime, especially in the agro-industrial sector (Roussillon, 1998, p. 336). As part of Nasser's propaganda regarding Egypt's reindustrialization, the government aimed at investing in large-scale industries that suited the political paradigm of selectively opening up to the global mercantile economy. Foreign companies operating in Egypt were successively nationalized after the Laws of Nationalization of July 1961. Industrialization of other industries, transportation, and mines continued at least until 1964 (Abdel-Malek, 1964, p. 42; Ikram, 2006, p. 6). In December 1961, all mining companies were incorporated under the Egyptian General Mining Corporation (EGMC; Bahaa al-Din, 1965).

In the case of the Red Sea region, the regional focus turned to promoting oil investments (Melcangi, 2013, p. 60). Still, the phosphate industry was not wholly omitted from the government's industrial scope. In contrast to the pre-nationalization phase, the phosphate industry was directed predominantly toward local production, and the surplus was exported. By 1965, phosphate fertilizer was rated second in the country's consumption of heavy industrial products in the agricultural sector (Hamrush, 1965, p. 15). During that time, the mines in Hamadat, Nakheil-Atshan, and Gebel Duwy were being exploited, with the latter nearing depletion (Service & Petersen, 1966, p. 22). The company continued to export phosphate eastwards to avoid Suez Canal tolls; key destinations were Japan, Sri Lanka (British Ceylon), and India (Service & Petersen, 1966, p. 22; United Nations, 1953, p. 124).

During the period of nationalization, the Italian Industrial Reconstruction Institute, which had run the phosphate mines since 1933, started negotiations with the Egyptian government to retain at least a 50 percent share in the company. An agreement on the company's valuation, however, was never reached (Melcangi, 2013, p. 61). There is conflicting information on the exact year of the nationalization of the phosphate company. Service and Petersen (1966) report that partial nationalization occurred in 1961. Dario Triches and Giancarlo Chissalè, who lived in el-Quseir until 1958, state that the last year of operations of the phosphate company in el-Quseir was 1963, after the shutdown of all company

mines (see Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 229, 240); the same year is confirmed by Paliotti (2014). Cabassi (2012) reports that the el-Quseir factory was nationalized in 1958 and decommissioned in 1964. The decommission was temporary as the company was integrated into EGMC with the Republican Decree No. 2726 of 1964 (Sachdev, 2017, p. 23). As part of Nasser's five-year plan for industrial development, the complex in el-Quseir was to undergo administrative and economic restructuring (Konuz ardina, 1965).

The second phase of the five-year plan for industrial development during the 1960s involved proposals to expand the phosphate exploitation area into the New Valley and Hamrawein (Industrial and Mining Projects Authority, n.d.; Stoica, 1972, p. 355). President Anwar Sadat's economic open-door policy and promotion of private-sector investment impacted the Hamrawein industrial project. No changes in el-Quseir are documented, however. By 1978, the Quseir mines and plant were producing around 90,000 tons of phosphate, and those in Hamrawein around 15,000 tons (Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction, 1978, p. 156). By that time the city of Quseir had 15,000 inhabitants, which is almost tenfold what Klunzinger reported in 1878 before the phosphate boom and about equal to the population of the city of Hurghada at the same time (Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction, 1978, p. 156). Under Mubarak, trade liberalization and WTO-induced structural adjustment affected the industrial sector negatively (Karakoç et al., 2017, p. 20). In 1998, the Quseir plant was closed (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). Al-Sayed, head of Roayah NGO, reports that the shutdown was due to economic and environmental reasons. The decision was supported by the Ministry of Environment and the Movenpick Hotels Group (interview, July 17, 2021). In 2000, the plant was formally integrated into the al-Nasr Mining Company (Sachdev, 2017, p. 25). The New Valley Phosphate Project in the New Valley Governorate started in 1999, and the Hamarawein plant is still operating (Industrial and Mining Projects Authority, n.d.; Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021).

4. El-Quseir: Patterns of Transformations

4.1. Patterns of Physical Transformations

4.1.1. Pre-Nationalization

Beginning in the early 20th century, the phosphate mining concessions in the Quseir-Qena region and the resulting influx of foreign funds caused an economic and urban revitalization that transcended the old town and introduced spatial linkages with its surrounding terrains. These are interpreted here in three main morphological phases.

The first phase lasted until 1914: Klunzinger's 1878 map of el-Quseir displays a small settlement overlooking the port. The urban pattern remained relatively undisturbed during the first years of phosphate mining, which was characterized by scattered construction (Figure 1). At the northern end of the old town, a radio station with a group of houses was constructed (Figure 1, No. 11–13). A water distillation plant stood overlooking the port in the old town (Fig. 1, No. 16). Additional service buildings involved a wind power plant and a hospital (Fig. 1, No. 15). By 1906, six company employee dwellings stood by the waterfront arranged orthogonally in two rows, bordering the old town on the northeast and designed in a westernized architectural style (Fig. 1, No. 14). The company cemetery was located far from the urban fabric (Fig. 1, No. 10; Pellegrini, 2011, p. 29).

The second phase lasted until 1923. Mining was expanded in the mines already under operation, where Italian and Egyptian-Arab workers resided in tents (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 32). The opening of a second mine was followed by rapid upgrading of the infrastructure and production facilities. The coastal industrial plant emerged as a new pattern ("The Oil Industry," 1946, p. 121). The plant's new facilities stood on the periphery of the old town and were detached from the structures mentioned above. A narrow-gauge railway connected the mines with the coastal plant. Railway maintenance was a new function with separate facilities, such as water tanks and railway roundhouse (Fig. 1, No. 7). A new electricity generator building reportedly contributed to generating power for the coastal industrial plant, the old town, and later the mines (Fig. 1, No. 8; Guard of the coastal plant, interview, 2021; Pellegrini, 2011, p. 235). Furthermore, the el-Quseir port was rehabilitated by constructing a loading dock on the southern end of the old town, which was also connected by rail (Fig. 1, No. 17).

The years from 1923 until the 1950s marked the third phase and the heyday of the el-Quseir company. The discovery of rich deposits in Gebel Duwi resonated countrywide and globally (Cabassi, 2012). Accordingly, a royal visit by King Fouad of Egypt to the el-Quseir company was planned, incentivizing extensive physical transformations, predominantly in the mines (Hashem, 2021, p. 873). These developed into desert industrial plants; their urban pattern involved plowed fields and machinery for phosphate processing and narrow-gauge railways for transport (Figures 2 and 3). Each desert plant comprised dwellings for Italian and Egyptian-Arab workers. The Arabs resided in one-story barracks, whereas the Italians lived in bungalow-style houses scattered on the mountain hills within the plant terrain (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 236). The operational growth and increase in company staff required additional services such as a mosque, cafeteria, infirmary, and elementary school (Cabassi, 2012). As depicted by Gebel Duwi, the area of each mine matched or even exceeded that of the coastal plant (Figures 1 and 2).

During the 1930s, the coastal plant was expanded to include new services including operational, administrative, recreational, religious, and educational facilities. A museum with natural artifacts from the region

was also established (Fig. 1, No. 9). *Ex situ*, to the plant's western and northern borders, residential buildings and the church of St. Barbara were constructed (Fig. 1, No. 2 and 3). The residential buildings hosted the Italian employees and were characterized by an Italian fascist tincture. The Egyptian laborers in el-Quseir continued to reside in the old town fabric which saw little expansion even during the third phase (Figure 1).

During World War II, industrial operations stagnated temporarily. Nevertheless, the el-Quseir-Qena railway was completed, connecting the coastal plant to the Nile and unburdening Port Suez (Kupferschmidt, 1943, p. 55). The mines still depended on el-Quseir town for supplies and operational and social facilities within the coastal plant (Cabassi, 2012; Pellegrini, 2011, p. 23). Connected by rail, all extracted and processed phosphate in the desert plants was transported to the coastal plant for storage. The port underwent additional infrastructural overhauls, as evidenced by the new north-south direct road parallel to the waterfront. Additionally, cable car routes were constructed extending from the coastal plant to the port above the seashore, forming a completely new seascape to the eastern side of the old town (Figure 4; Pellegrini, 2011, p. 27). At the northern end of the el-Quseir coastal plant, the company constructed a large phosphate enrichment plant almost doubling the plant's area. The company did not impose any additional physical pattern on the old town fabric but repurposed existing buildings in the old town as part of its managerial facilities. Mapping based on satellite imagery revealed considerable unplanned or informal settlement growth around the desert plant (Figure 2). The buildings were presumably houses of Egyptian mine workers. These built-up areas are undocumented in historical sources, making it impossible to date the time of their first appearance.

4.1.2. Post-Nationalization

After its nationalization, the company was integrated into the Red Sea Phosphate Company. By 1965, besides receiving administrative and economic restructuring, the newly nationalized coastal plant was rebranded by re-painting the formerly white buildings in yellow (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). Yet mining and processing was gradually shifted to Hamrawein. A year before the 1998 shutdown of the el-Quseir company, most metal structures in the coastal and desert plants, including their connecting railways, were dismantled and sold as scrap. Additionally, the whole cable car structure and the port's pier were also disassembled (El Egeamey interview, July 17, 2021; Pellegrini, 2011, p. 225). The railway linkage to Qena was presumably dismantled by 1978 as it was not mentioned in the 1978 report by the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction. An Italian group visiting el-Quseir in 1997 reported the poor state of the town and its plants with abandoned premises. By that time, the urban growth of el-Quseir had enveloped the coastal plant and its cemetery into the town's fabric. Pellegrini (2011) mentions an urban planning model of el-Quseir drawn up by the provincial or town council after the nationalization of the company, presumably before 1976. Regarding the coastal plant, Decima describes the state of abandonment and destruction of its premises; this includes the abandoned school (Fig. 1, No. 1) and the destruction of the Franciscan church in order to build a bigger Coptic one (Figure 5; Pellegrini, 2011). In 2020, the company sold the old machines in the workshops, the steel ladder in the tank, and most of the furniture in the King Farouk Rest House as scrap (Fig. 1, No. 4). The company also destroyed most of the old documents that had remained in the buildings, especially the administration buildings, the school, and the nuns' house. The massive phosphate enrichment plant was dismantled entirely, causing a large vacuum in the urban fabric (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021).

The demolition and recycling of valuable materials also extended to the desert plants, where buildings were stripped of reusable materials such as metal and wooden roofs. Mapping of the unplanned or informal settlement growth around the desert plants shows them uninhabited and reduced to their boundary walls (Figure 2). While the desert plants are entirely abandoned, three buildings in the coastal plant remain in use: the former school, reused as a police station; the reconstructed church (Figure 5); and the former nun's house, inhabited by former company employees and occasionally hosting visitors. The remaining physical structures *in situ* are neither maintained nor preserved and face gradual decay by incremental dismantling or neglect. *Ex situ* from the coastal plant stands the former hospital and employee houses still in use; the former has been repurposed as a learning development center for the Quseirian children and the latter is still inhabited by former employees. Several reuse projects for the coastal plant were proposed by the city council and heritage advocates. The council's projects involve replacing the coastal plant with touristic hotels and transforming the port into a yacht marina. The holding company, however, still refuses to negotiate the plant's urban transformations (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021).

4.2. Patterns of Socio-Cultural Transformations

4.2.1. Pre-Nationalization

By the end of the 19th century, the underpopulated el-Quseir comprised Egyptians and migrants from the Arabian Peninsula. Soon after the first two successful phosphate expeditions, el-Quseir witnessed the first signs of noticeable population increase consisting of Italian employees, migrating mainly from the Agordino area in Veneto and the Canavese area in Piedmont, and migrants from Upper Egypt working in mining and extraction (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021; Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 230–35). The 1920s and 1930s witnessed discernible

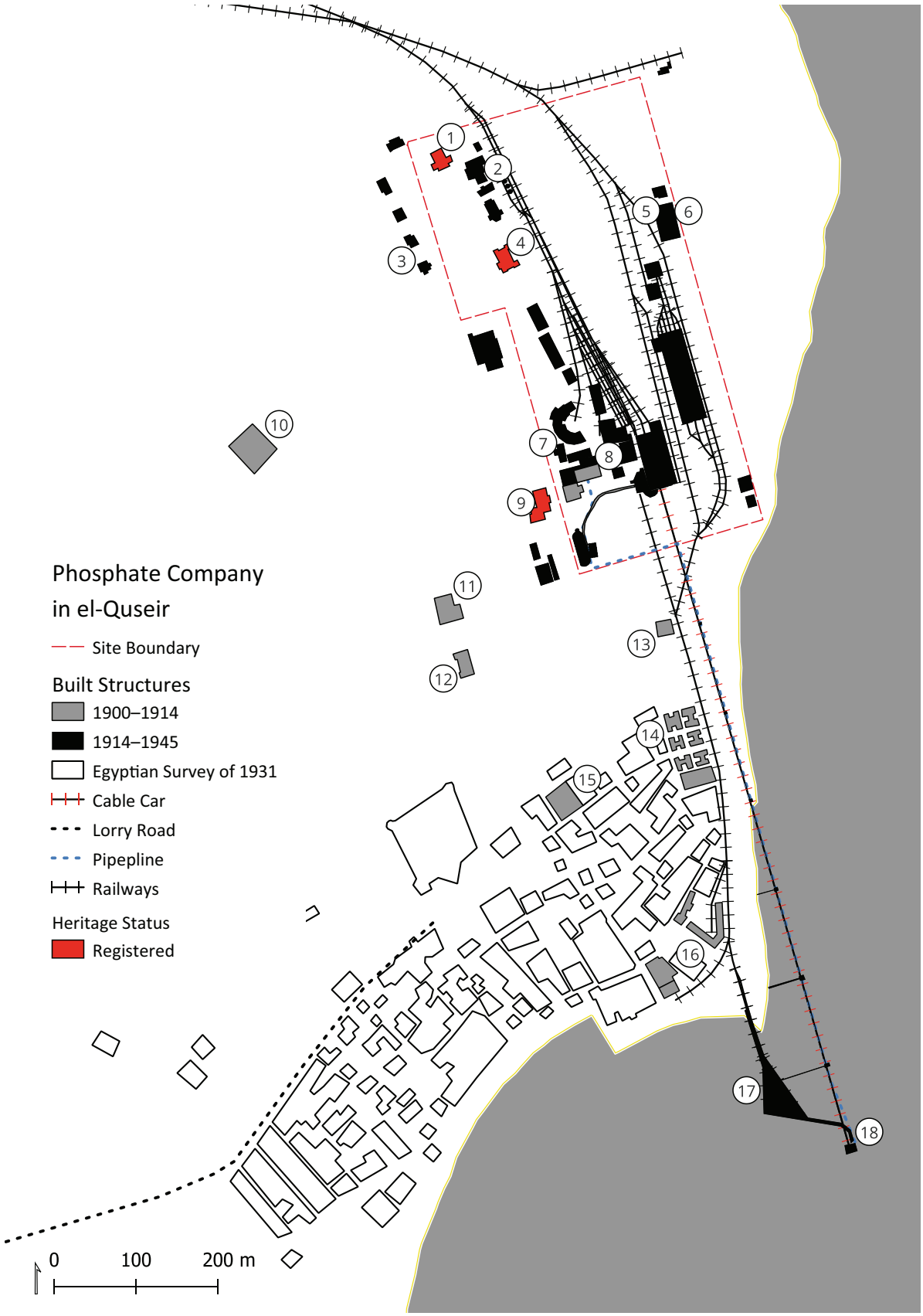

Figure 1. Map of el-Quseir urban fabric and the coastal phosphate plant in 1930–1940 (black outline), highlighting the integrated buildings of Phase 1 (until 1914, grey) and the detached plant (1914 and after, black) and currently registered heritage buildings (red). Source: Created by the authors with the use of base map (Egyptian Survey of 1931), as reproduced in Le Quesne (2010).

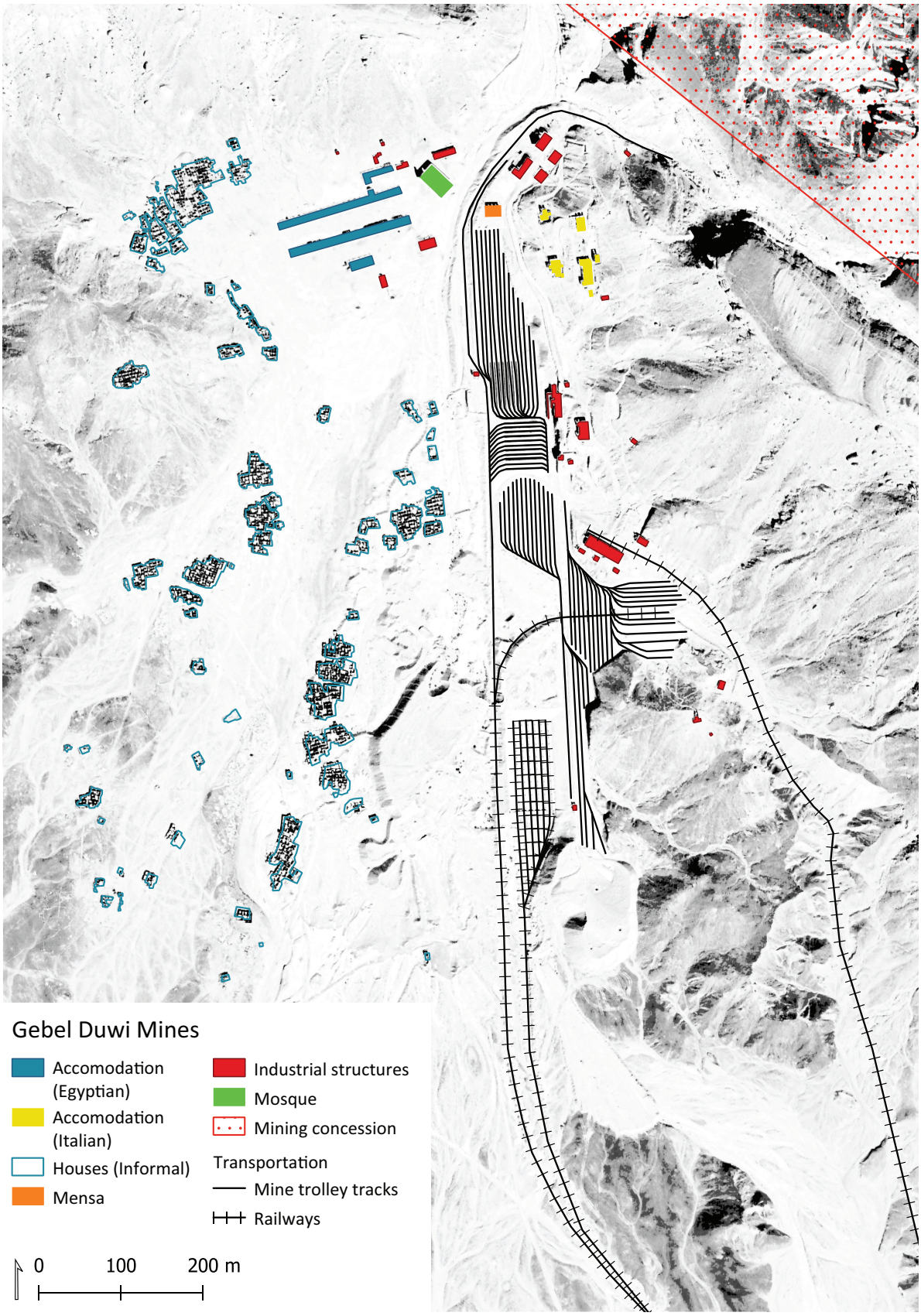

Figure 2. Map of the desert industrial plant in Gebel Duwi. Source: Created by the authors with base map of Google Hybrid, 2022.

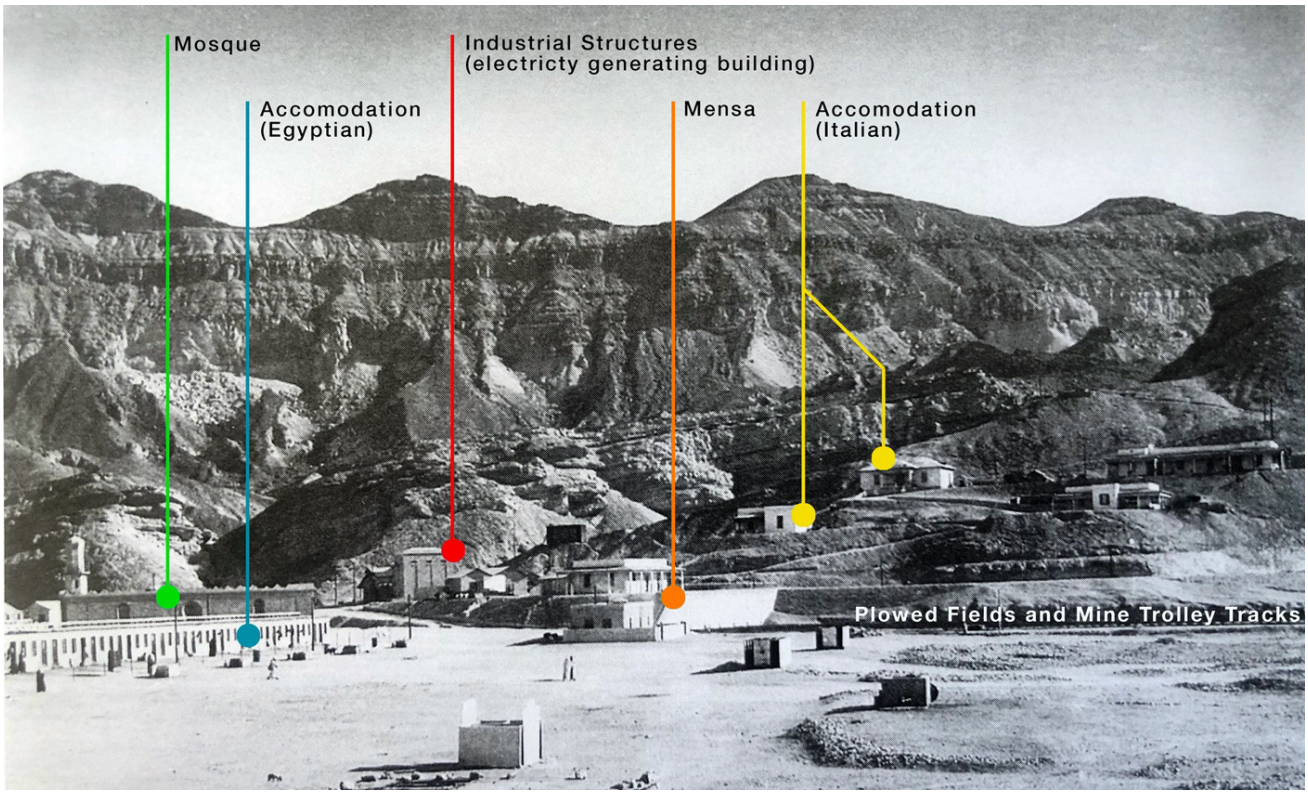

Figure 3. View of Gebel Duwi desert industrial plant. Source: Pellegrini (2011, p. 49).

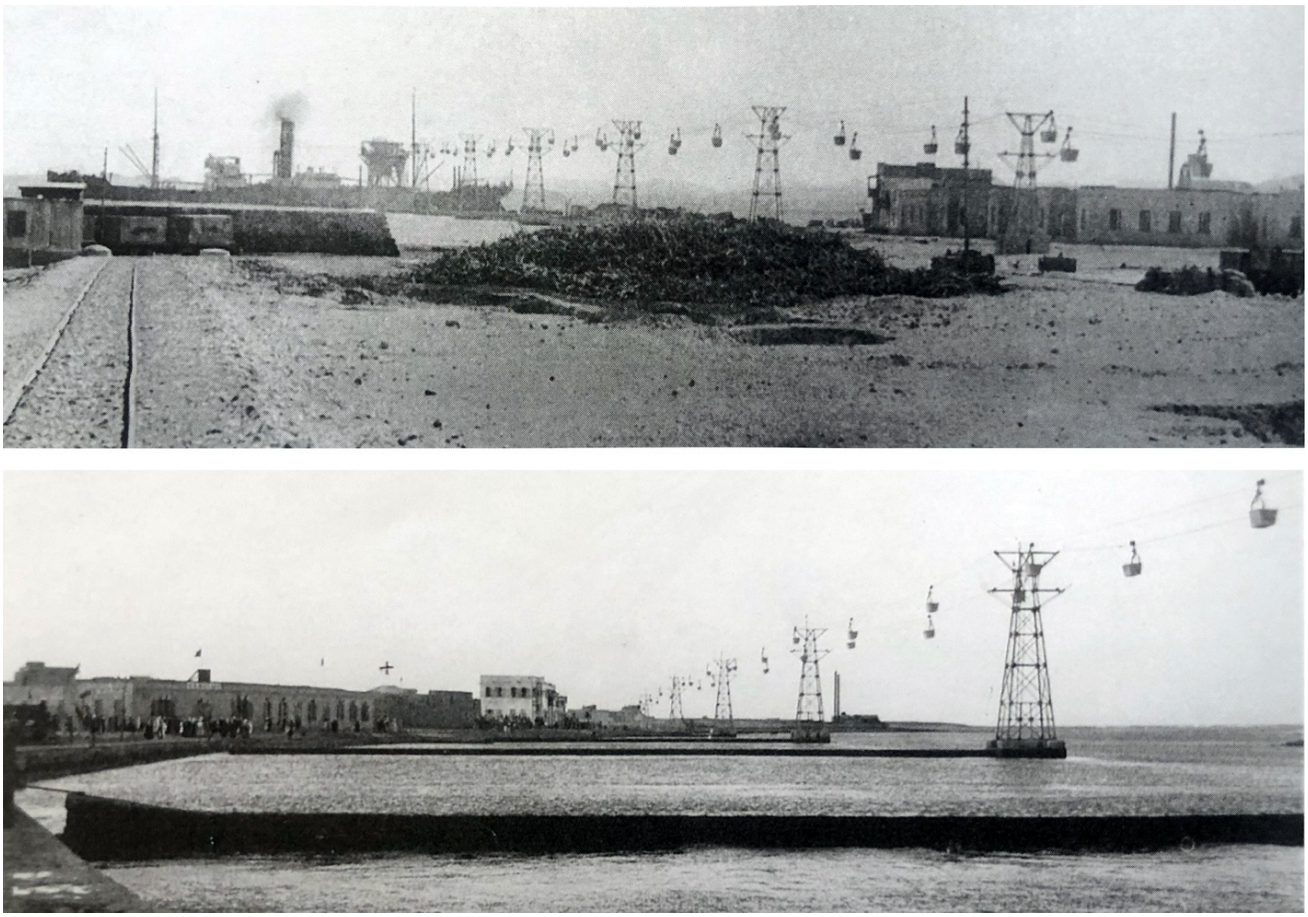

Figure 4. The cable cars penetrating the coastal industrial plant (top) and extending to the port overlooking the old town (bottom). Source: Pellegrini (2011, p. 86).

Figure 5. The Franciscan church in the coastal industrial plant, presumably during the 1930s (left); the reconstructed church, now serving Egyptian Copts (right). Sources: Pellegrini (2011, p. 112; left) and photo by Mirhan Damir (2018; right).

patterns of stratification. The company employed about 2,000 workers, of which only 100 were Italian (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 27). Italians were divided into two social groups according to their positions. Those occupying high-ranking positions lived in the coastal industrial plant, physically and socially separated from the old town and its residents, while those in mid-rank positions resided mostly in the desert industrial plants (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 24).

Pellegrini (2011, p. 42) reports on the hard life both Italians and Egyptians experienced after arriving at the mining settlements. As a form of symbolic spatial attachment, mining tunnels and houses built in Gebel Duwi were named after the Italians' native towns and streets. Italian and Egyptian workers shared a daily routine characterized by a bell signifying the start of the working day, lunchtime, and the end of the working day (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). This shared routine created a social attachment with the Egyptian mine workers, ensuing in a new pattern that Pellegrini (2011, p. 25) exaggeratedly recalls as a state of utopia.

In el-Quseir, Egyptians and Italians lived in distinctly segregated quarters. Nevertheless, common patterns evolved around social activities. Religious occasions, such as the feast of St. Barbara—considered the protector of mines—and Christmas encouraged the gathering of Italians from the coastal and desert plants (Malak, interview, July 17, 2021). Education also proved to be an important aspect of social life. Due to the small number of Italian children, the children of the Egyptian workers were allowed to attend the *in-situ* Italian elementary school (Figure 6; Melcangi, 2013, p. 61). To increase communicative integration with the Italians, adult Egyptian company workers learned the Italian language by visiting the school's evening classes (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). Al-Sayed (interview, July 17, 2021) confirmed the Italian fluency of the town's old residents. The hospital was another service accessible to all employees and their families (Figure 7). Spaces of leisure were provided, including an open-air cinema, tennis courts, and soccer fields. Fishing, music events, and hunting were popular activities (Figure 8; Al-Sayed, interview, July 17, 2021; Paliotti, 2014). The company initially provided its workers' food supply in the food storage canteen near the port, later in canteens in the desert plants, and a cafeteria inside the coastal plant (revise Fig. 1, No. 5). According to interviews, Italians and Egyptians gathered during lunchtime; meals were additionally distributed to the company workers and their families (site security guard, interview, July 16, 2021; Khamis, interview, July 17, 2021; Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021).

Politically, the effect of the branch office of the Italian Fascist Party on Italian-Egyptian social relations in el-Quseir is unfortunately not documented. During World War II, the company's operations stagnated as a result of the two-year internment of all its Italian men, first in Qena and then in Geneifa near the Suez Canal (Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 181–183). Meanwhile, the Italian women and children were accommodated in the rest house, where they reportedly received medical and moral support from Egyptian employees (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 167).

4.3. Post-Nationalization

In el-Quseir and its mines, the wave of nationalization disrupted established social patterns involving the Italian and Egyptian communities. Italian company employees gradually left Egypt, the last migrating by September 1963. The Egyptian workers—numbering up to 2,000 before nationalization—presumably experienced temporary unemployment until the company's restoration

Figure 6. Egyptian and Italian pupils attending class in the elementary school at the coastal plant. Source: Pellegrini (2011, p. 142).

Figure 7. An Egyptian worker receiving medical treatment from an Italian physician and an Egyptian nurse in the hospital. Source: Pellegrini (2011, p. 134).

Figure 8. Egyptian and Italian company workers enjoying festivities at the desert plant. Source: Pellegrini (2011, p. 51).

into the new nationalized corporate structure by 1965 (Pellegrini, 2011). Following the departure of the Italian community, the Franciscan St. Barbara Church was incorporated into the Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Church in 1964 and renamed "St. Mary the Virgin" (Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 225, 240). According to Melcangi (2013, p. 62), the 1958 Italian-Egyptian cultural agreement saved all Italian schools in Egypt from closure. However, the continuation of the school in el-Quseir could not be confirmed by our sources. The school was used as an *in-situ* police station until recently. The *ex-situ* hospital became a learning development center continuing to serve the community.

Following the closure of the coastal plant in 1998, Egyptian workers were offered early retirement, leading them to search for alternative job opportunities and to leave el-Quseir in large numbers (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). Mostafa (interview, July 17, 2021) reports on several terminated communal manifestations that were formerly part of the company's daily routine, including the bell and provision of the meal. With the closure of the mines, all economic and social life ceased at the desert plants; they are completely uninhabited today. In the coastal industrial plant in el-Quseir, most buildings became vacant. However, a handful of former Egyptian employees of the phosphate company now occupy the residential houses of the Italian management *in situ* at the coastal plant and *ex situ* in the dwellings from 1906 (Mostafa interview, July 17, 2021). Despite it being almost 60 years after their departure, descendants of the former Italian community continue visiting the town, the coastal plant, and the company cemetery and meeting former Egyptian colleagues (Malak, interview, July 17, 2021). Kamal El Din Hussein Aly Hammam, a pupil at the Italian school and later the first Egyptian director of the phosphate plant and a member of parliament under Nasser initiated the first attempts to preserve the architectural heritage testifying to the Italian history in el-Quseir, resulting in the preservation of the Italian cemetery (Pellegrini, 2011, pp. 54–56, 128, 148–153).

Debates on the heritage value of the site have become more heated since 2021, when remaining material artifacts vanished and the expedient removal of machines and structures stirred emotional responses among former factory staff (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). Despite the demise of the last generation of laborers in the phosphate mines, young Quseirians still express identification with the industry. They take pride in their fathers' and grandfathers' occupations and memories at the company. They also mentioned the toll the removal has had on their parents' emotional health (Al-Sayed, interview, July 17, 2021; Khamis, interview, July 17, 2021; Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021; Sebaq, interview, February 25, 2020). Several re-use proposals have since been produced by locals, scholars, and other interest groups. Despite the ownership disputes between the Red Sea Governorate and the el-Nasr

Mining Company, recent investments succeeded in a temporary revival of the site. This is evidenced in the 2022 movie *El-Gareema* (The Crime) which was filmed predominantly in the coastal industrial plant, especially in the cafeteria (Figure 9; Abdel Khaleq & Arafa, 2022). This contributed to the re-establishment of infrastructural supply to the plant during filming, especially electricity and water (Mostafa, interview, July 17, 2021). The 2005 movie *Ahlam Omrena* [Dreams of Our Lives], which was filmed in el-Quseir, featured the cableway before its demolition (El-Zoghby & Abo Labn, 2005). Although these temporary investments succeeded in raising awareness of the richness of Egypt's industrial heritage, the future of the el-Quseir industrial heritage site remains in peril. The ongoing ownership disputes are still deterring potential investors with long-term conservation plans (El-Egeamey, interview, July 17, 2021).

An official heritage assessment of el-Quseir industry was completed in January 2022. The Egyptian National Organization of Urban Harmony (NOUH) only included three buildings in the coastal plant on the National Register: the locally known King Farouk Rest House (originally a building hosting the company's offices and director's house: Casa-amministrazione; Figure 10), the school, and the old administrative building (originally hosting the school's nature museum – *museo naturalistico*).

5. Discussion

The previous sections detailed patterns of the industrialization-induced transformations in el-Quseir pre-and post-nationalization, uncovering intrinsic spatial linkages that were previously omitted. During the phase of phosphate exploration, the "Società Egiziana" adopted a mostly integrated pattern: Housing, social, and infrastructural facilities—like the food storage facilities, and the first desalination plant—were located adjacent to the old town and were often utilized by both Italians and Egyptians. After implementing heavy industrial structures for processing and shipping from 1914 onward, the company detached itself spatially from the urban core. Nevertheless, it continued to provide essential services such as fresh water and electricity. Only in the third phase, when Italian housing and social functions were transferred from the old town to the industrial perimeter, did a physical pattern of autonomy develop approximating the concept of a dual settlement. The new detached villas for management, the cafeteria, and the *in-situ* school and church exemplify this. Nevertheless, our research indicates a level of social attachment maintained between Italians and Egyptians outside of work-related activities both through shared routines and emotional identification with the plant. Owing to the limited duration of the research and scarcity of sources, it remains unknown whether the degree of social separation between Egyptian laborers and Italian employees was engineered to some extent by the phosphate company and if the proportional increase in segregation during the extension of the plant was intentional. Further research is needed to consolidate the findings, especially during the fascist period of operation and post-nationalization.

Figure 9. The cafeteria inside the coastal plant, where most scenes of the 2022 movie *El-Gareema* were filmed (left); the building was originally built as a restaurant, where Italians and Egyptians used to gather during lunchtime (right). Sources: Project fieldwork (2022; left) and Pellegrini (2011, p. 187; right).

Figure 10. The Casa amministrazione, probably during the 1930s (right), now locally known as the King Farouk Rest House (left). Sources: Project fieldwork (2022; left) and Pellegrini (2011, p. 77; right).

The boom of the phosphate company during the 1920s also introduced the first permanent physical traces of the desert plants. Even though the desert plants were spatially and operationally detached from each other, they shared the same functional layout, building typologies, and by all accounts, the same socio-cultural patterns and can be considered examples of extractive colonies par excellence. For the rapidly growing detached mining towns, the coastal processing and shipping plant served as the spatial linkage to the global economic circuit of the phosphate industry. It was also the locus of attachment to the Italian community, where the workers from the "utopian" mines were (re-)adjusted to the Egypto-Italian collective values by means of religion, education, and shared leisure activities. This pattern of intermittent remote socialization could only be maintained via a newly industrialized desert landscape intersected by roads, railways, telegraph lines, and radio signals. The history of the desert plants' planning and construction remains a sketch at this point and deserves further study.

The nationalization of the Italian phosphate company and later the shutdown of el-Nasr for mining severely impacted the physical and socio-cultural patterns, causing the complete detachment of the mines which have consequently also ceased to be part of the collective memory. The mines were rarely mentioned in the interviews. The redirection of the phosphate supply chain towards Hamrawein port, a remote location without a previously existing settlement, finalized the physical and social detachment of the phosphate industry from existing urban structures in the Red Sea Governorate. It also undermined the pivotal economic position of the coastal plant, which quickly became obsolete. Successively, the detachment was physically enacted through the dismantling of the railway, the desertion of the desert plants, and finally dismantling and neglect of the coastal industrial plant. Quseirians now commute to other cities in the governorate for work, including the main tourist centers Hurghada, and Marsa Alam or Safaga with its industrial port (Sebaq, personal communication, November 8, 2018). Today, the coastal plant stands apart from the town, mostly detached functionally except for the Coptic church, a key socio-cultural node for Copts in el-Quseir and the surrounding region. We argue that this selective heritage listing by the NOUH only consolidates this process of detachment and ignores the relevance of the industrial processes and routines and their linkage with the revitalization of the city. It also fails to consider the intrinsic cluster value of the spatial interlinkage between the coastal plant, the desert plants, and the town of el-Quseir.

6. Conclusion

El-Quseir is a key witness to Egypt's peripheral history of industrialization that caused discernible morphological and socio-cultural transformations still traceable today. Our research documents the massive interference of phosphate production with the el-Quseir environment.

On the regional scale, an entire desert landscape has become mechanized, electrified, interconnected, and partly urbanized. On the city scale, industrial imposition and revitalization have changed the urban fabric of el-Quseir permanently. Neglecting this irrevocable structural and socio-economic imprint, the heritage listing fails to protect any artifacts testifying to the extraction, processing, or exporting of phosphate. With no major conservation or conversion project underway, the question remains: How to preserve the tangible structures as well as the intangible patterns of this important industrial heritage? Owing to the large extent of the mining operation, listing all physical structures is unlikely, and given the lack of dedicated funds to the NOUH, there is no guarantee for preservation either.

Recognizing the lack of a socio-cultural approach in the current architecture-focused debate on industrial heritage in Egypt, we have initiated the uncovering of local, current-day attachment to the phosphate plant. To this day, the academic discourse on el-Quseir is dominated by an Italian-centric narrative and hence cannot—and does not claim to—represent an Egyptian perspective. We identified the memory of the Egyptian workers as a major research gap in the academic discourse, which is repeated in a similar fashion in other studies of Egyptian industrial heritage as well. Our local interviews revealed that the phosphate era still looms large in debates, memories, and attachments of Quseirians and showed the state of obscurity the mines and their surrounding settlement have already fallen into. While at this point the findings remain exploratory and a comprehensive study will be necessary for conclusive findings, it became apparent that—in the case of el-Quseir—memories of industrial heritage are attached to activities and interactions rather than being reified and reduced to symbolic veneration of built structures. A tangible and intangible program of "re-attachment" should recognize the importance of these physical and sociocultural traces of phosphate processing while also utilizing the enormous re-development potential of the company site for filling the vacuum that the shutdown of production has created, both economically and socially.

Consequently, we argue that the cluster value—representing the agglomerated physical and sociocultural patterns induced by industrialization—is the key heritage value of the site(s). Their preservation requires an impartial assessment of the intrinsic role of all seven desert plants as the "main growth engine" of the phosphate company plant, just as much as understanding urbanization processes around the phosphate industry is dependent on continuously centering the currently marginalized experiences of the Egyptian workers and employees in the phosphate plant and mines.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Endangered Urban Commons: Lahore's Violent Heritage Management and Prospects for Reconciliation

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Abstract
The debate on urban commons yields relevance for shared histories and heritage in divided and post-conflict societies. Albeit memory is always subjective, heritage management tends to engender a linear view of the past that suggests a preconceived future development. Where the past is denigrated to prove the impossibility of ethnoreligious communities' coexistence even though they have lived together peacefully for centuries, it risks corroborating us-them divisions for posterity and undermines reconciliation and peacebuilding. In this historically informed article, we argue that urban change in Lahore since 1947 has gone hand in hand with the purposive destruction of the common heritage shared by India and Pakistan. This interpretation of the past for the future reflects different forms of violence that surface in heritage management. Based on empirical data collected on heritage practices in the Old City of Lahore, Pakistan, we analyse the approach of the Walled City of Lahore Authority towards heritage management. Our focus on ignored dimensions and objects of heritage sheds light on the systematic denial of a shared history with Hindus and Sikhs before and during the 1947 partition of British India. This partial ignorance and the intentional neglect, for instance, of housing premises inhabited once by Hindus and other non-Muslim minorities, prevent any constructive confrontation with the past. By scrutinising the relationship between urban change, nostalgia, memory and heritage, this article points out that heritage management needs to be subjected to a constructive confrontation with the past to pave the ground for future reconciliation.

Keywords
evacuee property; heritage; housing; Lahore; memory; nostalgia; Pakistan; shared history; structural violence; urban commons

Issue
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1. Introduction

Lahore is the capital of the province of Punjab and Pakistan's second-largest city, with an estimated population of more than 11 million people. Its expanding urban agglomeration lies close to the Pakistan-India border. Barely ten kilometres separate Lahore from the Indian Punjab and about 30 kilometres from the city of Amritsar in India. Yet, residents of both Punjabs have been barred from regular contact across a nearly sealed border for decades. The division of Punjab, resulting from the partition of British India in 1947, put an end to the coexistence of ethnoreligious communities in an unprecedented "population exchange." Following episodes of intercommunal violence and destruction on both sides of the 1947-created border, the massive out-migration of non-Muslim communities to India depleted Lahore of nearly half its population (Talbot, 2006). Vacant premises, including dwellings previously inhabited by Hindus and other non-Muslim minorities, as well as religious buildings, were occupied and allocated to in-coming Muslim populations as evacuee properties

(Talbot & Singh, 2009; Zamindar, 2007). While the dislocation and transfer of populations affected questions of housing and home(lessness) (Moffat, 2022), the creation of the Pakistani nation-state also resulted in the selective preservation of cultural heritage in Lahore, the wider Punjab, and beyond. These issues have even amplified throughout the past decades, characterised by sustained population growth and urban transformations. In this article, we demonstrate how distinct patterns and paces of interrelationship between housing, urban change, and heritage have evolved in Lahore and argue that the legacy of India's and Pakistan's shared past has been systematically marginalised. Given a sense of urgency resulting from the gradually fading memory, the inevitable passing of the generation that experienced Punjab at the (pre-)partition time, and the progressive decay of (im)material sources of memory, the question is to what extent heritage practices in Lahore can contribute to preserving the shared past with India as (in)tangible urban commons.

To investigate the quality and extent of practices and discourses of urban heritage in the city of Lahore, and, in particular, in the inner Old/Walled City, we reflect on critical dimensions of a shared past's heritage with India and how it manifests (or not) among Lahorites as well as in policy and heritage practitioners' circles. To do that, we elaborate on the conceptual linkage between endangered common heritage and peacebuilding (Section 2) and subsequently (in Section 3.1) introduce how Lahorites' relation to heritage as a common good is contested and ambivalent against the backdrop of a difficult post-colonial inheritance and urban transformations. With ensuing material and functional changes as well as shifts in meaning, urban transformations have also contributed to exacerbate current critical issues (Harrison, 2013; Winter, 2013) that impact and extend outwards from heritage, such as housing, overburdened infrastructures for services provision, as well as social and religious divisions. We argue that the wider framework for these developments is enforced through institutional violence at the city scale in Lahore, encompassing the changing heritage and conservation legislation, master plans, and other planning provisions that mainly focus on mega-projects (Section 3.2). For the Walled City, we distinguish two paces of urban transformation that embody different forms of violence against heritage: the slow violence by neglect (Section 4.1), and the fast-tracked heritage management of the Walled City urban rehabilitation projects, which exerts a non-negligible amount of cultural violence (Section 4.2). Countering both are acts of collective resistance against institutionalised practices of amnesia, initiated by civil society and carried out by residents in Lahore inside the Walled City but, importantly, also beyond. These indicate the existence of a third pace of urban transformation based on the recognition of heritage as commons, a critical engagement with conventional heritagisation and the evolution of alternative heritage-making. We discuss the involved potentialities of these bottom-up initiatives as elements of a wider (care) approach in the framework of urban future-making (Section 5). We conclude that the large-scale erasure of a shared history with India, the attempt to destroy Punjab's common cultural ecosystem, and the avoidance of any constructive confrontation with the past reflect forms of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990), prevent social healing, and undermine reconciliation between Punjabis in India and Pakistan (Section 6).

Methodologically, our insights are based on long-term observation of heritage processes in Lahore. We have collected documents and photographs and established an archive over the last decade. As part of ethnographic fieldwork, we have also conducted semi-structured and narrative interviews since 2012.

2. Endangered Common Heritage and Agonistic Peacebuilding

The protracted conflict with India, which includes four Indo–Pakistani wars (1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999), has exacerbated national identity politics largely responsible for the silencing of, and non-engagement with, common heritage with India. This article starts with acknowledging mutually shared urban heritage between the citizens of Punjab as inherited (im)material sources of cultural identity that manifest in the built environment and meaning of place in the Walled City of Lahore. Urban heritage is understood as a form of residents' (in)tangible "commons," as a "social production and representation of a meaningful and mutually shared past in the present" (Frank, 2015, p. 336). On the one hand, the idea that urban heritage can constitute a form of "urban commons"—which has (re)surfaced in heritage studies only recently (Benesch et al., 2015)—entails an understanding of heritage as place-based shared (im)material sources of the past, collectively construed and managed in the present by the community, to be preserved for the future. On the other hand, the idea that heritage is often "contested" (Graham et al., 2016) or "dissonant'' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) demonstrates that heritage can be shared and divisive simultaneously. However, the exploration of this ambivalence has often remained suppressed given the hegemony of the "authorised heritage discourse" (Smith, 2006) with its origin in Eurocentric Western heritage studies (Winter, 2012). Our study deviates from this type of discourse of the past by drawing on shared heritage as a tool for struggle (Ristic & Frank, 2020), reconciliation (Macdonald, 2009), peacebuilding (Björkdahl et al., 2017; Walters et al., 2017), and diplomacy (Winter, 2015). Given the cross-border perspective of our research, treating heritage as commons ties in with Winter's notion of "heritage diplomacy" as an agent of change, whereby the sharing of cultural and natural pasts constitutes a means of "exchanges, collaborations and forms of cooperative governance" (Winter, 2015, p. 1007).

Thus, we ask if and how Lahorites mobilise heritage practices as commons for (common) future caretaking. Thereby, urban heritage is conceptualised as the product of a continuous collaborative process of debate and contestation about what constitutes a mutual past, be it disputed or accepted, outstanding or traumatic, that ought to be preserved in the present to jointly care for the future. This conceptualisation of heritage relates to peacebuilding and reconciliation studies' notion of "agonistic remembering" in contrast to antagonistic modes of heritage-making (Bull et al., 2021; Lähdesmäki et al., 2019, p. 71). It entails considering shared and contested heritages as two sides of the same coin, thus, underlying tensions may result in increased conflict, or cooperation and engagement between residents within and across the India–Pakistan border. Such an approach allows reflecting on "conditions of possibility" for heritage practices to be mobilised as agonistic peacebuilding tools to undermine often prevailing antagonistic modes of remembering.

The recent "revival of the commons" in urban contexts has drawn attention to different sets of community-led urban practices and imaginaries with emancipatory potential (Stavrides, 2016). From this perspective, urban commoning processes, encompassing the conceptualisation, co-production, and collective management of shared urban resources, are often considered bottom-up "projects of resistance" (Petrescu et al., 2016, p. 718). A "commons" approach thus yields relevance too in the study of shared histories and heritage in divided and post-conflict societies. New heritage practices are continuously generated through changing heritage formations that evolve out of a combination of changing materialities as well as different temporal and meaning-orders (Harrison, 2015). Hence, from a commons lens, shared heritage constitutes an urban resource that local communities and their networks (e.g., academia and civil society initiatives, and potentially related public or private actors) can mobilise and manage to improve their present and future well-being. Although structural forms of violence and underlying ideological forces might continue to persist, local communities embody the potential to become agents of change in memory preservation and cooperation for future caretaking. This approach relates to existing conceptualisations of heritage future-making (Harrison et al., 2016) that consider heritage as a dialogue of human and non-human actors about the inherited past experiences and learned practices under current pressing social, economic, political, and ecological issues toward assembling future realities (Winter, 2012).

To reflect on the valorisation of Lahore's heritage from the perspective of urban commons, diplomacy, peacebuilding, and reconciliation, we position ourselves at the crossroads of critical heritage discourse, which stresses the need to unpack alternative forms of heritage, including unofficial/unrecognised heritage related to excluded communities (Ristic & Frank, 2020) and values-based heritage approaches (Avrami et al., 2019) that aim to bridge academia and practice. The assessment of values, i.e., understanding which qualities render heritage meaningful to people, constitutes a central goal in heritage management practices to assess the significance of heritage in a specific context. It involves unpacking the different attributes, the tangible and intangible features of heritage that embody those values while evaluating their integrity (whether or not these values have remained to give heritage meaning) and authenticity (to what extent the identified values still represent accurate stories about the past in the present). While the question of significance has underlined heritage conservation and management practices for a long time, and recent approaches have brought a value-based and participatory focus to the fore, there is often still a significant disconnect between traditionally ascribed heritage values—such as historic, aesthetic, and economic—and broader societal values that more clearly recognise conditions of possibility and struggle for communities. Furthermore, heritage practices need to be continuously reconciled with changing notions of value to address contemporary societal issues—such as human development but also social justice, promoting understanding between different communities, as well as the recognition of trauma (as heritage; Ashworth, 2016) and the need for reconciliation and healing (Macdonald, 2009).

3. Violence in Common Heritage (Non-)Preservation

"We still recall the days when Lahore was feted as the 'Paris of the east,' where people of different communities lived in harmony on account of their common heritage, historic legacy and Punjabi culture" (Nevile, 1993/2006, p. 177). Lahore is hence more than one city. It encompasses what appears to the eye and also the "imagined city" that becomes visible through tangible and intangible traces (Khalid, 2018), e.g., folk tales and narratives of the past, ramshackle Sikh and Hindu temples, and British colonial remnants—buildings, road names, statues and monuments, but also an inherited bureaucratic set-up and a world-view of interreligious differences. The built environment carries the imprints of this elusive city in a dynamic relationship that links urban transformations (i.e., the city's changing morphology and its transforming societal, political, and economic context) to a constant and purposive un- and re-making of urban heritage. To what extent urban transformations have an impact on Lahore's urban heritage is a matter that has only recently started to gain academic attention (see Moffat, 2019, 2021; Sadana et al., 2022).

Several influences are transformative for urban heritage in Lahore: the pace of urban changes, the demographic structure, growing inequalities, and the effects of ideological currents on social stratification (such as the evolution of "new pious middle classes"; see Maqsood, 2017), as well as changes in identity politics from above (Pakistani Islamist politics mirrored in India by Hindu nationalism), and foreign cultural influences through

major infrastructure investment projects such as the Lahore Orange Line Metro Train (OLMT) Project as part of China's Belt and Road Initiative (Rana & Bhatti, 2018; Tiwana & Lahore Conservation Society [LCS], 2017).

3.1. Lahorites' Relation to Heritage Amidst a Post-Colonial Inheritance

Lahore was one of the intellectual and cultural centres of pre-partition Punjab and a highly heterogeneous entity in terms of social, linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity. The plurality of heritage that once represented its cultural uniqueness and richness was transformed and accorded different meanings already under colonial rule and after 1947. Documented transformations include for instance how the colonial Archaeological Survey of India, museums, and art schools defined cultural heritage based on religious categories instead of considering it as the articulation of culture constituted in a composite manner (P. Vandal, interview, July 11, 2022).

Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 lastingly disrupted Lahore's traditionally close ties with India and its sister-city Amritsar and reshuffled the city's social fabric. The creation of the two nation-states put the divided province of Punjab and Lahore at the heart of the conflict and the outspread of communal violence. Amid and after the mayhem of partition, it is estimated that 10 million Punjabis were uprooted and migrated to the other side(s) of the border (Talbot, 2006). According to the 1941 and 1951 census, Hindu and Sikh populations in Lahore dropped from nearly 28 and 5% respectively (other population groups, including Christians, Ad-Dharmis, Jains, and Parsees accounted only for ca. 2.5%) to less than 0.5% after partition (Ahmed, 2012). The massive population dislocation entailed not only the abandonment of properties but also the need to accommodate incoming refugees who, in Lahore alone, accounted for more than 40% of the post-partition population (Talbot, 2006). Following colonial survey practices that identified groups that were subsequently assigned differentiated religious identities, the post-partition census impacted further on conceptualisations of heritage and the wider understanding of culture. The post-colonial Pakistani state strengthened categorisations and divisions on religious grounds—i.e., references to "Sikh culture" and "Islamic architecture"—for example, by protecting exclusively "Muslim cultural heritage." We argue that this continuation of (colonial) divisive heritage categorisations and the heritage neglect of less/or no longer represented communities, constitute manifestations of institutional violence, and the purposeful silencing of common heritage.

As a result, the remembrance of the partition's violence and the previous culturally diverse coexistence is slowly fading away among Lahorites. Although Lahore shares a common heritage of violence and trauma with other Indian and Pakistani cities—which has produced an important "difficult heritage" (Macdonald, 2009) on both sides of the border—the memory of it is threatened too by the passing of the generation that witnessed pre-partition time. This is further accentuated by the deterioration of the urban fabric that carries the legacy of this shared past.

3.2. Institutional Violence and Selective Heritagisation Amidst Rapid Urban Transformations

Whereas in the 1930s Lahore had about 675,000 residents (Talbot, 2006), its current population is estimated to be more than 11 million. This urban population growth has inevitably led to rapid urban transformations that impact heritage. From a planning perspective, attempts to steer urban change in Lahore have had a somewhat limited outcome. Different master plans have not only proven inefficient in terms of their implementation capacity but have also systematically disregarded questions of heritage. None of the master plans, from the "Master Plan for the Greater Lahore 1966" to the LDA-IDA-World Bank´s "Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study 1980'' (1981–2000) and the 2004 "Integrated Master Plan Lahore 2021" (2021) have been fully implemented. Questions of heritage were scarcely addressed in all of them, with the Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study perhaps as an exception. Compiled as a structure plan with a strong focus on services and low-income housing, it prompted subsequent studies and inventories of the historic fabric of the Walled City (Sustainable Development of Walled City of Lahore Project [SDWCLP], 1993/2009) that later came to inform today's heritage management practices in the Walled City.

While the national planning agenda "Pakistan Vision 2025 recognises culture (also, art and heritage) as a vibrant potential sector of national integration and development" (Ministry of Planning, Development & Reform, 2014, p. 40, as cited in Rogers, 2018, p. 16) and claims that the country is moving "past any negative narrative to one that is rich in regional culture and a harmonious mix of voices that have long been silenced" (Ministry of Planning, Development & Reform, 2014, p. 39), the disregard for specific heritage continues and has been made manifest during the construction of the OLMT ("Satire: Shahbaz Vows," 2016). It repeated earlier shortcomings in the construction of flyovers and underpasses and of the Lahore Metrobus project—a 27-kilometres long north-south route inaugurated in 2013. The south-west to north-east transport system of the Orange Line has reportedly threatened at least eleven heritage sites. Following the mobilisation of groups of citizens and activists, such as the Lahore Bachao Tehreek ("Save Lahore Movement" of the LCS), the popular campaign #Rastabadlo ("Change the Root"), and a petition by LCS, the Lahore High Court initially halted the Lahore OLMT Project works in August 2016 to prevent any construction within 61 m of the historic structures; however, the Supreme Court of Pakistan allowed the Punjab

government to resume construction works in December 2017, and the Lahore OLMT Project was inaugurated in October 2020 (K. K. Mumtaz, interview, December 22, 2021). Among the heritage sites affected were different church properties, a designated UNESCO world heritage site, Shalimar Gardens (Tiwana & LCS, 2017), an antique landmark with four minarets, Chauburji, (Khalid, 2018; Moffat, 2019), and a Jain temple—the latter ultimately demolished in 2016 and currently under reconstruction (Rizwan, 2022; "Violating HC Order," 2016). The planning and construction process of the Lahore OLMT Project was marked by inherent violence manifest in the "will to improve" (Li, 2007) and to develop that resulted not only in heritage mismanagement but also in the displacement of the population affected by land acquisitions (Maqsood & Sajjad, 2021):

> Among those made homeless are the refugee families of [the] Bengali Building, Jain Mandir and Kapurthala House in Purani Anarkali. Their numbers run into thousands. Uprooted in 1947, they are reliving the horror of Partition at the hands of their own government in 2016. (Mumtaz & LCS, 2016)

Additionally, several examples indicate that funding bodies and development schemes have entailed neoliberal heritage regimes (Coombe, 2013), instrumentalising its cultural value (Apaydin, 2020, pp. 59–60). One such example is Shahi Bagh, a project proposed by the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) in 2014 to develop an entertainment park in the Shahdarah locality (on the north bank of the River Ravi, ca. 3.7 kilometres from the Walled City). Shahi Bagh was conceptualised as a "modern" theme and water park that would include the restoration of five officially designated heritage buildings—three on Pakistan's UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List—representative of the 16th and 17th centuries Mughal funerary gardens of Lahore (Rogers, 2017, p. 21).

In a reverse trend of heritagisation, former Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan inaugurated the first visa-free border crossing between Pakistan and India in November 2019. The so-called Kartarpur corridor connects Dera Baba Nanak in Indian Punjab's Gurdaspur district to Pakistan's Narowal district, where one of the holiest shrines of the Sikh religion—the Gurdwara Darbar Sahib—is located. Because of this facilitation of pilgrims' cross-border mobility, the corridor has received much media attention and gained traction in scholarship (Bainiwal, 2020), though its potential to contribute to peacebuilding remains contested ("Why Kartarpur Corridor Is Unlikely to Defuse India-Pakistan Tensions," 2019). Together with the (controversial) erection of a statue of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore Fort in 2019—later vandalised and removed from the public space—Kartarpur corridor represents the incrementally changing relationship of the Pakistani state with Sikh heritage and history. Though, amid the rise of Hindu nationalism in India's current government (to the detriment of other religious communities), this development and valorisation of Sikh heritage in Pakistan represents a political counterpoint (Khalid, 2021).

4. Heritage Management in the Walled City

The Walled City, or *anderoon shehr*, is a locality of particular significance in Lahore. Characterised by a distinctive urban form of compact neighbourhoods (*mohallas*), clusters of houses and organic narrow streets, alleyways (*galis*), residential cul-de-sacs (*koochas*), and specialised bazaars (*mandis*), the historic city also carries the inheritance of a shared past between Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Muslim, and Christian communities that once coexisted. This manifests, for instance, in the remaining buildings of different architectural styles, names of places, and syncretic festivals (*melas*). Residential buildings dating primarily from the early 19th to the early 20th century still exhibit some decorative and fragile designs on their facades, as shown in Figure 1.

Over the decades, the Walled City has undergone drastic urban changes. Socio-spatial transformations have slowly and significantly altered its social and built environment, as shown in Figure 2. As in other historic towns in Pakistan (Rogers, 2018), overcrowding, poor infrastructure, traffic congestion as seen in Figure 3, noise, and air pollution, as well as shortcomings in land management and the uncontrolled land use shift from residential to commercial areas, have contributed to the degradation of the urban fabric and the out-migration of residents (Sohail, 2020; SDWCLP, 1993/2009). In contrast to Lahore's overall growing population, the Walled City's population has been gradually on the decline, diminishing from reportedly 200,000 inhabitants in the 1970s to 160,000 residents at the time of the 1998 census, with recent estimates referring to around 156,000 people (van der Tas & Khan, 2019).

4.1. Slow Violence by Neglect and Narrow Conceptualisations of Heritage

The Old City certainly manifests inherited path and goal dependencies resulting from the British colonial politics of zoning and models of development and planning that systematically prioritised specific localities in Lahore over others (Mielke & Cermeño, 2021). Embedded in colonial legacies, post-colonial planning cultures and urban development practices in Lahore have continued to neglect the Walled City for decades, exacerbating its socio-spatial segregation. The prolonged abandonment of the Walled City continues today to trigger a sense of deprivation among residents, further intensifying as the city continues to develop beyond its south-eastern periphery following precast "modern" visions of development, housing, and lifestyles (Cermeño, 2021). While the city expands south-east in exclusionary housing estates, Lahore's old city houses that once exhibited facades with elaborate embellishments, carved wooden

Figure 1. House in the Walled City with decorative designs on its facade. Photo by Katja Mielke (2012).

doors and *jharokas* (upper story windows projecting from buildings' walls) are gradually falling apart, as seen in Figure 4. Abandoned religious premises, such as Sikh *gurdwaras* and Hindu temples—under the custodianship of the Evacuee Trust Property Board—serve as ramshackle housing or commercial properties as shown in Figure 5. Land use has changed significantly from residential to commercial (Figure 6). As low-income residents are unable to invest in the improvement of their houses and are increasingly threatened by the potential collapse of built structures, they often end up selling their properties to a growing "land mafia"

Figure 2. Dilapidated house in the Walled City. Photos by Helena Cermeño (2012).

Figure 3. Congested street in the Walled City. Photo by Katja Mielke (2012).

that transforms these further into commercial "plazas," outlets, storage, and manufacturing spaces (residents of Delhi Gate area, interviews, September 28, 2015; Walled City of Lahore Authority [WCLA] officials, interview, October 28, 2015).

For decades, the deterioration of the Walled City has gone hand in hand with a slow-paced adjustment of the urban government framework, planning instruments and heritage regulations. About 30 years after partition, the "Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study 1980'' made specific recommendations to address the conservation of the city's historical fabric besides improving urban infrastructures. It was possibly the first planning document of its kind in Lahore to connect urban development to heritage questions. In this vein, it influenced the 1988 Punjab Urban Development

Figure 4. Carved wooden windows and *jharokas*. Photos by Helena Cermeño (2014, left, Laal Haveli) and Katja Mielke (2012, right).

Figure 5. Remaining of Hindu temple currently used as housing. Photo by Helena Cermeño (2012).

Project—a collaboration of LDA with the World Bank and the Punjab government—and within it, the 1988 "Conservation Plan" for the Walled City of Lahore (commissioned by LDA to the Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants). This study compiled an inventory of ca. 18,000 structures, identifying thousands of significant historic buildings—the exact number, though, differs between sources—of which ca. 1,400 were considered worthy of protection for their "historical" and "architectural" value (SDWCLP, 1993/2009). Since designation did not entail de facto immediate conservation action, a significant percentage of these historic buildings deteriorated further with time (M. Khan & Rabi, 2019). In many cases, interviewed residents often criticised LDA for their inaction concerning the deteriorating living conditions and the irregular practices or land use transformation in the Old City. At the same time, they reported having received LDA leaflets instructing them to vacate their insecure houses amid the progressive ruination of dwellings (interviews and fieldnotes, September 2015).

Along with the protracted degradation of the Old City and the few planning attempts for improvement and urban heritage conservation until approximately 15 years ago, the very limited—and limiting—conceptualisation of the authorities' notion of heritage emerged with a narrow focus on tangible dimensions linked to historical and architectural/aesthetics values. This notion partly roots in the narrow legal frameworks in place, such as the Antiquities Act of 1975 and the Punjab Special Premises (Preservation) Ordinance of 1985 (Aga Khan Trust for Culture [AKTC] & Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan [AKCS-P], 2011). Among heritage scholarly and practice circles, however, it has been well established that the tangible fabric is inseparably linked to intangible aspects that infuse meaning to the former, e.g., only the intertwined form, functions and meanings contribute to a differentiated sense of place and identity. In the following, we depict how the "fast-tracked" heritage conservation projects that commenced around the partial decentralisation of heritage management in 2011 could not capture the often-commended Walled City's culture and way of life that imbues it with significance because of the narrow conceptualisations of heritage.

4.2. "Fast-Tracked" Heritage Conservation and Management Projects Promoting Cultural Violence

A turning point in heritage management in the Walled City is certainly the (long-term) involvement of the AKTC since 2007 (Jodidio, 2019) and later, in 2012, the creation of the WCLA—after the 2011 devolution of powers (18th Constitutional Amendment) that entailed the transfer of hundreds of listed monuments and heritage sites from the federal government to the provinces (N. A. Khan et al., 2022).

In 2006, the governments of Pakistan and Punjab signed a loan agreement with the World Bank to develop a specific "cultural heritage component" for the Walled City (M. Khan & Rabi, 2019). It subsequently led to the World Bank funding the "Shahi Guzargah Municipal Services Improvement Project" as seen in Figure 7 along

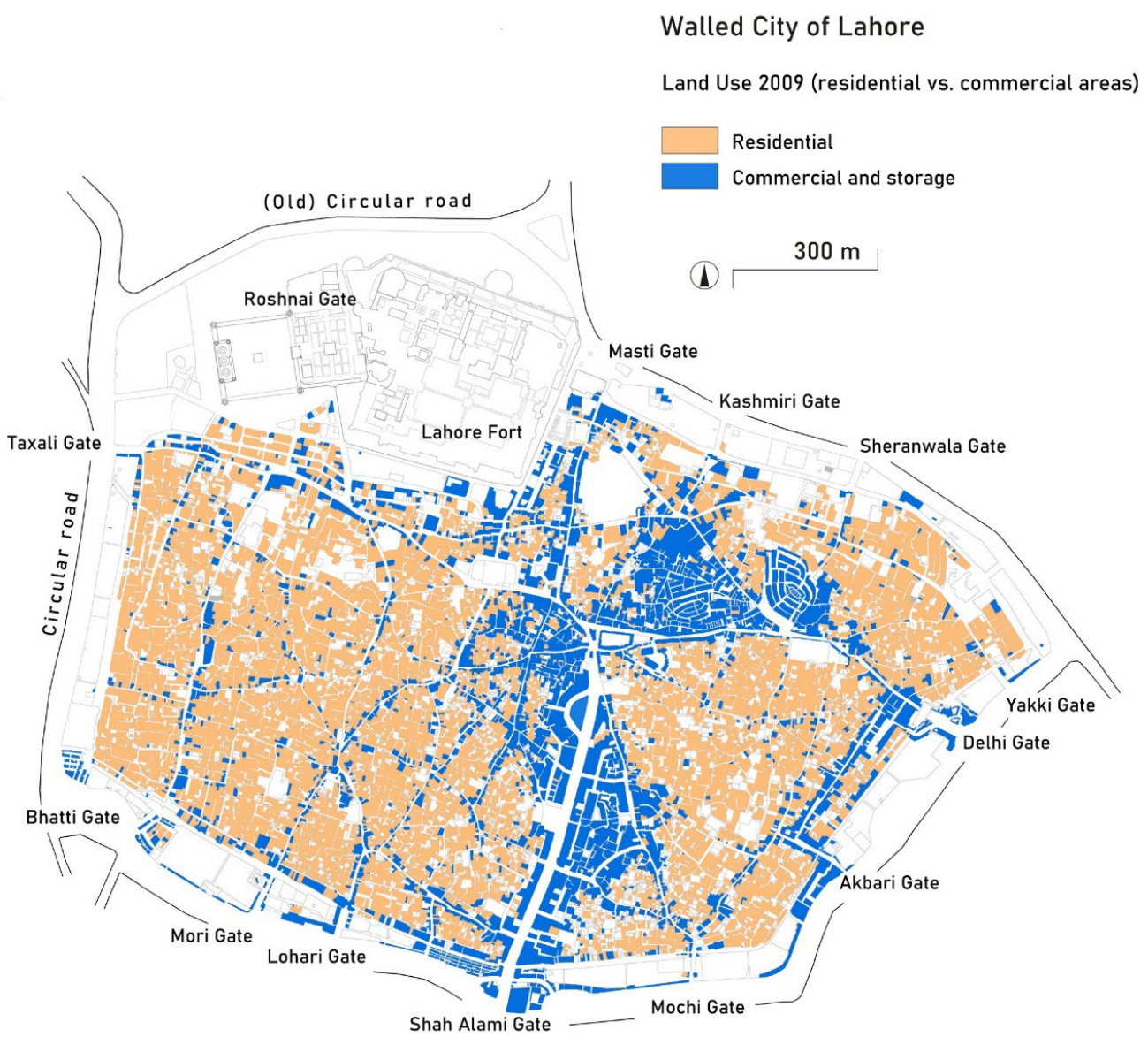

Figure 6. Walled City land use map of 2009 showing the contrast between residential and commercial/storage areas. Source: Figure by Helena Cermeño (2022) based on Jodidio (2019).

the historic Royal Trail (Shahi Guzargah) that connects Delhi Gate to Shahi Qila (Lahore Fort, a designated UNESCO world heritage site since 1981). With AKTC's technical expertise, in cooperation with its local partner, the AKCS-P, the initial "heritage-sensitive planning and development project" soon turned into an "urban conservation and rehabilitation project" (M. Khan & Khan, 2019, p. 111). Following the completion of a "Preliminary Strategic Framework" plan for the Walled City of Lahore in 2008, extensive documentation work was carried out, including, among others, the analysis of a 1907 cloth-bound survey of the Walled City (that allowed gathering information of the pre-partition Old City with a view to understanding which localities had been damaged in the 1947 riots), a socio-economic household survey (2008–2010), and a Mohalla Demonstration Project. The latter entailed the residential rehabilitation and infrastructure improvement of the mohalla Gali Surjan Singh and its cul-de-sac, Koocha Charkh Garan (see Figures 7 and 8), which was later extended to a second street, Mohammadi Mohalla. During fieldwork conducted in these localities mainly between 2014 and 2016 (and later in 2021), we were able to interview several residents of the two designated *mohallas*, and residents of non-included neighbouring areas.

Notwithstanding the extensive infrastructural development and survey efforts undertaken particularly in one of the research sites by the AKTC and AKCS-P (and later the WCLA), in both *mohallas* and along the Royal Trail, we chronicled the continued application of a narrow concept of heritage with its main focus on the tangible dimension of the built environment and the lack of a systematic inventory of intangible cultural heritage. The selection of *mohallas* was not transparent despite

Figure 7. Walled City, Royal Trail area and Mohalla Gali Surjan Singh. Source: Figure by Helena Cermeño (2022); the maps are based on data by the WCLA, AKTC, and AKCS-P collected in Jodidio (2019).

Figure 8. Mohalla Gali Surjan Singh on the left and sign plates announcing touristic places in the Royal Trail on the right. Photos by author Helena Cermeño (2021).

the establishment of an on-site social mobilisation office and the commitment to involve the local communities at all stages of the project, from planning to implementation. The fragile participation component was accompanied by selective development, for not all houses benefited, and priority was given to improving facades. Over the years, the pilot *mohalla* of Gali Surjan Singh has come to be known as a showcase for development and a touristic attraction. Yet, it remains highly contested among residents of neighbouring quarters who criticised the disproportionate effort undertaken to develop a "few houses" and selected *havelis* (traditional townhouses with courtyard, e.g., see Figure 9) compared to the more than 7,000 estimated residential units (one-third of the overall built structures) in need of (infra)structural improvement. The perceived neglect was particularly tangible in the Mohammadi Mohalla, where allegedly only three houses benefited from interior improvement works (interviews and fieldnotes, March 2016 and December 2021).

When the WCLA was established in 2012 and gained jurisdiction over the Walled City, it subsumed the rehabilitation and infrastructure work along the Royal Trail and accelerated the development of World Bank-sponsored heritage projects while adjusting the heritage regulatory

Figure 9. The interior of *haveli* Dina Nath on the left and courtyard on the right. Photos by Helena Cermeño (2016).

framework. This resulted, for instance, in the 2017 "Master Conservation and Redevelopment Plan for the Walled City of Lahore" and the 2018 "Conservation Master Plan for Lahore Fort and Its Buffer Zone." After decades of neglect and expanding commercialisation, the proactive mobilisation of the heritage-development nexus had become the dominant mode of heritage management for the Walled City ever since. It has gone hand in hand with an underlying WCLA touristification plan—in which heritage tourism is primarily valued as an economic resource. Thus, a myriad of internationally funded projects since 2012 have distanced themselves from inner residential rehabilitation and rather included the preservation of selected facades and significant monuments, sightseeing tours, and sporadic cultural events (e.g., music and poetry gatherings). The monuments' conservation practices have included beacon projects, such as preservation works in the Wazir Khan Mosque, the rehabilitation of its adjacent 17th-century chowk (urban square), the Shahi Hammam (royal baths, 2013–2015), and Lahore Fort (transferred from the Archaeological Department to the WCLA in 2014). The latter has come to include initiatives as variegated as the previously mentioned erection (and removal) of a Ranjit Singh Statue, the documentation and restoration of the Fort's Picture Wall (2015–2019) and the rehabilitation of the so-called "Imperial/Royal kitchens" (2018–2019).

The case of the Royal kitchens is particularly illustrative of a selective heritage approach and a lost opportunity to reveal alternative layers of heritage. After the premises had been appropriated and their use transformed during the occupation of Lahore Fort by the British Army, it was handed over to the Archaeological Survey of India in 1927 and ultimately remained in the custody of the Police Department, which used it until 1986 as a prison for political detainees—among them numerous renowned freedom fighters and deposed Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto. The current "entertainment" use of the restored kitchens indeed conceals this "dark side of the Lahore Fort" (Qureshi, 2018), and by doing so, it hinders alternative heritage narratives from evolving, for instance, in the form of a "museum of memories" (S. H. Vandal, interview, July 11, 2022). In this form, we argue, the repurposed use of the Royal Kitchens—as most of the state-driven infrastructure and urban conservation projects in the Walled City—constitutes a non-negligible form of cultural violence.

5. Resisting Amnesia in the Walled City and Beyond

Residents of the Old City and different civil society actors in Lahore have started to engage critically with conventional heritage-making based on the recognition of heritage as commons. Among them are passionate people in culture and heritage who are preserving and fostering different expressions of cultural heritage, such as music, paintings, crafts, etc., independent from the government and the patronage of the WCLA or other institutions. Subsequently, in the evolution of alternative heritage formations, we see that Lahorites assign significant value for the sake of it—not just for improved housing of a few targeted benefactors. One example is the transformation of antagonistic memories—or rather fears—into agonistic memories through the exchange with and visits of former residents who come from Indian diaspora countries (e.g., the USA, UK) to the Walled City to see their or their families' former place of living and individual houses. While in the past, such interactions carried the notion of fear and apprehension of former owners' possible intentions to demand their properties back (Zakaria, 2015, p. 163), the passing of time and slow dying out of the generation who had consciously experienced Lahore's partition and the connected violence and trauma, has to some extent also enabled agonistic attitudes and relations. In one instance, where a family came in at least two successive years to visit their ancestral home—a *haveli* used by the National College of Arts in connection with the cultural organisation Trust for History, Art and Architecture in Pakistan (THAAP)—at one of these visits, the organisation managing the building displayed the family's pictures inside the house as an act of memory and endorsement. Even though the former owners' visit was an emotional act of nostalgia in reaction to the previously experienced sharp break with the past and subsequent life in "exile", the activists' choice to reflect the former residents' identities at the site turned their visits into a politically productive, future-oriented process. The activists called for the residents of the Walled City to follow suit and also appreciate the former owners with little gestures such as displaying their pictures, thus creating a common space of shared living heritage. Such acts help the formation of a popular heritage consciousness (K. K. Mumtaz, as cited in Moffat, 2021, pp. 544–545); however, it is important to stress that it cannot rely on sole engineering "from above" (by non-residents)—in this case, a civil society activists' initiative versus action taken by residents at grass-root level.

Indeed, we cannot wholeheartedly negate a "class bias" towards heritage protection and commoning. Over time and throughout Lahore, civil society actors such as architects and planners on the one hand and academics and intellectuals on the other have introduced many initiatives. All have engaged in heritage preservation with a view to active commoning. Already in 1980, the architect Yasmeen Lari created the "Heritage Foundation of Pakistan" to document and conserve in "national registers" the traditional historic environment in Pakistan and to promote heritage for "social integration, peace and development" (https://www.heritagefoundationpak.org/Hf). Activists also built the website *1947 Partition Archive* where memories of the partition period are displayed and that shows, for example, how stories of India's partition continued from 2015 onwards. Video interviews of those who lived through the experience not only tell the tales of individual

trauma but also work at preserving its memory for those who did not experience it first-hand. Written documentation also plays a significant role as a product of civil society activities—for example, the published anthology of graphic narratives curated by Vishwajyoti Ghosh (2016), "This Side, That Side–Restoring Partition" that looks at second-generation accounts of the trauma of the partition (Singh, 2015, p. 184). Other examples of platforms enabling agonistic memorisation and exchange—that constitute the basis for transformative heritage, future reconciliation and peacebuilding—include the cultural initiative Hast-o-neest (https://www.hastoneest.com), the so-called Citizens Archive of Pakistan, and THAAP itself (Singh, 2015; Zakaria, 2015).

In another dimension of this evolving third pace of urban transformation, there are indications of practitioners' activist behaviour—audible and covert. In the audible version, architects like Kamil Khan Mumtaz and Yasmeen Lari have openly advocated for conscious modes of learning and unlearning through conservation practice (Moffat, 2021). Mumtaz' own experience has been that by working with the old material fabric, its structural forms, and acts of copying, knowledge and a heritage consciousness can be produced. This requires a sensitive engagement with materialities and their context (K. K. Mumtaz, interview, December 22, 2021). Both Lari and Mumtaz, have challenged the Western-centric framework of cultural heritage and its conservation throughout their life by looking closely into the local contexts they have been working in. Like this, they also came to challenge the notion of a homogeneous Pakistani heritage or categorisation of cultural heritage based on religious distinction. As a matter of fact, the alleged idea of a Sikh, a Muslim or a Hindu heritage has been sufficiently instrumentalised for different purposes to this date. It neglects however the proportionally larger share of secular architecture (P. Vandal, interview, July 11, 2022). Thus, Lari has been propagating "unlearning" as one of her guiding work principles throughout the last decades. Another has been to closely work in dialogue with the people at heritage sites and to mobilise their sense-making and memories for active future-seeking through the memories, practices, and materialities of the past.

In a rather covert mode of heritage preservation, it might seem that even heritage consultants working in Lahore use their heritage expertise and insights from observations about heritagisation over the last decade to exclude (and thereby protect) relevant heritage places from development zones in different planning documents and master plans (informal interviews and fieldnotes, December 2021). Another form of silent activism is the recently emphasised focus on the preservation of Punjabi heritage and culture—a regional identity-framing that allows rejecting religiously connoted and thereby exclusionary heritage-making. Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal, the architects/activists and educationists who founded THAAP in Lahore, stress that "Pakistani architecture is a composite thing of different regions coming together; this is the way we are hoping to move forward with THAAP" (S. H. and P. Vandal, interview, July 11, 2022). A Punjabi identity portrayal entails ambiguity, as it might refer to Pakistani Punjab but also include Indian Punjab, and its cross-border trans-local dimension works in the logic of a "fuzzy concept." It leaves open what is included in Punjabi cultural heritage and identity, when and for whom, and can be used consciously to avoid defining the boundaries of application and the fixation of putative identity traits.

Bridging educational, practical, and cultural elites' and activists' re-conceptualisations and preservation efforts of cultural heritage, and residents' practices and memories of intangible heritage, our empirical research identified two main fields of (heritage place-making) activities: One is the use of theatre plays, street art, and artistic performances. The Lahore-based Ajoka Theatre Collective, founded in 1984, has been able to not only work at the Lahore level but also travel to India and throughout South Asia, engaging in "people-to-people dialogue" across the border. In this context, Moffat (2019, p. 181) made the point that "street theatre, in its agitprop form, creates a space to negotiate the relationship between pasts, presents, and possible futures in a collective, public manner." The second field refers to traditional festivals (*melas*), that activists are currently trying to revive (S. H. and P. Vandal, interview, July 11, 2022; Naz, 2018; Nevile, 1993/2006). Basant was the most famous kite-flying spring festival in Lahore's Old City that would spearhead a future inventory of (lost) intangible heritage. It has been banned for several years, officially because of the danger and risk to life given the knife-sharp strings of the kites in the competition. Unofficially, Basant has been criticised by religiously conservative groups for years as a non-Muslim ("Hindu") tradition, even pre-partition. Initiatives calling for the resumption of this festival in Lahore need to be careful to prevent just another elite bias, given that its character had already begun to change from the late 1980s "from a festive but essentially family-oriented holiday revolving around food and kite flying into a media event celebrated, at the upper-class level, at huge semi-public parties attended by socialites from all over Pakistan" (McGill Murphy, 2001, p. 195).

6. Conclusion

Musbashir Hasan (1922 [to 1947] India—[from 1947] 2020 Pakistan), co-founder of the Pakistan People's Party, once stated that he "came to the conclusion that the ruling elites of the two countries [India and Pakistan] were genuinely scared of *peace breaking out* between them" (Kothari et al., 2010, p. 5).

Despite Punjab's shared regional identity, with its common cultural, administrative, and political past, post-partition divided political history embedded mutual (non-)relations on both sides of the border with an

ideology of difference that relies on a broad repertoire of ingredients: state-sanctioned religious practices, ethno-religious nationalism, suppressed memory, limitations of social relations even among relatives, and broad-based suspicion of the authorities in both countries against any non-state sanctioned civilian activities spanning the border. In Lahore, this involved the purposive erasure of its regional identity, its history of conviviality, but also the traumatic partition past. We consider this deletion of a shared history with India and the attempt to destroy Punjab's common cultural ecosystem as forms of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990) that prevents any constructive confrontation with the past.

Against this backdrop, in this article we sought to understand how shared urban heritage is recognised and how residents and civil society in Lahore—and beyond—(could) mobilise it to initiate conversations about future caretaking of their urban common heritage among different civil society actors, such as conservationists, residents of the Walled City, cultural activists, and with counterparts across the national border in India.

This is all the more necessary given the commodification and commercialisation of cultural heritage in the Walled City that signifies an unprecedented "will to develop" going along with touristification and the creation of images of imagined pasts for visitors. However, these activities have not proven to be sensitised towards features of intangible cultural heritage that inhabitants of the Walled City still live, for example, vernacular histories of food, spirituality, music and craft traditions. The WCLA's lack of systematic engagement with intangible heritage hinders a better understanding of the linkages between heritage and slow social change, the alterations of the social structures, changes in cultural symbols, social norms, social organisation, and value systems in the Walled City. In fact, any real engagement with its (in)tangible colonial history and legacy, as well as the past of conviviality and the trauma of partition, would entail that the state undergoes a self-reflection of its own coming to being as a nation-state—since the act of boundary-drawing through physical and symbolic demarcations can be considered as an act of physical and cultural violence in itself.

From the exploration of subaltern heritage practice in the Walled City and beyond, we learn that the produced, represented and enacted heritage practices "from below" are irreconcilable with the instrumentalisation of cultural heritage as a form of entertainment or commodity. In realising the assault on cultural heritage, a diverse range of actors have started initiatives that signal heritage consciousness, what Kabir (2013, p. 26) coined as "(partition) post-amnesias," and therefore constitute attempts of resistance to either large-scale neglect or homogenisation drives and megaproject-violence enforced by state authorities and investors. Such bottom-up initiatives indicate that while the instrumentalisation of the post-partition memorial terrain is generally viewed critically, it also embodies a change potential and could contribute more to fostering reconciliation across the border than difference.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Permanences Against Cultural Amnesia: Reconstructing the Urban Narrative of the Rum Community of Fener, Istanbul

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Abstract
In this article I reconstruct the place narrative of the Rum community (Greeks of Turkey) in Fener, Istanbul through unrest, displacement, and gentrification, and how the urban fabric, everyday life, and encounters transformed through different phases of urban change. Fener was a neighbourhood where cultural groups coexisted with mutual respect. This environment started to deteriorate when societal unrest towards non-Muslims resulted in a city-wide assault in 1955 and a subsequent displacement of many non-Muslims from the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood decayed and later became an attractive spot for gentrifiers because of its multicultural history. This implicated a massive physical change after an unimplemented regeneration project leading to gentrification. I theorize this narrative mainly based on Whitehead's "permanences," the stabilities in the physical and non-physical presence of Rums in Fener and Bhabha's "in-between temporalities" as complements of permanences, defining space-time envelopes that signify both adjustment and resilience, but also amnesia as a result of urban unrest through social and physical change. The Rum urban narrative provides a complex story of challenged community identity; therefore, it necessitates the use of several qualitative research methods: interviews with older residents, historical investigation with documentation, and personal observation. The study results show that the Rum community's daily practices and placeworlds were lost; however, the community remembers permanences better than in-between temporalities. Linking fragmented narratives by reconstructing them fights cultural amnesia and leads to a better connection with place and past contexts.

Keywords
cultural amnesia; displacement; permanence; Rum heritage; urban change

Issue
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1. Introduction

More than 60 years after the displacement, old Rum (Greeks of Turkey) residents' connections with Fener remain in their collective memory. Fener, a historic neighbourhood located on the eastern shore of the Golden Horn in Istanbul, has been their home and the place to build and maintain their collective identities. How they once related to the neighbourhood can be understood from the delicacy of the words they use when they recall everyday experiences in Fener. "During the summer nights, everyone in the neighbourhood [Rums, Jews and Muslims] took their seats in front of their building. They would spend time together drinking tea or coffee, chatting until midnight, especially when there was a full moon" (Respondent 2). These words belong to an old Rum resident talking about the experience of an inviting, informal yet traditional evening ritual for all neighbours—Rums, Jews, or Muslims.

In this study, my goals are: (a) to reconstruct Fener's urban narrative through the lens of Rums, as a displaced community from a historic neighbourhood of Istanbul; (b) to explore how urban change, whether it is in the form of physical destruction or societal intervention, constantly redefines place and breaks the place narrative in the case of Fener; and finally (c) to explain how the broken narrative creates cultural amnesia.

My general approach is to examine phases of the Rum presence and non-presence through a diachronic approach. Permanences provide stabilities in the

physical and non-physical presence of Rums. In-between temporalities signify change. I use various qualitative methods to tackle the research problem. I reference photographic and cartographic documentation, Rum narratives of Istanbul from previously published books, and academic articles. I interpret the semi-structured interviews that were conducted by myself with Rum residents who spent a part of their childhood in Fener. My observations as an academic who worked in the region also contribute to the findings. I finally provide a semantic interpretation of these qualitative inquiries. A combination of these methods provides a robust remaking of a Rum urban narrative—a specific one that involves the disappearance of a particular culture from a place.

This article contends that considering permanences offers a fresh way of looking at the unique and frequently odd connection between the sense of community and a changing urban environment. Despite the fast changes in urban settings, community identities appear to persist. This study answers such an issue by emphasizing the evolution and formulation of permanences and complementary in-between temporalities. Additionally, although there is extensive research on cultural amnesia, most studies neglect cultural amnesia and heritage loss—or decay—after the displacement of a particular group. This research offers a significant contribution to the field of cultural amnesia by proposing a novel view for cultural heritage studies by investigating change in a neighbourhood through a series of destructive events such as pogrom, displacement, and gentrification through the lens of a single cultural group.

After examining the case, I argue that the Rum community, who dealt with displacement, remembers and reconstructs a new narrative that helps mend broken narratives through storytelling. However, not recalling feels comforting to avoid facing trauma. Urban change causes placeworlds to disappear and results in cultural amnesia when there is no prevention for protecting the community identity and the tangible, and intangible heritage of displaced communities. Finally, although the physical heritage of the Rum community still exists, Fener lost the daily practices of Rum culture.

2. Theoretical Background

Places are bounded territories that comprise a collection of people and economic activities while offering a platform for collective action (Ong & Gonzalez, 2019). The residential neighbourhood is a characteristic place of the urban fabric. Places are more than the sum of their parts since and serve a variety of functions (Ong & Gonzalez, 2019). Any place has a variety of meanings, interpretations, and even multiple identities tied to it. This fact arises from activities conducted there, the cultural history of the place, and the personal experiences of a person from there (Taylor, 2010). Physical spaces of a place may remain as they are. However, places are not defined with any fixed identity, they are constructed and reconstructed flexibly as multiple narratives (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Taylor, 2010).

Place narratives hold spatiotemporal multiplicities, making it possible to understand the relationship between places and events (Sennett, 1992), and require dynamic accumulations of knowledge. The poststructuralist history approach doubts whether there is such a thing as a well-ordered, self-defining, self-regulating, and self-transforming system. Historical eras are just transitory, each regarded as a web of discourses that is eventually replaced by another (Groat & Wang, 2001, p. 149). Rhythmanalysis (see Lefebvre, 2004) illustrates this thinking successfully because it tries to diversify our perceptions of time (Degen, 2018) as opposed to viewing it as a linear elasticity that accelerates and retards processes that manifest spatially (Blunt et al., 2020; Harvey, 1989). I argue that a place contains multiple narratives, each holding complexities—such as overlapping and dissociating discourses, timeframes, and spatialities belonging to different cultural groups.

I propose a theoretical interpretation of narrating places concerning change based on temporal, spatial, and cultural multiplicities around Whitehead's (1946) concept of permanence and Bhabha's (2004) in-between temporalities, using, additionally, Massey's (2005) thrown togetherness to explain overlapping histories of different cultural groups and Gordon's placeworlds to explore collective memory and cultural amnesia.

2.1. Permanences and In-Between Temporalities

According to Whitehead (1925, p. 112), permanences are "innumerable" and "practically indestructive objects." Permanences are entities that, for some time, acquire stability in their internal ordering of processes that create spaces as well as their boundaries (Whitehead, 1925). Whitehead (1925, p. 112) states that a favourable environment and "enduring organisms of great permanence" are essential for evolution. Harvey (1996, p. 55) interprets permanences as "relatively stable configurations of matters and things," and as formations that eventually occupy a space exclusively (for some time) and designate it as being in that place (for a time; Harvey, 1996, p. 261). No matter how solid they may seem, permanences are susceptible to time as "perpetual perishing," and are carved out during the process of place formation; additionally, they are vulnerable to the processes that produce, maintain, and eliminate them (Harvey, 1996, p. 261).

My interpretation of permanence is spatiotemporally defined stability that constructs an unstable whole. Permanences, as Harvey (1996) interprets them, embody a multiplicity of processes, including processes that destabilize them. I will refer to these destabilizing processes later as in-between temporalities. Referring to Massey (1995), all places convey a notion of a disturbance where we perceive the place's past as embodying

the location's true essence. Massey (1995, p. 184) criticizes practices that attempt to freeze a specific aspect of a place at a particular moment or refer to places as "unspoilt"—as they get spoilt when they no longer carry their true essence. In Whitehead's permanence, the attempt is not to freeze but to emplace spatiotemporal entities in a dynamic narrative. It is helpful to think of places not as physical locations but rather as dynamic expressions of social relationships over time "open to a multiplicity of reading," as Massey refers to as an "envelope of space-time"(Massey, 1995, p. 185).

I develop a counterpart—but also a complement—of permanence based on Bhabha's in-between temporality concept. Bhabha (2012, p. 321) defines in-between temporality in the context of postcolonialism as "a moment of transition, not merely the continuum of history." He also discusses it as "a strange stillness that defines the present in which the very writing of historical transformation becomes uncannily visible" (Bhabha, 2012, p. 321). Bhabha dwells on the cultural and often diasporic meanings of in-between temporality. He proposes that spheres of social experience connect through an in-between temporality that bridges the stillness of home—the moment, with the discursive image of the world (Bhabha, 2012, p. 19). I also refer to these in-between states in a similar way that Bauman puts forward in liquid modernity in the context of postmodernity. In-between states capture the interdependencies, perpetual change, and mobility characterizing relationships and identities (Angouri et al., 2020; Bauman, 1997, 2000). Again, based on Bauman's (2000) thinking, social, political, cultural, occupational, religious, and sexual identities are all constantly shifting in the contemporary world.

Therefore, in-between temporalities shift permanences, like the liquid state that Bauman describes (Bauman, 2000). They are either diasporic shifts, following Bhabha's thinking, or contemporary shifts, following Bauman's thinking. Either way, they create change, uncanniness, and contradiction, while eventually ending up transforming reality or uniting with it in the long run. Studying in-between temporalities allows looking deeply into transitions—such as the transitions that I will tackle in the case of Fener—that damage the sense of place and unity of communities, particularly with displacement, forced migration, and gentrification.

Diasporic shifts create the first type of in-between temporality. Namely, displacement and forced migration are oriented towards a specific ethnic or cultural group, creating unrest within that group and can eventually result in significant political assaults. When the unrest grows more prominent and reaches a breaking point, it may lead to offences in public spaces, traumatic experiences in affected groups, and disruptions in the composition of the social fabric. It can result in the destruction and decay of the physical environment, damage, and loss of their tangible and intangible heritage.

Contemporary shifts create the second type of in-between temporality. Gentrification is the current and the most common type of such shift in urban environments. At the start of the 21st century, gentrification had spread worldwide (see Lees et al., 2016). Gentrification eventually creates a gradual in-between temporality as social, physical, cultural, and economic change slowly (sometimes, even not so slowly) transforms the social fabric. There are always winners and losers depending on social class disparities. Because of the varied types of individuals who live there and engage in different activities, areas that have undergone gentrification feel different. Also, neighbourhoods have generally become less affordable (Gurney, n.d.). Therefore, gentrification also includes processes such as displacement.

2.2. Overlapping Histories: Throwntogetherness

Place narratives also hold cultural multiplicities. Places constituted by various cultural and ethnic groups might have complementary or contradicting social identities. A group's social identity is the self-image generated from group affiliations and the meanings attached to those affiliations, like symbols, values, and ideologies (Blokland, 2017; Hamilton, 1985, p. 8; Verkuyten, 2014). Bauman (2001) argues that the definition of community—which constructs social identity—is sameness, denoting the absence of the other. However, societies produce social identities and, as such, they are neither stable nor inevitable. They depend on social processes, even though they frequently appear, feel, and seem substantial and overwhelming (Verkuyten, 2014). A more inclusive understanding of cultural multiplicities is throwntogetherness. Massey (2005) used this term to explain the "whirl and juxtaposition of global diversity and difference" (Amin, 2008, p. 9) in today's world. It generates a social ethos with potentially significant civic overtones manifested physically as the relatively unrestricted movement of several bodies in a shared physical space (Amin, 2008). Throwntogetherness is an effort to encourage people to think of places as porous and to live in them as a "constellation of trajectories" (Massey, 2005, p. 151).

Throwntogetherness also proposes a fresh way of framing the subject of belonging (Massey, 2005). An uncanny side of throwntogetherness is significant for Istanbul's belonging issues. Mills (2010, p. 211) states that "the price of belonging, in Turkey, comes at a cost—the forgetting of particular histories at the expense of frequent retelling of the others and silencing of the particular memories that cannot be entirely repressed." The past is romanticized, historical landscapes are commercialized, and the multicultural *mahalle* culture has been embedded in the contemporary consumer culture. Mills (2010) challenges us to think about how stories about the neighbourhood's heterogeneous pasts also legitimized the practices of erasure and displacement that drove minority populations out of their neighbourhoods.

2.3. Exploring Meaning, Memory, and Cultural Amnesia Through Placeworlds

Places are spaces in which people have given meaning or feel some connection (Cresswell, 2015). Eric Gordon refers to placeworld as the accumulation of a group's place-bound values and practices (de Waal, 2014; Gordon & Koo, 2008). Deriving from Habermas's lifeworlds, he states that a placeworld emerges when individuals achieve a shared knowledge of a location, just as a lifeworld does when people reach a shared understanding of something. Collective meanings develop alongside the function of a space, and they construct a particular group's cultural repertoire relating to one or several places. A communicative action creates a placeworld "when a group brings a place into shared relevance" (Gordon & Koo, 2008, p. 204). For instance, a placeworld reveals information about a hidden cemetery entrance or street corner, resulting from unique local knowledge of a specific community (de Waal, 2014).

Placeworlds and memories have an intricate connection. All memory is socially constructed with the concept of space: Space has the stability to allow a person to discover the past in the present (Halbwachs, 1950, p. 23; Hebbert, 2005). We associate memories with places (de Certeau, 1990). People are attached to places they live in (or have lived in the past) and create placeworlds because they accumulate memories associated with those places. Halbwachs (1950) considers memories "are as much the products of the symbols and narratives available publicly—and of the social means for storing and transmitting them—as they were the possessions of individuals" (Olick, 1999, p. 335; see Borer, 2006). From a Bergsonian point of view, memory does not only derive from a person's past but goes back further than his lifetime (Burton, 2008). The ability to navigate, mediate, and create connections between temporal fields comes from the action of remembering (Keightley, 2010). Therefore, memory is not only about the past but also about the present and the future. Similarly, placeworlds exist if the memories and narratives that created them persist. We can examine disruptions and continuities by excavating historical and forgotten occurrences (Keightley, 2010) and identifying placeworlds. "Memorial publics" can also be created (see Hammond, 2020; Igsiz, 2018; Navaro, 2012) by constructing placeworlds of shared trauma.

"Placeworlds require constant attention: without tending, they, like memories and experiences, retreat into the mundane stuff of everyday life" (Gordon & Koo, 2008, p. 207). Cultural amnesia occurs as we lose placeworlds, as a memory disturbance when collective memory weakens by historicist reconstructions that seem fragmented and disconnected in the city due to disruptions (Boyer, 1996). Cultural amnesia is a process of disremembering (Landzelius, 2003) or incrementally forgetting the past in the context of a historical place. "The collective memory…functions not only to remember but also to forget selectively or to 'fail' to recall, or even to disremember" (Alpan, 2012, p. 204). It creates collective memory that involves selecting which memories to remember and which to forget. Dis-remembering, selective forgetting, and loss of collective memory can result from disruptions or "processes of othering such as displacement, exclusion, and detainment" (Landzelius, 2003, p. 215), deportation, or population exchange. Amnesia can sometimes involve a double forgetting: "a forgetting even of the very act of forgetting" (Lampropoulos & Markidou, 2010, p. 1). Connerton (2008, p. 59) describes seven types of forgetting: "repressive erasure; prescriptive forgetting; forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity; structural amnesia; forgetting as annulment; forgetting as planned obsolescence and forgetting as humiliated silence." Types of forgetting are profoundly political and diversify according to different cultures across phases of community identity.

Placeworld is endangered when disruptions happen, and when it can only be told through narratives, it will not be experienced again in the same way. It is difficult for communities to transfer the knowledge that conveys the meanings of places "as they know it" to outsiders because "memories built around places cannot easily be shared with outsiders" (Harvey, 1996, p. 304). For Harvey (1996, p. 315), "experience…becomes incommunicable beyond certain bounds because authentic art and genuine aesthetic sense can only spring out of strong rootedness in place." When the rootedness in place is lost, "places become the sites of incommunicable otherernesses" (Harvey, 1996, p. 315). In some cases, placeworlds cannot be transferred from generation to generation; thus, cultural amnesia is more likely to happen. As soon as placeworlds are no longer present in daily urban interactions, urban spaces lose their attribute of place and become subjects of forgetting because they no longer carry certain place narratives, even if they still physically embody spatial traces of that particular narrative of the past. According to Netto (2017, p. 72), "spaces 'mean' as much as our acts, precisely because they are performed, semanticised by our acts," and "meanings cannot simply be attributed to things, but are enacted in practices" (Netto, 2017, p. 73). Based on this thinking, the spaces that cannot allow the enaction in practices—as they are not performed in specific ways they used to, but in metaphorical ways or not performed at all—become sources of cultural amnesia.

We forget some narratives of a place because of other dominant narratives. Diverse perceptions of a place's identity, each distinctly dependent on the socio-geographical situations of the organizations that support them. We tell the history of a place, how we tell it, and whose history ends up being dominant all have a significant role in shaping that place's identity (Massey, 1995). The remains of such forgotten sites become potential areas of spatial restructuring of capitalism (Landzelius, 2003), as illusions and historicist reconstructions (Boyer, 1996) of the past as spaces of nostalgia. According to Iris

Marion Young (2011), dealing with historical injustices, recognizing them, and acknowledging them are ways to get started. Although avoiding remembering is a cultural practice, dealing with memories is necessary to progress and move forward. It mends societal ties between communities and is an issue of accountability for injustice (Young, 2011).

3. Methodology

I present Fener as a relevant case of neighbourhood involving collective memory and cultural amnesia for two reasons. First, I consider Fener a historic neighbourhood with many layers of collective memory and a sense of belonging in different cultural communities, such as minority groups. Fener also possesses cultural traces of these groups. Secondly, Fener illustrates a variety of memory disruptions followed by cultural amnesia processes. I reconstruct Fener's urban narrative based on the Rum experience. While doing so, I try to establish Rums' narrative of permanence and in-between temporalities. Permanences investigate stabilities in memory and collective experiences of a community in places of the past. I attempt to analyze these permanences by interpreting: (a) the articulations of social relations in a particular place, how people interact with each other and with the place; and (b) the place memory—namely placeworlds, specific aspects of places only known with place experience. I explore in-between temporality as a process of change. This process includes the narratives of loss and disruption of the 1955 assault, regarding traces as remains of the Rum community. Some traces are tangible, such as buildings and the semantic aspects of the built environment. Despite their physical permanence, these historical sites that persist for a long time cannot be seen as Whitehead's permanences because they do not offer a spatiotemporal continuity. Instead, they exist in fragmentation: in states of permanences and in-between temporality. I interpret how the impacts of urban change gradually turned Fener into a fragmented site by excavating in-between temporalities. This excavation involves many phases of the urban fabric, such as decay, rehabilitation, renewal attempt, and gentrification (see Figure 1).

I used various methods to excavate the permanences and in-between temporalities in Fener. First, I discussed the neighbourhood historically with written sources such as books and articles on the Rum community in Fener and recent discussions about Istanbul of similar interest. I supported my arguments with visual sources, including photographic and cartographic documentation that allows a comparative interpretation of the area. I also investigated and elaborated on previous Rum narratives of Istanbul from books and academic articles, especially about the community identity of Rums.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with old Rum residents who spent a part of their childhood in Fener and still reside in other places in Istanbul. Some respondents lived there for a while, whereas others only recall their experiences in Fener as they visited their family members who used to live there. Some others only attended school in the area and had no family members in Fener. There are now a deficient number of Rum residents in the city. Therefore, one of the study's limitations was that there were a limited number of respondents. I interviewed six people through snowballing, of which four were male participants, and two were female participants. All participants were from the Rum community, meaning they are Greek Orthodox and possess Turkish identification. The respondents had in-person experience in Fener, with most having experienced Fener before 1955, so although age information was not explicitly asked, most participants were over 60 years of age. The interviews were conducted through video calls, varying from 20 minutes to 65 minutes. The interviews were semi-structured, and although there was a list of questions that I referred to, I felt the need to change the plan and ask other appropriate questions at times. I intended to continue the conversation where the respondents would feel at ease, and the flow of the exchanges continued naturally. The official question list included questions such as:

1. Please explain your relation to Fener. In what years and for how long have you or your family members been there? Have you been there as a resident/student or employee?
2. Referring to the past and your memories, could you give me some insights about the daily life and everyday experiences of a Rum in Fener?
3. How do you think the neighbourhood experiences of a Rum in Fener changed after the 1955 trauma?

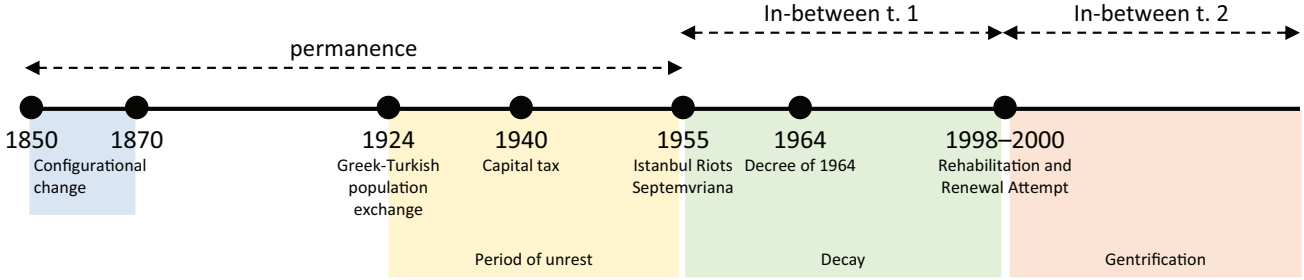

Figure 1. Fener's permanences and in-between temporalities.

Please also refer to any other dates that are a threshold in the Rum experience of Fener.
4. Do you think Fener still reflects Rum culture? Please explain why yes or no.

I analyzed my observations of Fener as an urban scholar who worked at a nearby university between 2018 and 2020. I delivered a current interpretation of the neighbourhood, especially on the effects of gentrification on the community experience. Finally, semantic analyses bridge the interpretation of these qualitative inquiries back to the main concepts of the article. I discuss how permanences, in-between temporalities, throwntogetherness, and placeworlds work together in Fener's specific case.

4. Case Study: Fener

Eckardt (2008, p. 17) refers to the "multifaceted dimensions" of Istanbul as "complex, diverse, multilayered, antagonistic and overlapping homogeneous and heterogenous at the same time, the same place." Turkish *mahalle* (neighbourhood) is an "urban cultural space created by social practices of neighbouring" (Mills, 2004, p. vi–vii). The concept of *mahalle* encloses collective memory and familiarity. Recently, cultural change has been influential in Istanbul, but historical landscapes, such as the old *mahalle*, still signify the collective memory of its residents. Social practices are decreasing in contemporary Istanbul (Mills, 2004). Most of the historic neighbourhoods in Istanbul comprise several layers of lived experiences and urban morphologies. The reason behind this is the historical accumulation and articulations of social relations that the city collected through centuries (Massey, 1995). Some of these cases presuppose the past as the natural character of the place (Massey, 1995).

Fener is approximately 15 km to the west of Istanbul's city centre. Fener was mainly a Greek Orthodox neighbourhood that was inhabited by Phanariots, an Ottoman Christian elite group that ascended to power in Ottoman politics from the 17th to the 19th century (Philliou, 2009). Çelik (1986) discusses that in the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman city, before 1839, the religious leaders of ethnic groups oversaw the neighbourhood. This situation changed with the Tanzimat era, where a centralized government replaced the ethnic leaders with a reform that brought systematization and control over neighbourhood units. Fener has been part of Fatih, the third District of Istanbul, since the late 19th century (Çelik, 1986).

4.1. Permanences of Fener

Reconstructing a Rum urban narrative, I propose that Fener has only one permanence phase ending in 1955. Until the mid-20th century, Fener was a predominantly Rum neighbourhood. Rums and other non-Muslim communities were assigned the shoreline neighbourhoods of the Golden Horn, while Muslim communities settled in the inner lands (Çelik, 1986). Rums have been historically situated in Fener. The Rum community is Orthodox Christians, their ancestors have lived in Turkey, and they hold Turkish citizenship. Romain Örs (2006) discusses that the Rum community has frequently been classified as Greeks in Turkey and Greece. She illustrates how Rums relate to Greek and Turkish cultures by giving two examples from her interviewees. She reports that one respondent feels both Turkish and Greek, simultaneously relating to, and distancing from both nationalities. The other feels neither Turkish nor Greek, preferring the title Rum Orthodox.

During the late 19th and early 20th century, Fener was primarily inhabited by non-Muslim groups, Rums, and Jews, with some Muslims. There has not been a significant societal change during this time. Fener underwent a significant urban configurational change between the 1850 and 1870s in the context of westernization processes for controlling the fires that happened in the 18th and 19th centuries. Orthogonal plans were designed and implemented after a long period of organic incremental planning (Figure 2). The most considerable effect was that the neighbourhoods' spatial layout changed radically (Çelik, 1986) from an organic self-grown to a planned orthogonal street pattern in the area.

During the early to mid-20th century, the Rum community of Istanbul, along with other non-Muslim minority communities, suffered from multiple attempts of economic, political, and social obstacles and offences that already started unrest in Rum society. The first was the forced population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1924. This population exchange involved 1,200,000 Anatolian Rums being sent to Greece and

Figure 2. Orthogonal planning implementation: Comparative city maps from 1853 to 1922. Source: Tuzcu (2022).

400,000 Rumeli Muslims living in Greece being sent to Turkey in return (Aktar, 2000). Igsiz (2018, p. 27) refers to the population exchange as segregative biopolitics. The second was introducing the Capital Tax (or the Wealth Tax): To fund the army, Turkey enacted a contentious wealth tax in 1942. Minorities were disproportionately affected by this tax which had a detrimental impact on development and productivity but assisted in nationalizing the Turkish economy (Ağır & Artunç, 2019).

During that time, the daily life of Rums was peaceful. Most of Fener's grocery shops and bakeries were run by Rums, but the neighbourhood also had several Jew and Muslim residents who owned some shops. Jews, Rums, and Muslims coexisted in the neighbourhood peacefully. The tolerance for each other in these groups fostered neighbourhood attachment and cohesion. The neighbourhood mainly consisted of minority groups, and intergroup relations were favourable because many people identified as others themselves—hence they had a sense of belonging, empathy, and security in the neighbourhood through a unity formed around otherness. This unity defines a new way of belonging while being other, embedded in the concept of thrown*together*ness. Respondent 1 says that he experienced Fener as a place where all residents had neighbourly relations. When he and his family lived in the neighbourhood, everybody held these neighbourly relations before the 1955 trauma. Moreover, he continues with an anecdote describing intercultural relations in the neighbourhood during the 1940s and early 1950s:

> Every year at Christmas time, my grandmother made a tray of Christmas buns and sent them to the bakery with a sheet with our name. Every tray baked with the name tag burned would get mixed up….Before everyone offered some buns for sharing, my grandmother used to pack a bun for our *muhtar* [the neighbourhood headman], and I used to take it to him. Also, during Eid, Muslim neighbours sent meat to us [the eid involves the sacrifice of a veal or a lamb and to share the meat with neighbours is traditional].

Also, Rum children had memories of safe public spaces in Fener. Respondent 3 says he used to play ball with the other kids in the neighbourhood, especially around the Fener Rum Highschool and Ioakeimeion Girls' Highschool, but also in Karapapak Street behind Taksiarhi Rum Church. He adds that the Rum community had many students back then (around 5,000 students), and Fener Rum Highschool used to compete with other prominent Rum schools in Istanbul—such as Zappeion and Zografeion. These schools were minority schools, and only Rum students with Turkish IDs could attend. He also remembers the most critical communication they had was with the neighbouring Girls High School, where he and his friends intended to communicate with the students.

4.2. In-Between Temporalities of Fener

The first in-between temporality includes trauma, displacement, and decay after 1955. On 6–7 September 1955, the Istanbul Pogrom (or the Istanbul Riots) was a tangible and intangible offence towards Istanbul's non-Muslim people, especially towards Rums. Fener was one of the places where this incident was devastating because of its high number of non-Muslim residents. Many houses, shops, and cultural buildings, such as schools and churches, had been slaughtered. Non-Muslim women and children had been abused. Respondent 1 shares that his grandmother has narrated memories of that day:

> My grandmother had a neighbour right across the street; they were close and fond of each other. Her name was Z. (Turkish Muslim woman), and on the morning of that day, she came to my grandmother and said, 'K., do not ask questions, take all your important belongings and come to my house.' My grandmother went to her house and survived, but she suffered looking from just across the street as the offenders destroyed her house. A Turkish neighbour on the street came out and shouted at the offenders, and only then they stopped. My grandmother did not want to leave the house or the neighbourhood; she repaired the house and moved back in. The Turkish government paid a minimal compensation—17 liras for repairs. She lived there from 1955 until the 1970s; then she moved in with my family.

Many Rum residents left the area after this incident (Mills, 2004), unlike Respondent 1's grandmother. The neighbourhood suffered for a long time from the trauma that this incident caused. This incident was significant regarding the balance of non-Muslims and Muslims in the area. Most non-Muslims, especially the Rums, left the affected neighbourhoods—such as Fener, Balat, and Samatya, and moved to newer neighbourhoods like Beyoğlu and Kurtuluş.

Mainly after the 1955 trauma, and because many non-Muslims felt unsafe and decided to leave either the neighbourhood or the country, the neighbourhood decayed. Around the same time, in the 1960s, a significant trend in migration was towards larger cities like Istanbul and Ankara, where employment opportunities increased because of rapid industrialisation. During that time, many Anatolians settled in the neighbourhood in the vacated buildings by the displaced communities. Dinçer and Enlil (2002) discuss how Fener decayed based on in-migrant attitudes who would use these places as a stepping-stone before going to the city fringe to improve living conditions, depending on their abilities, experience, and mentality. Those unable to relocate would stay in these regions, becoming more deprived (Dinçer & Enlil, 2002).

With the Invasion of Cyprus and the Decree of 1964, which involved the forced migration of Rums

holding Greek passports to Greece, almost no Rum remained in Fener in daily life. There was also a great deal of Greco-Turkish tension in Cyprus (see Navaro, 2012). Many respondents agreed that the remaining Istanbul Rum community moved to Kurtulus, Beyoglu, and Prince's Islands after 1955; only those who came to school or work visited Fener regularly. Rum churches and schools decayed. During the early 20th century, there were 58 Rum schools, with 7,213 students, 352 teachers, and 222 school managers, but now there are less than 200 students and five schools in total. Ioakeimeion Girls Highschool shut down in 1988 due to the lack of students, and its building became disused. Respondent 2 states that he was giving courses to the "two or three" remaining students of the Ioakeimeion Highschool before it eventually closed its doors. There are less than 50 students at Fener Rum Highschool (Kotam, 2016).

The neighbourhood lost the placeworlds of Rum culture within this timeframe. Respondent 4 comments about the disappearance of the daily life experiences of Rums giving this example: "There were theatrical performances in a building near the Fener Rum Patriarchate, everyone would join these entertainments, but now nobody even lives there to attend these, just a few gatekeepers." Fener lost rhythms, habits, and urban daily life experiences with the Rum community's displacement. Respondent 1 says that the Rum newspapers came at 1 PM, and taking that newspaper was a ritual for his grandmother, who impatiently waited for it every day. Also, habits and codes formed around certain urban functions, such as restaurants, shops, or meeting areas, disappear. Respondent 5 mentions an *Iskembe* (*rumen* soup—a typical late-night food of Turkey) restaurant run by a Jew resident, which residents frequented closed after 1955, and that habit disappeared. The neighbourhood, therefore, lost countless placeworlds, which is one of the reasons leading to cultural amnesia.

The second in-between temporality involves rehabilitation, renewal, and gentrification. Historical neighbourhoods quickly transformed after the first wave of gentrification in Istanbul in the 1980s. Because of state-initiated gentrification, these changes accelerated in the 2000s since these regions were abandoned by their original owners and neglected for sixty years (Dinçer, 2010; İslam, 2009). Fener and Balat quarters were considered for the rehabilitation projects not only because of the influence of the recent restoration of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy—a significant political domain in Fener, but also the presence of physically decayed buildings (Dinçer, 2010). Two urban regeneration initiatives were undertaken in the area in the 2000s: the Fener Balat Rehabilitation Program, funded by the EU, and the Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray Urban Renewal Project, ordered by Fatih Municipality. The initiating agenda is where the conflicts between the projects originate. The latter effort aimed to turn the neighbourhood into a cultural and tourism hub, paving the way for gentrification and urban eviction, while the former prioritised improving socioeconomic conditions rather than physical restoration (Aysev Deneç, 2014).

Gentrification has occurred in Fener in several forms. First, after the failed renovation projects, gentrifiers saw the area's growing potential and started to invest. They renovated buildings for commercial use, third-wave coffee shops, yoga studios, restaurants, art and exhibition areas, and small business shops. The neighbourhood experience is also popular on social media and is perceived as a colourful and welcoming neighbourhood. Most of the renovated houses are painted in different colours. Although decayed buildings are still abundant, the neighbourhood changed its appearance to make it more inclusive. It also gives the illusion of the past, that some new shops seem nostalgic. An example might be a soda shop that sells nostalgic sodas. The soda shop confirms the ideas of Landzelius (2003) and Boyer (1996) that forgotten spaces carry potentialities for spatial restructuring of capitalism or as counterfeit spaces of nostalgia.

Some of the remaining buildings still exist as traces of the Rum culture—schools and churches are either decaying or preserved with care, some becoming a tourist attraction from a distance while staying defensive to outsiders, such as the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Fener Rum Highschool. Although these buildings carry their meanings and uses, they lose some of the placeworlds attached to them. Most decaying heritage lost their authenticity as meanings, functions, and uses altered with the disappearance of the community that spatialised them, whereas some of the decaying buildings are temporarily reused. For example, Ioakeimeion Girls' Highschool has been used as an exhibition space for Greek artist Kalliopi Lemos' work "I Am I Between Worlds and Between Shadows" at the Istanbul Biennale in 2013 (Figure 3). Lemos described her work at this exhibition as representing young girls struggling with psychological and physical oppression. The othering theme is based on young girls' experiences compared to the experience of former students during the years before school closure (Altug, 2013).

5. Concluding Thoughts: Communities Lose Placeworlds But Remember Narratives

Fener faced several traumatic events over the 20th century through the lens of the Rum community, and permanences shifted to a recurring in-between temporality series. This shift resulted in two main issues: The Rum community's daily practices and placeworlds were lost. However, some were repaired but not maintained in the collective memory for long as the community who made them was away. Some in-between temporalities may exist as healing periods and healing places, and keeping placeworlds could be possible through resilience (like the resilience of Respondent 1's grandmother rebuilding her house). However, other times resilience fails to protect a community's identity in someplace. Secondly, Fener lost

Figure 3. Photo from Lemos' exhibition at Ioakeimeion Girls' Highschool. Source: Madra (2013).

its innate essence, as losing placeworlds. Losing placeworlds resulted in long-term amnesia and the romanticisation of the multicultural history of the neighbourhood with gentrification. Spaces of romanticisation are not only the potential objects but also the subjects of cultural amnesia. Also, the forced migration of the Rum community resulted in the pressure to forget; narratives were forgotten, not spoken, and therefore not reconstructed.

Fener Rum community remembers. They create a narrative that supports fragmented healing narratives through storytelling, even though it is more soothing not to remember to avoid suffering from trauma. Their remembering is essential for reconstructing the urban narrative. It is also indispensable to excavate the forgotten narratives to establish the truth, which may lead to justice. According to the case study results, the Rum community remembers permanences better than in-between temporalities. Because of loss, trauma and grief, liminal phases are more complicated and less pleasant to remember. Their memories were based on intercultural communication, the peaceful, friendly, and secure environment before 1955, and less on hardships after it. According to Bauman (2001), security is a prerequisite for intercultural dialogue. Without security, there is little likelihood that groups will open up to one another and strengthen their empathy for one another (Bauman, 2001). However, more is needed to base our remembering on permanence. Remembering in-between temporalities is crucial, especially the destructive ones that create disruptions and injustices. Working on linking those fragmented narratives leads to a better connection with place and its past contexts of it. Forgotten narratives should be communicated to deal with cultural amnesia, and only then can we decrease the potentiality of restructuring spaces of capitalism or spaces of counterfeit nostalgia.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Portraying Urban Change in Alfama (Lisbon): How Local Socio-Spatial Practices Shape Heritage

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Abstract
Alfama, a neighborhood whose history dates to Lisbon's origins, held simultaneously the power and burden of representing the "old Lisbon." It is recognized as a territory that was never a part of the efforts to modernize the city but also through its inherent values. The latter derives exactly from the nostalgic images it projects and through which the city's history is kept alive. As part of a city's ecosystem and embroiling global phenomena, the neighborhood faces inevitable changes, affecting both the closely intertwined urban fabric and socio-cultural aspects to shape a landscape of tangible and intangible heritage. Based on a multidisciplinary and humanistic approach, the article portrays the urban change in the neighborhood through a spatial and ethnographic lens, along different scales and angles, contributing with a critical dimension to understanding urban development processes. We examine how Alfama has been dealing with political intentions steered by economic prosperity and global influences. Thus, we look at policies fostering urban regeneration and tourism development and describe impacts on the territory and responses where traces of the community's resilience emerge. We further discuss how increased tourism led to a "touristification" scenario and implied local responses. Namely, the community has been activating specific mechanisms and leveraging certain socio-spatial features to cope with the process of change. Some examples highlight how the community is adapting practices of space and social interactions to take advantage of the new possibilities brought up by tourism, while defending its core socio-spatial networks, in a continuous process of heritage creation.

Keywords
Alfama; alley; heritage (re)invention; neighborhood resilience; Portugal; urban change; urban heritage

Issue
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1. Introduction

Lisbon is a city of historical, "traditional," and "popular" neighborhoods. The narrative was constructed throughout the 20th century and intertwined with cultural policies promoted by the totalitarian regime Estado Novo (1933–1974). During this period, a complex process of cultural production of an urban narrative was initiated, associated with the city's old neighborhoods'—Alfama, Madragoa, Castelo, Mouraria, Bica, and Bairro Alto—"popular" identity. The conception frames demographic features of the population together with certain occupations, such as street vendors, watermen, servants/maids, washerwomen, sailors, and certain practices, namely fests and leisure activities, music and dancing, *arraiais*, parades (e.g., *marchas*), street games, and songs (fado; Cordeiro, 2003). The *marchas* (a parade/competition between neighborhoods taking place yearly on the 12th of June in one of Lisbon's main avenues) illustrate how these practices were endorsed by the municipality and fetched to attract the attention of the entire city (Cordeiro, 1997). Local associations, located within the

neighborhoods, played a role as well in the ritualization of such practices and values, towards the creation of "new" traditions. On the other hand, these "new popular traditions" proclaim a sort of urban status quo, which the city's old neighborhoods are expected to validate.

Alfama is one of the most emblematic neighborhoods within this "old Lisbon." Its winding narrow streets and alleys evoke the city's foundational structure and dictate extreme proximity—even porosity—between the public and private space (street and home). The local associations, highly influential in the 1980–1990s, further fostered a highly dense network of social interactions, deemed as tight as the urban fabric (Costa, 1999; Costa & Guerreiro, 1984). Alfama's social interactions and "social types" (namely the *alfamista*) and public and semi-public festive and performative practices, such as the Santos Populares fest and the fado, have put the neighborhood at the forefront when it comes to typifying the most "traditional and popular" side of Lisbon. Indeed, recognized as a legitimate representative of the historical side of the city, Alfama legitimates key traits of Lisbon's history and identity. As a result, it has been attracting visitors from within and outside the city's borders for over several decades but particularly in recent decades.

The intensification of tourism and the pressure caused by a growing number of visitors have deserved scholars' attention, often highlighting the most negative and disruptive elements of change. Lisbon, like other cities in Southern Europe (Tulumello & Alegretti, 2021), has been exposed to gentrification, touristification, and financialization (Mendes, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2020), buy-to-let investment, and tourism-driven displacement (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021) becoming a true "battleground" (Cocola-Gant, 2016) of investment speculation. Alfama experiences a process of urban change led by tourism backed by several other factors, such as urban policies and social vulnerabilities (Benis, 2011; Gago, 2018). However, a response uttered within the neighborhood reveals particular means to adapt to change, by finding new possibilities for leveraging tourism, pushing back initiatives to further promote the specialization of uses, and maintaining and strengthening the relationship with the neighborhood through the local associations.

While tourism can accelerate urban change and increase the risk of heritage erosion, namely through the pressure it presents to the local community in terms of shaking preexisting livelihoods, this is just one side of the narrative. Change is part of a city's urban development and tourism is just another component of the complexities surrounding this continuous process. Tourism can be beneficial to local communities, specifically from an economic and cultural perspective, as it creates new job opportunities, can strengthen local identities, and supports the reactivation (i.e., fosters validation) of heritage (Spirou, 2011).

Many studies focusing on urban change processes in Lisbon and Alfama were enclosed within a disciplinary perspective, overlooking potentially overlapping dimensions. They tend to place the neighborhood not at crossroads but already at a point of no return, at the end of a cycle, while proposing advancements in the conceptualization of external triggers for urban change and impacts on the territory or by looking at urban policies and financialization (Mendes, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2020), socio-demographic aspects, and parallelisms with other neighborhoods (Baptista et al., 2018). However, the idea of a local response, i.e., the community's adaptation to urban change, was often disregarded and when mentioned is simplified to report unstructured attempts of backlash. Conversely, relevant sociological and ethnographic studies (Costa, 1985, 1999; Costa & Guerreiro, 1984), depicting the neighborhood in the 1980 and the 1990s shed light on current phenomena. Several stereotypes embedded in a narrative linked to the "authentic," "original," and "traditional" result from leaps of change. In this regard, there are multiple examples of top-down initiatives and policies that led to the reinforcement of local identities, while aiming at territorial cohesion and attracting visitors.

In this article, we look at heritage as an inherently socio-spatial construction and focus on identifying practices, which regardless of the pressure of change have been employed in the process of adaptation to tourism, meaning sometimes their own reinvention. Additionally, we identified a research gap that can be tackled through an approach that relies on the complementarity of ethnographic work and spatial analysis, to describe the interplay between tangible and intangible urban values. We understand that tourism is just another variable in the complex process of change an urban environment constantly undergoes. Therefore, our focus is not on the challenges this wave of tourism poses to the neighborhood; rather, we look at how the community has been reinforcing/adapting local socio-spatial practices to respond to some of these challenges. This perspective is innovative because it does not look at the community as a passive actor in an externally triggered process of change; instead, it attempts to describe to which extent and with what strengths they are willing and able to resist/adapt.

Our guiding question is: How have socio-spatial practices reinforced the community's capacity to adapt and enabled the (re)invention of heritage? Additionally, we question how these practices interact with the tension between the inside and outside of the residents' homes (i.e., house and neighborhood), advancing the approach of interpreting in-between spaces. This perspective highlights the community's capacity to adapt due to local conditions, merging tangible and intangible heritage in a continuous process, rooted in everyday life. We look at urban change not by framing negative impacts (even if they exist and have been widely referred to in several studies) but by addressing the community's response. Finally, we explore the entanglement between urban forms showcased by the *beco* (alley) and the territorialization of certain socio-cultural practices.

To this end, we focus on three aspects of urban life: the role of the small scales of the street (Fontes, 2020) in structuring everyday life and enabling socio-spatial practices, the adaptation of those socio-spatial practices in response to challenges brought up by the growth of tourism (visitors and tourist-related uses/activities), and the definitions of inside/outside insider/outsider and how they are negotiated within the neighborhood at several borderlines and scales (e.g., the home and the narrow street, the neighborhood, and the city).

The methodology employed is qualitative and multidisciplinary, combining urban planning and urban anthropology. Fieldwork is the main source of data in this research and includes spatial data collection (photographic materials, spatial survey outcomes, and mappings), direct and participant observation, informal interviews, and conversations with locals and visitors. The resulting data was collected, registered, and analyzed in field notes and a fieldwork diary (mainly) between 2018 and 2020. The interdisciplinary approach, bridging spatial analysis and urban ethnography, enables addressing the spatial and social aspects shaping heritage values in this specific territory while grasping the underlying processes of adaptation to urban change.

In the next section, we briefly introduce urban change in relation to tourism growth. The following sections are devoted to presenting the cases, aiming to portray different forms of adaptation to change and heritage creation processes. In Section 5, we propose an analysis based on structuring aspects of urban life in Alfama and advance a conceptualization, defining and identifying mechanisms of resilience. Section 6 is devoted to final remarks and underscoring key takeaways.

2. Urban Change Accelerated by Tourism

By looking at statistics provided by Statistics Portugal (2005, 2020), we perceive a rapid growth of tourism in Lisbon around the time the first author conducted fieldwork in Alfama (2018–2020). Lisbon Airport presented 10.4 million visitors in 2004 and 15.7 million in 2019. The number of tourists staying in hotels reached 21.6 million in Portugal (2019), 25.2% of those within the metropolitan region of Lisbon (about 5.4 million). In 2004, the numbers were 10.9 million in Portugal and 20.5% of those in Lisbon (2.2 million).

Alfama is a magnet for urban tourism. Due to its inherent features and practices, the neighborhood is recognized for representing foundational aspects and myths around the city's identity, which extrapolate to a Portuguese identity narrative, recalling the simple life of the working classes and the hidden beauty of everydayness (Araújo, 1939). While tourism is not a new activity in the neighborhood, due to the accelerated growth of visitors in Lisbon, Alfama has been in the spotlight by becoming one of the main tourist attractions. The situation has been labeled a touristification scenario (Baptista et al., 2018; Gago, 2018) as the neighborhood undertakes a process of transformation, which has led to the specialization of uses, producing monofunctional structures of commerce and services, exclusively oriented to the satisfaction of the visitors' expectations/needs. In the process, the neighborhood's dynamics were affected; for instance, the local community became gradually deprived of accessing services and the housing market and consequently, vulnerable to experiencing tourism-driven displacement (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021).

In several contexts around the globe and restated in the case of Lisbon (Mendes, 2014) and Alfama (Benis, 2011; Costa, 1999; Gago, 2018), the cause of gentrification has been traced back to urban renewal policies. The historical core of Lisbon, including the downtown area and Bairro Alto, undergoes similar changes. Notwithstanding, there are particular manifestations of impacts, specific to each of the city's neighborhoods (Baptista et al., 2018; Barata-Salgueiro et al., 2017; Gago, 2018; Mendes, 2016). The growth of tourism in Lisbon, which statistics demonstrate is linked to urban strategies and policies fostering urban renewal, enabled an ideal scenario for the sprawl of short rental accommodation.

To describe how tourism led to urban change in this neighborhood, we have been pointing out key aspects, but we should still refer to the lack of capacity or willingness the local community presents to resist change. We challenge this view by pointing out that together with a low capacity to face the pressure of change, there is an adaptation process in motion. This is still valid when, in the aftermath, many residents left the neighborhood where they feel they belong, struggling to push back the growth of the phenomenon or/while finding ways to get profit out of it.

3. The *Beco* as an Enabler of In-Between Spaces

Alfama and Mouraria are considered reminiscent of Lisbon's medieval times due to their street network layout (França, 2008). It consists of winding narrow streets, which adapt to the castle hill's topography and are structured to gradually filter access to the inner core of the neighborhood. Particularly in Alfama, this filtering occurs firstly at the neighborhood scale and secondly at the quartier scale, where the small scales of the street, showcased by the *beco*, can be found. The scale of these streets and alleys, together with the scale of the buildings within, presenting one door one home after the other, produce the need to negotiate privacy as a primary value to inhabit this territory (Fontes, 2020, p. 135):

> Curtains create a fluttering and sometimes ineffective barrier towards the domestic space. Opened windows and shutters reveal the entire space from the living room to the kitchen, where someone is preparing lunch, betrayed by the sounds and noises of pots, pans and crockery being operated. Just before lunch and dinner, one can expect to be embroiled into experiencing someone else's domestic life from the street.

> While walking around the neighborhood, the sound of the television makes it almost possible to follow the news. The smell of food invades the streets, not only from the restaurants in the surroundings, but from all over. Kitchens and home-cooked meals are exposed by the sense of smell, revealing their existence inside the buildings around. The picturesque scale in the neighborhood allows the simultaneous perception of multiple events of a similar nature. At each step, one perceives a new recipe fresh from a nearby oven or stove.

In this context, certain socio-spatial practices have been activated or recreated to cope with the growth of tourism. Thus, we deem it relevant to explore how local practices were leveraged by the community while adapting to a touristification scenario and, additionally, we advocate that they project the future of the neighborhood as traits of its tangible and intangible heritage.

The threshold (*soleira*) and the wicket (*postigo*) are key elements of the small buildings' facades' design. Beyond aesthetic value, they simultaneously highlight a border between the house and the street and present a possibility to overstep it (Figures 1–3). The threshold is an ambiguous space between the interior and the exterior, as it is often appropriated by the resident to keep some personal belongings, as well as by those passing by (e.g., to sit). As for the wicket, it enables an additional source of natural light, especially praised considering the narrow and dense fabric, but it is also a key element in the interactions between the neighbors (Figure 3). Usually, neighbors are not admitted into the domestic and private space, rather they belong in a secondary circle, within which the basis for ordinary interactions is established at the border between the house and the street. In this way, the norms shaping the community's expectations in terms of social interactions are established. Neighbors meet, greet, talk, and gossip using these two architectural features as enablers of particular forms of social interactions and porosities between private and public spaces.

The border between private and public space appears extremely relevant not only due to the narrow proportions (of the homes and streets) but also because of the meanings the community builds over it. As domestic spaces turn to the outside, inhabitants institute control over space by adding barriers to protect privacy and redrawing the border with public space in a very dynamic manner. The concept of territorial depth applies as it encompasses measuring control over public space, by focusing on identifying barriers that enlarge the border to private space in an attempt to manage privacy and scrutinize access (Habraken, 1998).

In the case of Alfama, territorial depth was characterized by the thickening of the border space between the home and the alleys, fostered by the proximity in which these two separated but mergeable worlds coexist. It is defined through subjective barriers, which imprint control over space based on explicit or implicit presence (i.e., self or personal belongings), implying scrutiny and protecting one's home privacy (Fontes, 2020). Moreover, dwellings on the ground floor are especially exposed to this form of ambiguous permeability between public and private realms. At the ground floor level, the proximity to the street is not only obvious but also unavoidable. Therefore, living on the ground floor entails specificities converging on the issue of privacy and its need to preserve it. The idea of a domesticated street (*calle domesticada*; Monteys et al., 2012) depends only so much on the functions installed there, whereas the density of activities and the porosity between public and private spaces are paramount to bringing the street alive. In Alfama, living on the ground floor heightens the exposure to

Figure 1. Door wicket and threshold, Alfama, January 2020.

Figure 2. Door wicket, Alfama, February 2019.

Figure 3. Neighbors talking through a door wicket, Alfama, January 2017.

particular dynamics that occur at the border between the house and the street (Fontes, 2020).

The Beco do Surra is paradigmatic for finding potted plants at buildings' front doors, resembling small gardens. This practice (not exclusive to this alley and not exclusive to this neighborhood) is enacted by two neighbors, whose street appropriations nourish a friendship based on their devotion to these plants (Figure 4). Beyond the display of decorative elements animating the street view, this practice is a mechanism for managing the border without public space. It materializes and symbolizes an additional barrier, creating a sort of semi-private in-between space for interacting with the outside. Other practices observed by the author Catarina Fontes, such as sweeping the street in front of the house, displaying furniture (Figure 5), or drying clothes (Figure 6) express similar forms of control over public space. Through them, local inhabitants project norms and values, i.e., implicitly state what can be shared in public space and what is kept private, towards shaping cultural patterns.

When we observe the universe of Alfama's alleys, the particular meanings of community-driven socio-spatial practices imprinted on the territory stand out. Alleys are not exclusively ways of enabling access, but they are cumulatively living places in the extension of the house. The street might become a "shared living room," where socialization takes place the same way it could happen inside one's home, should this be the "social contract" (Fontes, 2020). The thickening of the border, simultaneously merging and separating in and outside, finds expressiveness at the scale of the neighborhood, because of a relative consensus based on which the community's experience of living in close proximity is structured. Additionally, it provides a separation between visitors and residents due to a territoriality process. This also allows for distinguishing the neighborhood from its surroundings, as it appears circumscribed within the radius that these socio-spatial practices reach (Fontes, 2020).

While residents and tourists co-exist, their roles do not merge. Those who belong are able to decode norms and meanings for social interaction, while those who are visiting are identified as foreigners. For those admitted as part of the community, the limits to domestic space are asserted in the interpretation of more or less physical/symbolic borders, although their negotiation is an uninterrupted and dynamic construction. Due to sheltering socio-spatial practices generating unique meanings, the alleys are at the grassroots of urban heritage creation. This process runs in parallel with the admission of visitors (tourists).

3.1. The Extreme Case of Santos Populares Fest

The need to negotiate boards between public and private space on a daily basis becomes ever more pressing in the month of June. Yearly, in this month, a street fest takes place and takes over Lisbon's neighborhood's everydayness. Alfama is one of the main stages for the event or series of events, organized by the local community i.e., families, friends, and neighbors, in a partially spontaneous and improvised manner.

The Santos Populares festivities work as a mechanism for the cultural exaltation of historical neighborhoods in the city and are produced with a high intention of being presented to the outside, to visitors (Cordeiro, 1997). In Alfama, the aim to attract tourists and visitors oriented towards economic gain is assumed by the community (Costa & Guerreiro, 1984).

The festivities include several moments, however, in this article, we will focus on the *arraiais*. An extreme simplification could mean describing the *arraiais* as a music and food fest invading the neighborhoods' alleys. In fact, they are a cultural celebration through which

Figure 4. Beco do Surra, Alfama, November 2017.

Figure 5. Largo de São Miguel, Alfama, August 2018.

Figure 6. Beco da Cardosa, Alfama, January 2018.

the community revives, reinforces, and expresses to visitors traces of a common identity. During this time, the neighborhood turns, in an even more categorical way, to its streets. Particularly, to appropriate the aforementioned in-between space, revalidating the elastic thick border between the house and the street (Figures 7 and 8). The mechanisms employed to mediate the transition between public and private space enlarge the in-between space towards an extreme situation (during the fest). The renewed meanings express particular ways residents and visitors interact within this borderline space, when the neighborhood turns (even more) towards its narrow streets and squares, offering the multiplication of the places to eat, sit, and dance, due to temporary improvised stalls, pieces of furniture that compose a chaotic and cheerful atmosphere for socializing:

> The Beco da Corvinha and the Escadinhas de São Miguel towards the square were the heart of the party. The density of stalls and *retiros* followed the entire route in the direction of the square, allowing everyone to get drinks and food. Some were specially built to include small makeshift dining rooms with long tables and mismatched chairs. There was no room for competition, the attractiveness this party signifies to the neighborhood is undeniable. Although expected and accepted at this time of the year, the amount of people gathering throughout the narrow streets and crossing them at a slow pace, while eating, drinking and dancing to the music resembled a massive invasion of the neighborhood. Erupting from a light and cheerful atmosphere, some family tensions were perceivable, especially dealing with running the improvised business. In one of the stalls, at the end of Beco da Corvinha, the service was informal. Husband and wife split efforts between the counter (installed next to the parents'/in-laws' house) and serving the unpretentious tables. They also shared the tasks in the grill, installed at a corner of the alley. The single page menu was available in Portuguese and English. The service was rather messy; the woman brought dishes and the husband came and removed them explaining "my father-in-law already complains that I broke all the dishes, the sardines come on the bread." Then came sardines on the bread, with plates and he clarified the inconsistency "that's it, how the woman wants it." There was a constant and frenetic coming and going, bringing and taking whatever was needed at the in-laws' house—the party's warehouse. At the end of the meal, the bill was settled and rounded up straight on the table. (Fontes, 2020, p. 139)

Residents are not only the hosts of the party but also host the visitors at their homes within the acceptable limits of their privacy. The description above shows an extreme level of porosity between the street and the house. The rules for interaction are established by those hosting and commissioning an in-between space. However, the dynamics behind it, making this special moment admissible and allowed, are built on a day-to-day basis. The inadvertent creation and daily reproduction of these in-between places of shared consensus set the background for the community fest. Moreover, this is still handled and organized from family to family, from house to house, and turned to the outside. The result is an intense animation of all the arteries at the heart of the neighborhood and a shared experience involving residents and visitors and living between the inside and the outside of the homes, streets, and neighborhood.

During this particularly creative month, residents demonstrate how they excel at exercising control over space by conjuring actions of material and symbolic transformation over it. The latter are supported by local norms and a kind of local ethical judgment reproduced and ritu-

Figure 7. Escadinhas de São Miguel, Alfama, June 2019.

Figure 8. Escadinhas de São Miguel, Alfama, June 2019.

alized at the neighborhood scale. To this end, the porosity between public and private space is not only admissible but also fundamental in the construction of these memorable moments, a part of a collective memory.

4. Ladies Selling *Ginja*, (Re)Inventing Heritage

The *ginja* is associated with a specific area around Rossio (Lisbon) and with the after-work routine. Even nowadays, it is sold in a small shop and drunk at the counter or around the corner. However, its consecration as Lisbon's drink seems linked to the standardization of certain practices as traditions in order to animate tourist activities. In Alfama, some retired ladies had an increase in their monthly rent and found a way to compensate for the additional expense. It all started after one of the Santos Populares fests. Some ladies decided to continue selling drinks at their doorsteps to people passing by. This practice, common during the festivities, was extended throughout the year, as visitors continued crossing the neighborhood's narrow streets and the opportunity to expand the business arose. With the increasing number of tourists and the consolidation of the *ginja* (also known as *ginjinha*) as the typical drink in Lisbon, an idea became a current practice (Fontes, 2020).

Later in the summer of 2018, there were more and more ladies selling *ginja* spread throughout the neighborhood, either using the doorsteps immediately at their homes or transporting privately owned umbrellas and tables to establish a stall at a strategic point (Figures 9 and 10).

The two main squares, especially positioned to maximize the profit, became a stage of disputes over the right to establish informal stalls in private spaces. Indeed, local power needed to intervene in the attempt to regulate the practice after the summer of 2018. Around this time, the practice was no longer exclusive to older women. Nonetheless, it was still personified in the neighborhood's women, dressed in colorful aprons and equipped with colorful kitchen towels to sell the idea of a homemade typical liquor to whoever wanted to believe it.

While the practice was embraced by tourism, its authenticity might be questionable. No doubt it became a tourist experience, having several tour guides arranging with the women the day and time to visit their doorsteps and making it a highlight of the tour. On the other hand, these ladies were acquiring the *ginja* from the same source and further selling the idea of a homely produced good and locally rooted tradition, €1 a tiny plastic cup filled with constructed ideas sold to the outside. The neighborhood's narrow streets are a key feature. The closeness to public space together with the residents' flexible interpretation of a border create and multiply the possibilities to leverage in-between spaces. This particular practice, rooted in the *arraiais*' improvised informality of commercial exchanges, was reinvented in light of the new values and circumstances. Furthermore, it proliferated, as accepted by both local residents and visitors, towards shaping a new tradition.

In adaptation to change, brought around by the increasing demand/chance for tourist activities, the selling *ginja* practice is a reinvention of the informal selling

Figure 9. Escadinhas de Santo Estêvão, Alfama, July 2019.

Figure 10. Beco da Cardosa, Alfama, December 2018.

practices taking place during the fest and everyday social appropriations in the narrow small streets. Perhaps witnessing the establishment of this socio-spatial practice was witnessing the start of a tradition carved locally and employing existing mechanisms.

5. Fado, the Experience of Locality

Fado is a genre of urban popular song, which dates back to the 19th century (Nery, 2010). It emerges bound to territorial roots. Both the location for its performance, always associated with the names of the historical and typical neighborhoods of the city—Alfama, Bairro Alto, Mouraria, and Madragoa—and the meaning of the performance itself, composed by verbal, musical, facial, and bodily expressions, and the place's ambience (Castelo-Branco, 1994) translate into ways of communicating with the outside, comprehending complex and more or less rigid systems of codification and providing "commercial openness" balanced out with the preservation of its authenticity. Moreover, the "popular" sociability is bound to fado's practices, as it is mostly performed in the neighborhood's taverns, but also in streets, small squares, alleys, and local associations (*coletividades*; Costa & Guerreiro, 1984).

These popular urban spaces (*coletividades*) promoted the merging of social classes due to the spatial and social context enabling authentic performances. The oldest and most vulnerable districts in the city—today's old Lisbon—were then populated by migrants, coming from other cities to work in the industry that settled to live in modest old buildings. It is also worth mentioning that fado is "identified and associated with a woman who meets the conditions to project herself as her founding myth: a prostitute Maria Severa" (Brito, 1999, p. 26), who lovingly relates to an aristocrat, Count of Vimioso. This relationship, dating from mid-19th century, symbolizes the encounter between contrasting classes and performance spaces—the tavern and the palace, and the "articulation between the two camps that oppose the social pyramid, aristocracy and people, and draws two trajectories that fill to this day the history of social and cultural practices of fado, and the means in which it is produced" (Brito, 1999). In other words, this tension between the representations of the authentic to outsiders, inspired by the idea of a romantic relationship immersed in the night of the poor, decadent, dark, and shady neighborhood fosters the narrative placing fado as a performative form of inter-class (and intercultural) communication.

Fado has always been an object of tourist consumption, cumulatively by aristocrats and bourgeois of the same city, tourists on the road, all of them outsiders to the neighborhood. Indeed, it plays a significant role as a tourist attraction, as this kind of popular music is a powerful symbol of local cultural identity. Gray (2011, pp. 144–145) calls this subgenre, "place-name-fado…whose lyrics celebrate aspects of the city of Lisbon and its neighborhoods," meaning that "Lisbon exists almost symbiotically with the musical genre of fado; endless fados celebrate the city, literally singing it into affective sonorous being" (Gray, 2011, p. 142). Indeed, the history of Lisbon (after the 19th century) could be written alongside fado's history, as fado is embedded in Lisbon's cultural *patine* (Suttles, 1984).

In Alfama, the informal practice of fado, sometimes clandestine, has never died, namely within local associations or in the most iconic taverns (Gray, 2011, p. 149), places between the public and the private (Foroughanfar, 2020). Similar to the alleys in the sense that they function as in-between spaces, they simultaneously promote the merging and separation between private and public spaces and spheres of life in the neighborhood. Furthermore, just like the fest in June they also enlarge the neighborhood's borders towards the city by particularly opening it to the outside and contributing to its "visitability" (Costa, 1999). In the following description, we portray such practices in the present:

> I walked down to Adicense to join the sports club/local association's 103rd anniversary commemorative lunch. At 1 pm, the long tables were prepared and the members together with family and friends had just begun to sit. The atmosphere was familiar; cooks, photographers, fado singers, athletes and partners communicated enthusiastically before the president kicked off the event. Representatives of other local associations who had competed in tournaments were also present. At my table, the conversation revolved around the nostalgia of childhoods lived in the neighborhood: the fado *castiço*, the gatherings, the *matinés* at Adicense, and the Carnival. In the meantime, the fish pasta was served with steak on the bread (*bifana*) as an alternative. Trophies were handed over to the athletes; there were surprises and tributes to several characters of the club, which elevated the session to a very emotional level. Some were led to tears when reliving childhood moments and the importance of the club in their personal and professional trajectories. Then fado began in an appropriately emotional atmosphere. First, the musicians holding the Portuguese guitar and guitar take their places to play along with performances of several singers (*fadistas*). After the first songs, there was a break to sing, for the third time, congratulations to Adicense, without forgetting any of the other birthdays at the event. Then came the rice pudding and birthday cake. Two more *fadistas* followed. One of them thanked the club for the tribute paid to him in honor of his 45-year career in Fado; in gratitude, he made himself available to sing, pro bono, on any occasion at the club. After the last performance of the afternoon, the president announced that the board had decided to cover the lunch for everyone, generating a general emotion. Many stood up to make donations. (Fontes, 2020, p. 204)

Nowadays, fado's popularity, deeply emplaced in the city soundscape (Gray, 2011), was amplified by its international validation through the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (2011). It is mostly performed in tourism-oriented places, done professionally and sometimes animated with the help of folkloric dances. *Casas de fado* as well as restaurants are examples of the latter, whereas taverns (*tascas*) still host amateur fado: "One feels how to sing, based on a personal experience of locality, as felt in relation to neighborhood, to the city of Lisbon and to a sense of Portugal's place within the rest of the world." (Gray, 2011, p. 142). The Museum of Fado, installed in one of the main squares of the neighborhood, represents the ultimate border with the outside since local inhabitants recognize this facility as merely tourism-oriented (Benis, 2011).

6. Urban Heritage: Old and Reinvented Practices

In order to situate these socio-spatial practices in terms of what they represent to the neighborhood and city's identity—urban heritage—our analysis focuses on three structuring aspects of urban life in Alfama.

Firstly, the crucial importance that the small scales of the street (Fontes, 2020) held in structuring everyday life, particularly by managing a constant tension between public and private spaces, which impacts the ways residents, as insiders, interact with visitors—outsiders (Vidal, 2014)—in a continuous reinvention of meanings for accessibility, proximity, and soft culture (Gray, 2018). This is a defining aspect when it comes to introducing Lisbon, as a historical city based on the authenticity features of its traditional and picturesque neighborhoods also characterized by a sense of commonality among neighbors and acquaintances involved in interpersonal networks, which define communities (Lofland, 1998). The fado and Santos Populares fest are perhaps the most prominent examples of heritage value, however, the core components of a heritage landscape entail the small-scale streets and homes pushing domestic life towards publicly accessible spaces and resultant practices of space. Authenticity, a defining element of heritage, consequently, derives from the link between performative practices and territorial context.

Secondly, the territorialization of sociocultural, performative practices bound to these alleys. It is manifested either in a perceivable continuity with the past while adapting to new times (fado, Santos Populares fest), or reinvented to create "new traditions" while re-appropriation existing practices and levering new opportunities brought up by tourism (the ladies selling *ginja*).

Thirdly, the visitor's role in the reproduction of practices experienced in the interplay between the inside and outside. This "elastic frontier" (Fontes, 2020, p. 109), acts simultaneously in two dimensions, i.e., it enables the socio-spatial conditions to an exacerbation of proximity towards an extreme level, while filtering access to the neighborhood's core, enclosing the most private mechanisms of social life, namely those related to domestic life. The frontiers between public and private space unfold into several dimensions of urban life—commercial/economic, spatial/social, and symbolic—to create in-between spaces at various scales (Fontes, 2020). Contrary to the idea of a community-neighborhood closed in on itself, we perceive that in-between spaces leverage the connections to the outside and become a condition for the survival of certain local practices. Besides, they have been shaping this territory while managing the featured narrow space and setting limits on privacy and social interactions. These processes occur as well in other historical neighborhoods (Cordeiro, 1997). These neighborhoods of Lisbon are symbolically constructed as visible, visitable (Costa, 1999) long-lasting tourist objects featuring the neighborhood's name and a homogeneous identity, not completely real, not completely false but intentionally projected to the outside.

Mechanisms of resilience are the adaptation process local socio-spatial practices undergo to respond to change, in order to defend privacy and in a context where the street is understood as an extension of private space. They establish borderlines and emphasize the tourist's role as a visitor—Tourists and local inhabitants are not living together but rather side by side. They can also signify profiting from tourism, leveraging tourism to acquire an additional source of income or a connection to the neighborhood when the home has been settled elsewhere, namely using the local associations as in-between spaces.

Our reflections on how socio-spatial practices shape urban heritage mirroring the community's resilience to urban change point out (a) the imbrication between tangible and intangible urban dimensions of heritage, towards an integrated vision, which comprises built environment and culture, urban fabric features, sociocultural and representational practices, and how they contribute to the definition of "picturesque" and "traditional" referred to as "popular" in the case of Lisbon's historical neighborhood; and (b) the interplay between inside and outside the neighborhood, which is tackled from two perspectives linked to the relationship between local residents and visitors. The *alfamista* becomes a particular style of urban sociability (Costa, 1999), although originally it is a rural immigrant who has adapted to and/or reinvented a certain framework of local interaction. The local associations, fado, and the Santos Populares fest function as socio-spatial platforms by linking the neighborhood to and with the outside becoming in-between spaces.

The socio-spatial practices can be divided into those that happen within the neighborhood, enabled by small scales of the street network (Fontes, 2020) and those that connect the neighborhood to the outside, strengthening the inhabitants' voice to claim certain control over externally induced urban change. In the first

category, we find mechanisms that mediate the transition between home and street and establish a borderline of what is acceptable in terms of pushing one's home privacy; the second includes mechanisms that strengthen the community by connecting it and simultaneously distancing it from the rest of the city.

We argue that these practices were and are, per se, part of the neighborhood's heritage landscape because they are generating meanings that are specific to this place. Meanings are imprinted on tangible features of the urban fabric and evoke intangible practices, expressing local values performed and established through everyday life. Therefore, Alfama's socio-spatial practices contribute to its "uniqueness," in many ways a synonym of authenticity.

7. Conclusions

Alfama was described in the 1990s as a "popular" neighborhood (Costa, 1999). In this context, the adjective "popular" emphasizes how features of a community add meanings to territories. The term "popular" stands for the unquestionable and ambivalent bond between inhabitants and the inhabited space. The sense of belonging the community manifests is strong enough to entangle the neighborhood's descriptions with the values it imprints on it. This is particularly relevant to express the meaning of heritage as material representations of the territory appear described through their relation to intangible practices and are also amplified due to a mutual contextualization of meanings. Indeed, the fear of voiding contextual meanings by disregarding the link between community and space is a background story for researchers and heritage practitioners, who expect and anticipate or just believe they witness an irremediable process of change.

In this article, we examine urban change triggered by tourism while focusing on the adaptation of local socio-spatial practices towards describing community-led resilience mechanisms, as artefacts of urban heritage. The case of the ladies selling *ginja* is paradigmatic. Even if it is relatively recent, it comprehends traits of local identity, by deriving from the appropriation of enabled in-between spaces. Moreover, this case is an example of how change is a condition in urban environments and responses often entail the reinvention of socio-spatial practices. Indeed, while the mechanisms of resilience mirror in a straightforward manner the uniqueness of Alfama, the triggers of change are mostly external and affect the whole city. Regardless of focusing on the macro or on the microscale, we might find that the origin is a common one; however, this does not imply that local meanings and impacts of the phenomenon are completely predictable or redundant.

This expression of locality linked to the entanglement between the urban fabric and social interactions acts as a generator of heritage because it embroils local socio-spatial practices that translate into local cultural identities. Thus, (fostering) their projection into the future is, per se, safeguarding urban heritage and might mean accepting the assimilation of old and reinvented practices in a continuous process of heritage creation.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

A Bourdieusian Framework for Understanding Public Space Heritage Transformations: Riga's Castle Square

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Abstract
The article investigates how Bourdieu's theory of practice can be mobilized to analyse the micro landscape of decision-making in urban practice, framing it by means of the concept of habitus. The reconstruction of the Riga Castle Square in the UNESCO-protected area is used as a case study. Using the vocabulary of habitus-related concepts—*illusio*, *doxa*, and hysteresis—an attempt is made to trace the interrelations between the motivations and actions of professionals involved in the project and their influence on the outcomes. This article assumes that the symbolic significance of a place causes symbolic space, understood as a grid of cognitive structures guiding agents in their choices, to become salient. When representative public spaces are transformed, the symbolic space imposes on social and physical spaces through the symbolic forms of power used by specialists. In conclusion, the article offers an interpretation of heritage as a manifestation of habitus: Public space thus exemplifies a social interface, expressing interplay between traditional and emerging values. The findings reinforce the relevance of the theory of practice for researching non-physical phenomena of urban practice. The concept of habitus supports the conceptualization of urban planning practice as assemblages of diverse interdependent interactional settings where fraternities of practice communities communicate around values. This communication defines motivations and determines decisions, shaping physical space. The theory of practice helps decompose the micro-level of socio-psychological dynamics underlying stakeholders' decision-making and to relate it to macro phenomena, such as power distribution or participation.

Keywords
Bourdieu; habitus; heritage; public space; Riga Castle Square; urban project

Issue
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1. Introduction

Entering Riga Old Town from the left bank of the river Daugava via the Vansu Bridge, at the right side appears Riga's Castle—a landmark of Old Riga, a 15th-century building hosting the Office of the President of the Republic of Latvia and the National History Museum. It expresses the symbolic agency of the state, the authority, alien to the natives in the past but celebrating national identity since the beginning of the 20th century, especially after Latvia regained independence in 1991. There are three open spaces associated with the Riga Castle: the riverbank occupied by the city ring road in the west, the semi-public Castle Garden in the north, and the public space of the Castle Square in the southeast. Hidden behind old walls, the garden is visually accessible for everybody from the bridge on the edge of the castle wall, but the square in the summer is sheltered from the bridge by the crowns of more than 100-year-old trees. These trees occupy a small, symbolically unique place—Riga's first public pocket park within the city walls, laid out in 1817, simultaneously with the erection of the Victory Column in the central part of the square.

The Castle Square has neither many visitors nor residents. It is located off-road from the vibrant life of Riga's Old Town, on its northern periphery (Figure 1).

Cut off from the river and the neighbourhood of the Riga Harbour Passenger Terminal by heavily loaded traffic arteries, it quietly lives its symbolic and social life without ups or downs. Populated by the state's administrative, cultural, financial, and religious institutions, lacking its own community, the Castle Square offers a couple of cafés, one bench, a wide lawn with a long flowerbed, and more than 50 old trees (Figure 2).

The sharp contrast between the symbolic significance and the physical deprivation of the place was the reason the third president of Latvia, Valdis Zatlers, initiated the reconstruction of the square in May 2008. The high initiative received full support from Riga's municipal administration as well as from the professional society and resulted in the launch of a contest in early 2009. The design process started in October 2009 and was meant to be finalised at the end of that year. The expected planning period was seriously underestimated. The design process took 10 years, and the project was finished in 2018, but its implementation was finally discarded from Riga's priorities, prolonging the symbolic, social, and physical decline of the Castle Square.

Why was this initiative frustrated even though it had both necessary and sufficient preconditions for its successful and swift implementation, was supported by all stakeholders, and was in a place which does not face either social struggle or natural disasters? Did it happen due to a resistance of deprived citizens, a routinized bureaucracy, a politically orchestrated sabotage, a competition of priorities, or a lack of theoretical knowledge by the involved practitioners? Concepts prevailing in urban planning discourse often offer explanations which polarise the physical and the social, the powerful and the powerless, theory and practice, and the rational and the collaborative.

The article shares the view that urban practitioners in their daily routine continuously converge social and physical spaces, making decisions and taking actions guided by the logic of practice. Following a topological mode of reasoning (Wacquant, 2018a), it attempts to decompose the process of this convergence by building an analysis of the case on Bourdieu's theory of practice (ToP). The analysis of the case features the community of the involved practitioners as the main players since their ways of thinking, forming influential symbolic space, defined the outcome. The article argues that symbolic space understood as a grid of cognitive classifications that builds motivations and guides actions is often imposed over social and physical space. In the case of the Castle Square, it formed the socio-psychological background of the decisions which led to results nobody wanted or was happy about.

2. Methodology

From the classical conceptual "toolkit" of Bourdieu—the field, the capital, and the habitus—the latter is used as more methodologically suitable to highlight motives behind decision-making and their relation to actions the agents take while designing public spaces. The Castle Square, a symbolically and socially saturated public space in the historical centre, has been chosen as a case because of its aptness for analysing these relations from a historical perspective. The symbolic load of this place and the exemplary set of the stakeholders involved, from high-ranking politicians and key urban, cultural,

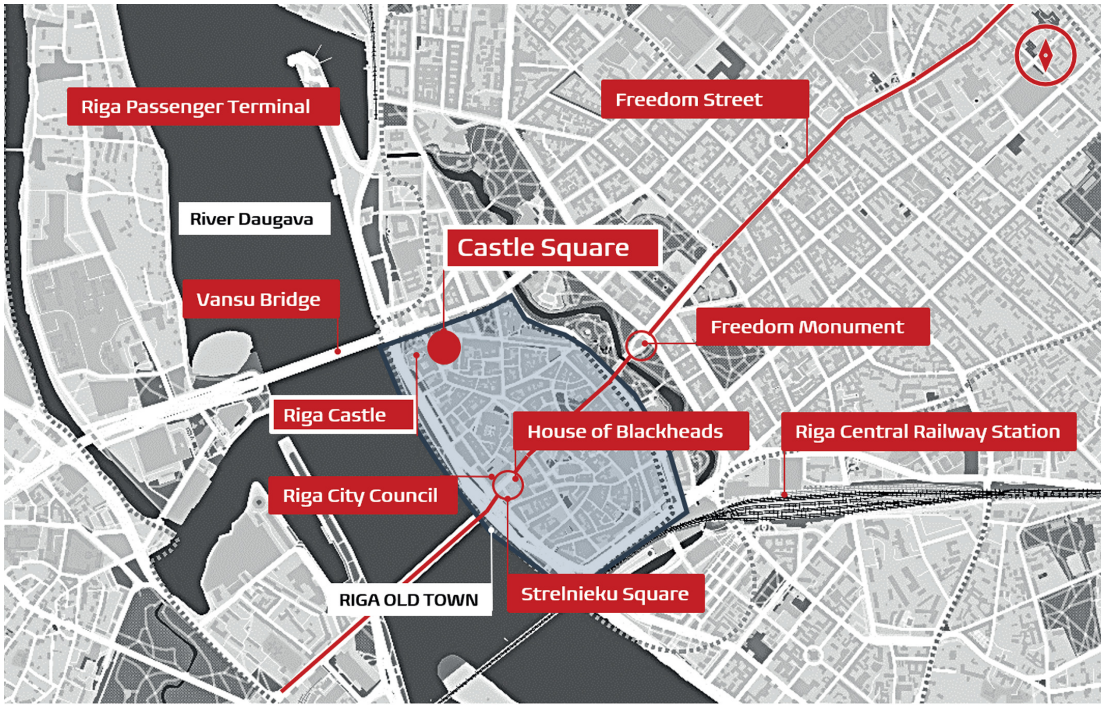

Figure 1. Situation of the Castle Square in Riga Old Town.

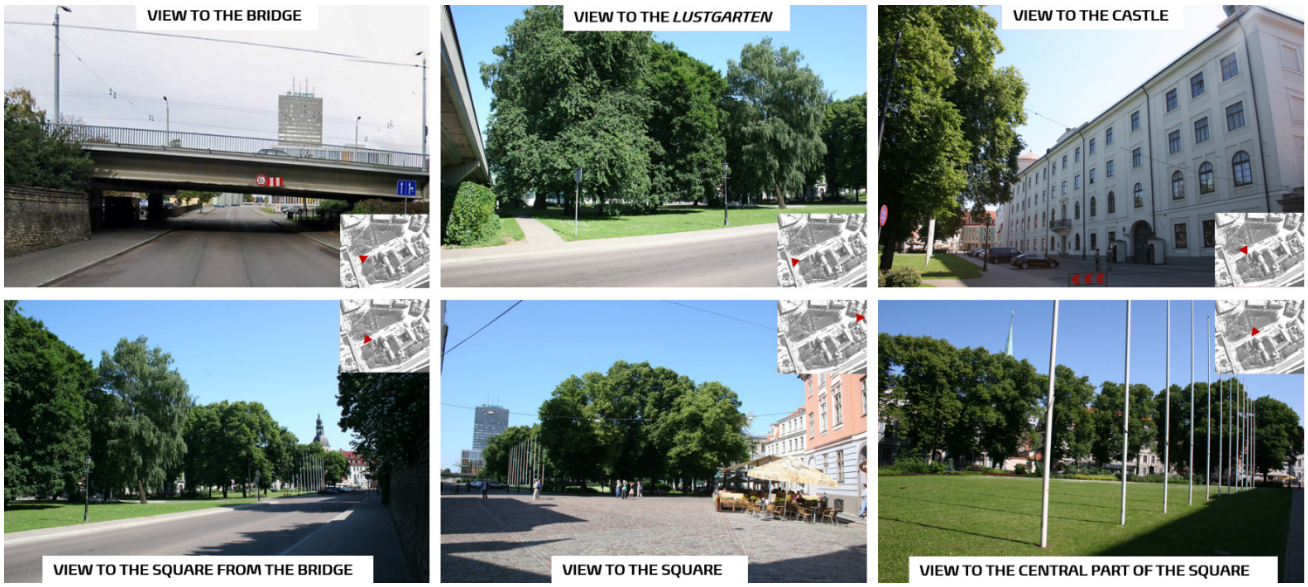

Figure 2. Main viewpoints to the Castle Square.

and religious institutions to professional urbanists, provides a comprehensive context for an analytical thread. It enables researchers to take the practicality of the ordinary ritual of designing and use it to examine generalised assumptions, such as communicative planning, the theory vs. practice juxtaposition, concerns about "choreographed" citizen engagement or the potential ideologising of planners.

The analysis in a condensed mode uses the data gathered by following a 10-year-long design process in which the author participated both as a designer and as a researcher. This provided advantageous access to the full range of information, observing the communicative dynamics from the inside, participating in the elaboration of spatial analysis and design solutions, analysing plans and normative framework set out during these 10 years, making observations and taking notes, as well as executing in-depth and semi-structured interviews with the involved stakeholders, which included high-ranking politicians, individually and in groups, in public and private interviewing settings. The time span provided an opportunity to conduct several retrospective semi-structured interviews, which helped to verify the assumptions made about the socio-psychological aspects during the process. These two conditions—extensive time and the insider position—helped to create a rich informative basis for conducting a thick description.

The thick description (Geertz, 2008) is effected by historization which is aligned in three axes: the institutional axis of public space transformations in Riga during the decades following Latvia's independence in 1991, the axis of the socio-spatial milestones of the history of the Castle Square, and the axis of micro-dynamics of the everyday practice illustrated by the story of the contest and the project elaboration.

The contribution of the article is that generalization from interactional settings of the small-scale public space project justifies its analytical usefulness in researching non-physical tacit, thus methodologically difficult to-access phenomena. The application of Bourdieu's concept of habitus enables accessing the micro-level of socio-psychological dynamics underlying stakeholders' decision-making. This requires observable scale, time, and a number of participants as well as the exemplarity and diversity of the situations, which this case provides.

The article is structured as follows: Section 3 gives a short overview of the recent literature in the discourse, which applies Bourdieu's conceptual frame. Section 4 looks at the relevance of the concept of habitus for analysing urban projects and explains key notions used in the case. Section 5 provides a brief outline of the planning and design context in Riga in the last three decades, with a particular focus on public space. Sections 6 and 7 deal with the research case—the construction project of the Castle Square. One explains spatiotemporal characteristics that played a crucial role in elaborating and communicating design solutions, whereas the other reflects socio-psychological dynamics of the process, analysed through the concepts of habitus. Section 8 offers discussions on the relevance of Bourdieu's framework for researching non-physical phenomena of urban practice.

3. Dichotomised Discussions in Urban Planning and Bourdieu's Relationality

The inconsistencies in the urban practice process are often discussed with dichotomic aspiration—on theory and practice (for discussion, see Forester, 2020), on communicative and instrumental rationalities (see Innes & Booher, 2015), and on consensus and conflict (see Legacy et al., 2019).

The "pro-theoretical" view recognizes that knowledge on the social nature of planning is filtered down

"through an unmediated process of 'enlightenment'" in education and reflective practice (Alexander, 2003, p. 182) to the practitioners perceiving their practice between expertise and technology. The confronting statement is that planners' actions "must be crafted in place" because they face new situations without preconceived principles and a prescribed code of conduct (Sanyal, 2002, p. 119). This thread of arguments can be traced in the recent contributions to the issue of ideology dynamics in planning, where planners' self-assessment as dealing with practical situations is mistrusted while the "planner in her everyday work inevitably becomes ideologically implicated and an entangled player in broader struggles for political hegemony" (Metzger et al., 2021, p. 318).

Debates on rationality highlighted opposed approaches in planning—one of the "rational" planning model (RPM) with its affiliation with scientific decision model, predictability, and predominance of spatial characteristics (see Faludi, 2013; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000) and advocacy, radical, and especially collaborative planning theory, which argue for recognition of planning activity as being embedded in day-to-day social relations and the usefulness of collaborative approach (Albrechts, 2015; Davidoff, 1965; Friedmann, 2011; Healey, 2020; Innes, 1995; Sandercock, 1998). The heavily polarized theoretical debate between RPM and collaborative planning theory followers "has been at the expense of alternative sociocultural theoretical approaches that are worthy of serious consideration" (Howe & Langdon, 2002, p. 210).

There is a consensus among scholars about the ability of Bourdieu's framework to overcome juxtapositions (Fogle, 2011; Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018; Shin, 2013) and:

> To range along levels of abstraction and to travel smoothly across analytic scales to link large structures of power (a country, state or metropolis) and the meso level of institutions (such as fields of cultural production, science, journalism and politics) to the minutiae of everyday interaction and the phenomenological texture of subjectivity encapsulated by the term of practice. (Wacquant, 2018a, p. 92)

Although there is a considerable number of applications of Bourdieu's ToP in urban studies (Arnholtz, 2018; Shin, 2013), the scholarly contributions from the field of urban planning and design are of a rather episodical character (Howe & Langdon, 2002; Shin, 2013, 2016). Noticeable attempt to gather urban scholars under a "Bourdieusian flag" has been undertaken in the book *Habitus: A Sense of Place* with contributions from Friedman, Sandercock, Healey, Hillier, and others (see Hillier & Rooksby, 2005). Other contributions include Fogle (2011), Flyvbjerg (2001), Howe and Langdon (2002), Marom (2014), and Webster (2011). They test Bourdieu's relational sociology and ToP for building a generic theoretical framework of urban politics and political communication. In contrast to methodological salience concerning the Bourdieusian framework, the significant contributions to urban studies, particularly to urban planning, policy, governance, and design, come from related fields of sociology, philosophy, management, and institutional studies. A notable example is an analytical impulse stemming from Savage (2011), Wacquant (2018a, 2018b), and Wacquant and Akçaoğlu (2017) assessing the prospects and pitfalls of Bourdieu's work in urban analysis. The social relations and cultural practices in neighbourhoods are viewed through Bourdieu's model of social space and symbolic power (Pereira, 2018). The "big-city effects" highlight the crystallisation and accumulation of "cosmopolitan cultural capital" instead of national forms of cultural authority (Savage et al., 2018). Unemployment and job precarity is assessed as a spatial question of housing design and civic access within a metropolitan hierarchy (Tissot, 2018). Finally, contributions of Bourdieu to the study of the home are used to analyse the affordability of the housing for the urban poor (Desmond, 2018).

Bourdieusian literature inspires to extend analytical attention beyond the "large-scale" issue of housing, poverty, and "big-city" effects to locality of urban greenspaces, personal attachment, and civic engagement (Krarup, 2022). Planners' practice as a subject of investigation shows how the professional structure of urban planners affects the field of urban planning in accordance with social change over time (Edman, 2001). This article, analysing planners' practice "on the ground," contributes to yet undiscussed aspects of socio-psychological patterns behind decision-making.

4. The Concept of Habitus in Analysis of Urban Project

Habitus, defined as acquired, durable, and transposable dispositions to act, think, and feel in definite ways (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 2018a) is methodologically equipped to approach the heterogeneous nature of an urban project. The latter composes a tight mesh of interacting values, identities, cognitive constructions, and actions taken "in the wild" and can be conceptualised as situations of complex knowledge (rational, social, sensual) production and human energy, cooperative as well as confronting (Pluym & Schreurs, 2012). As a collectively accepted system of rules, an urban project creates institutional facts containing an assignment of functional status, as well as clearly defined collective intentions. As with any institution, the urban project depends on financial order. It both produces and is influenced by requirements and regulations. However, there are several aspects that differentiate an urban project from a formal institution, such as a department or commission. The most crucial are *time*, *identity*, and *attitude*. Urban projects are limited in time, have defined stages, and are oriented towards practical goals. As an instrument for the realisation of a spatial intervention, it invites diverse types of knowledge and value systems, which must be negotiated in a relatively short period within uncertain

settings. Actors involved in an urban project, unlike those in traditional institutions, experience the successful end of the project as a desirable outcome. Therefore, urban projects can be perceived as temporary semi-formal institutions. An urban project involves individuals from different social and professional groups. This diversity highlights social identities and attitudes as a settled way of thinking and feeling, which serve as motivational factors. The settings of an urban project require swift decoding of written and unwritten rules, facilitate often subconscious and automated models of perception and action, and demand improvising in uncertain and new situations. An urban project thus exposes for observation the components and attributes of different *habiti* and their interaction. Below are listed a few characteristics which align the heterogenous nature of urban projects with the concept of the habitus.

Being a set of cognitive and motivational structures and dispositions, habitus is constituted in practice and always oriented towards practical functions (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). It is unconsciously targeted, collectively governed, and has a set of unspoken and unwritten rules and regulations. Practices produced by habitus do not react to stimuli automatically; they should be recognized by the agents. The very act of recognition (and acceptance) is neither "officially" required nor supported by habitus: An agent or group of agents have to "decode" the set of unspoken and unwritten rules mostly against the system of habitus. The act of decoding, being a stage in a process of communication, presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a code (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 2).

The "codes" are created by "masters"—specialists in the fields of cultural production. Since urban projects are symbioses of different fields (art, science, technology, politics, bureaucracy, law, and often journalism), codes or symbolic forms created by the specialists form a heterogeneous symbolic space, which is understood as a grid of mental classifications guiding agents in their decisions and actions (Bourdieu, 1989; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017).

In the relatively homogeneous social space with an uneven representation of social groups, the domination leads to the formation of *doxa*—a symbolic form of power inherent to established formal institutions and those informal or semi-formal institutions that are able to appropriate differential values. Bourdieu defines it as "a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 16). This set of beliefs or opinions is an attribute of the traditional, when "what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying," "taken for granted," and when the traditional is silent, "not least about itself as a tradition" (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 166–167), *doxa* ensures the stability of any field, where social structures produce and reproduce themselves in practices and cognitions of agents, thus in their habitus. In this way, it is a halyard between habitus and field, mutually reinforcing and strengthening the prevailing power of the *doxa*. *Doxa* is more specifically used in traditional social organisations where social and mental structures, objective social order, and subjective rationalities are in perfect correspondence. In this way, *doxa* is at the root and at the heart of unanimous responses (Deer, 2014, p. 116). *Doxa* justifies the practical sense, which is possible only when the agent collides with a familiar social field. It must resemble the field in which his socialization and formation of the structures of his habitus took place.

Doxa is also in charge of *hysteresis*—a lag between habitus and field, when the agent still reproduces the old social relations sometime after these social relations have changed or the agent has taken a different position in them. As an example, Bourdieu shows Don Quixote who fights the windmills as the enemies in his illusional world (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 16).

Illusio is another notion Bourdieu uses to name the belief that some social activities are very important and worth doing. It is a value we assign to the thing or action, always illusional. There are as many values as there are social fields: each field in a social space offers agents a specific goal. The interactions of motivations, perceptions, and actions happen around values. *Illusio* and *doxa* thus are the forces that continuously regenerate symbolic space. Figure 3 intuitively visualizes the components and attributes of habitus in relation to *doxa* and field.

5. Planning of Public Space in Riga After 1991 and Formation of Symbolic Space

The collapse of the centralized planning system after the fall of the Soviet Union changed the established institutional order and instruments of spatial transformation. The restoration of a socially and symbolically alien institute of private ownership manifested itself in the "real estate war," a maximally sharpened struggle for the appropriation of social and symbolical goods through physical space. The institutional system, based on the principles of an RPM and centralized organisation, was deconstructed in Riga during the first years of independence. The new modes of decentralized governance were compliant with the restored democratic municipal organisation (Liepa-Zemeša & Hess, 2016).

Established in 1994, the Riga Development Department aimed to cope with the new challenges presented by a free market economy and a democratic system of government. Nevertheless, it retained the inner structure of its functional predecessor—the Riga Chief Architect Board, founded in 1944, and the legacy of the first independent state as observed practice in post-socialist cities (Tsenkova & Nedovic-Budic, 2006). The institutional traditions can also be traced back to the end of the 19th century when the modern structure of Riga City Municipality was introduced along with the reforms realized in the Russian Empire. The then-established Construction Commission had

Figure 3. The components and attributes of habitus and field.

comprehensive tasks of supervising the planning of both public and private construction, installation, and maintenance of engineer communications, as well as public spaces and greenery (Bennett, 2019). Riga historically had a strong tradition of planning, building, and maintaining public spaces and green infrastructure. As an institutional reaction to the fire of 1812 which had devastated the Riga neighbourhood, the Committee for Suburban Greenery was established. The plan for the rebuilding of neighbourhoods elaborated by it became the cornerstone for the centre of Riga's spatial layout with its extraordinary interplay of green, blue, and built structure for centuries to come. It is remarkable that the institution founded at that time, alongside the Commission for Suburban Greenery Construction, endured socio-economical disasters and structural changes throughout nearly three centuries, maintaining its profile and important role until nowadays. Since the beginning of the 18th century, when Riga entered a politically and economically less turbulent period, its public and green spaces became a matter of special political and professional attention, and with time the city has maintained the reputation of an innovator in the art of gardening. This tradition remained well maintained during the Soviet period.

The time of deep socio-economic and political restructuring at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries can be viewed as a demarcation line when architecture and planning of public space started to draw different professional attention, shifting it towards the policy and quality aspects of architecture, but undermining the public space issues. To enhance the realm of planning and following the enthusiasm for national rebirth, professionals of Latvian origin who had practiced their profession abroad returned to Latvia, introducing contemporary knowledge and professional habits of Western planning and architectural practices (Liepa-Zemeša & Hess, 2016). The elaboration of the first territorial plan of Riga—Plan 1995—was guided by Andris Roze (Canada), engaging a mixed team of young professionals and specialists with Soviet-time experience. The Plan 1995 was designed according to the principles of collaborative planning theory, involving different stakeholders, ranging from the experts to the general public and had an ambition to elaborate a strategic spatial plan. Unfortunately, it was undermined by the realities of legal restrictions of land-use planning legislation (Geldof et al., 2008) and was later criticised for its too-general character, legal incapability, and illusive attitude to the property aspects (Akmentiņa, 2020).

A less significant engagement with the city public space, in general, and with the Riga Historical Centre (RHC), in particular, can be partly assigned to the phenomenon of hysteresis. In this context, hysteresis refers to situations where planning specialists who are used to working under the conditions of the centralized planning system, reproduce social relations of RPM habitus, incongruent with an emerging reality of reconstructed institution of private property and absence of defined building principles and clear goals which emerged after the real estate wars. The sharp contrast in values of these specialists with the values of emerging financial, political, and business elites drew multiple red lines and caused disruptions in the planning process. The hysteresis is mirrored in the underdeveloped normative body of laws and regulations both on the national and municipal levels concerning public spaces. Within and before the elaboration of the Riga Territorial Plan 2006–2018, several events on public space took place. Among them are a draft of RIGA Greenery in 2006, the workshop "Public Space—Challenges and Opportunities," and research on the natural foundation in the RHC. These events formulate challenges concerning the public spaces policy of that time, which can be summarized as a lack of systematic approach to green infrastructure and public spaces.

In the absence of stable procurements and procedures, competitions of various types became a popular if not a main instrument for mediating spatial and aesthetic quality, economic feasibility, legislative aspects, and social responsibility among stakeholders involved and wider professional and civic society (Leitāne-Šmīdberga, 2014, 2016; Mikelsone, 2016).

The profile of the competition shows the misbalanced relationship between architecture and public space as discussed above. After 1991, the competitions organised on the national level were five to 10 per year. The number of competitions reached its peak during the economic boom in the middle of the second decade, when there were more than 70, with private companies constituting most organisers (Leitāne-Šmīdberga, 2014, p. 11). From 590 contests organised in Latvia between 1991 and 2018, more than 350 pertained to Riga, distributed as around 90 out of RHC and around 250 in RHC and protection zone. The opposite situation, concerning both quantity and the customer, can be observed in the realm of public spaces. Organized between 2005 and 2015, only nine of 250 competitions were devoted to RHC public space. Most of the contests were initiated by the municipality and have not resulted in construction works (Figure 4).

6. The Spatiotemporal Structure of the Castle Square as a Bearer of Symbolic Space

The contest for the Castle Square in 2009 was only the second one organised for this place in more than 100 years. The first one was organized in 1902 with the winning proposal by the famous landscape architect Georg Kuphaldt (Dāvidsone, 1988). Realized in 1904, it preserved the pre-existing composition of Dutch baroque, though introducing some adjustments (Figure 5). The medieval building fabric of European city centres resisted the openness and *la grande maniere* of the classic garden, maintaining the characteristics of late baroque such as the intimacy of the garden, division into boxes, separation of the palace facade from the garden with tree plantings to hide the visitors of the garden from the eyes of others, and a combination of park-like and formal greenery (Likhachev, 1998, p. 116).

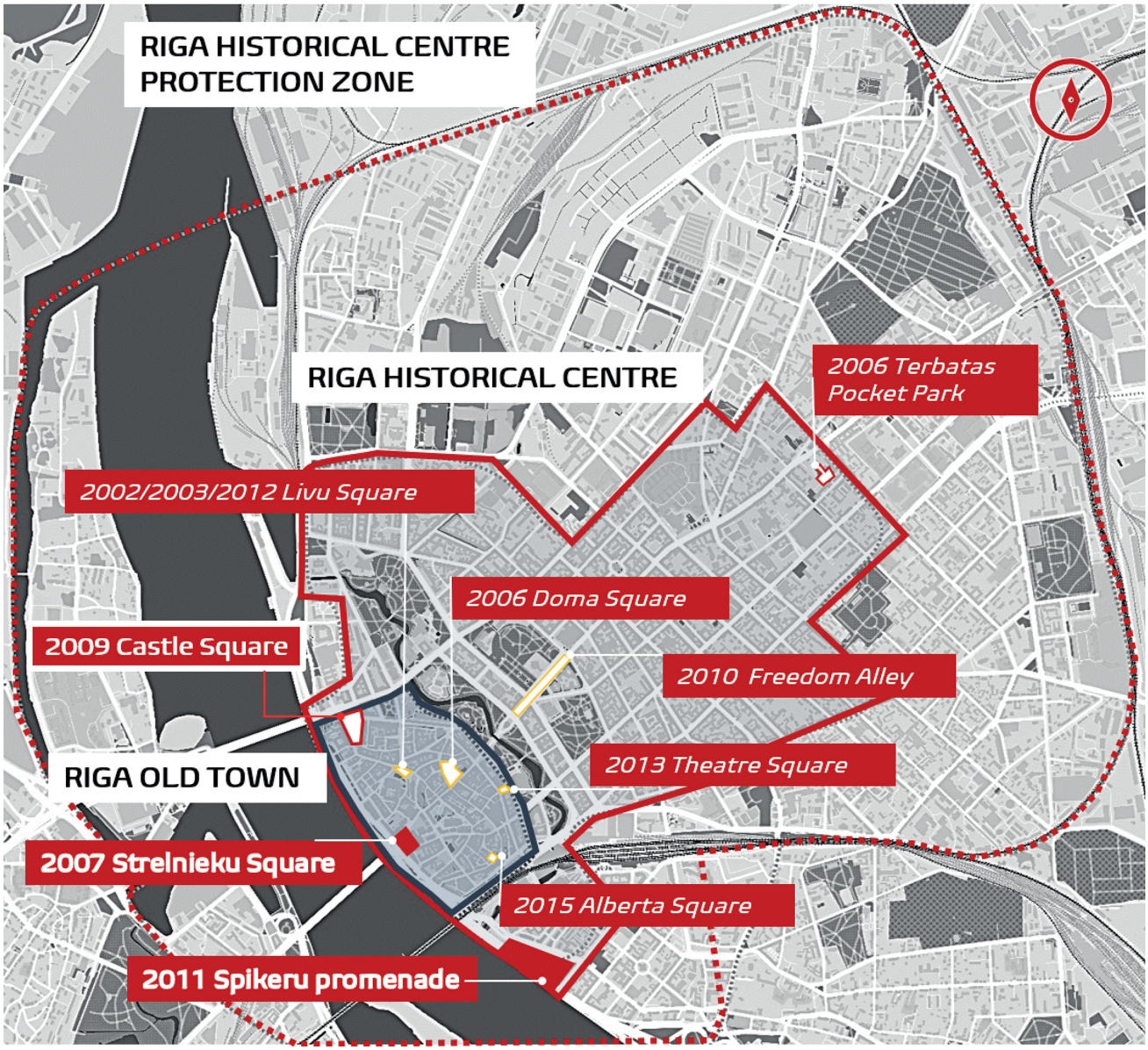

Figure 4. Competitions for public space in the RHC, organized between 1995 and 2015.

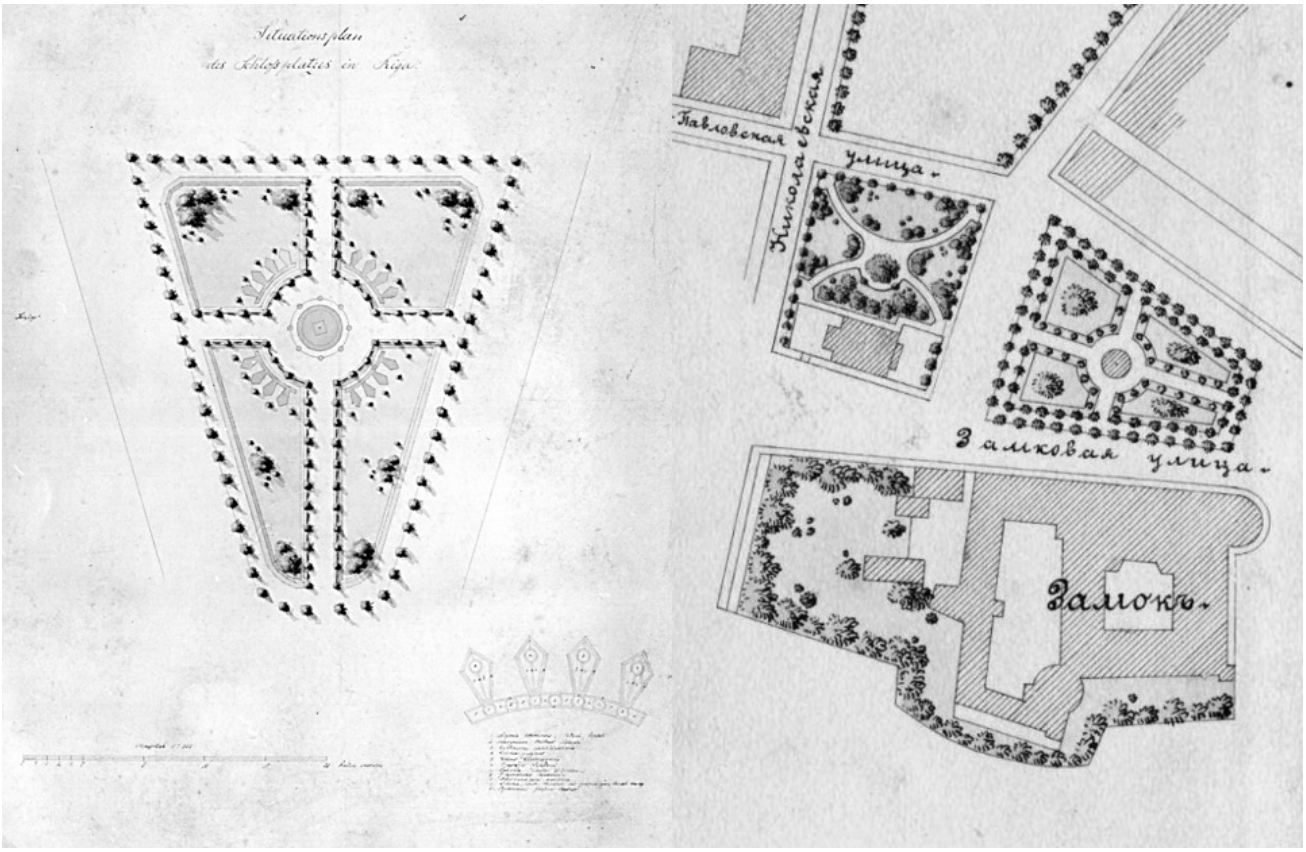

Figure 5. The central part of Castle Square laid out as a garden in the Dutch Baroque style: Plan of the Castle Square, signed by G. Kuphaldt, ca. 1881 (left) and 1902 (right).

Habitus is historically embedded. Its practical sense is formed by temporal structures, i.e., its rhythm, tempo, and especially direction, which are fundamental for practical feeling (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 81). The historical line of the Castle Square exposes two attributes: the rhythm and pace of its transformations and the manifestation of symbolic power in physical space. Defining the dominant authenticity of the physical structure of the place in front of the Riga Castle and aligning the design with a historical perspective is a challenge because the main temporal characteristic of the place is a continuous and rhythmic change of physical structure. Since the 13th century, the place has been restructured and reshaped in different modes around 16 times, having a deeper mode and slower pace between the end of the 13th and beginning of the 18th centuries (about three changes) and shallow mode and rapid pace since the beginning of the 18th century until the present day (around 13 changes).

The new history of the place, its "modern" period, is a set of frequent and rhythmical spatial interventions that concern rather the matter of "style" than possession of land, except one which was caused by the urbanisation and development of technologies (construction of a bridge). The rhythm of changes in the "new era" shows a basic step of about 30 years with higher frequency in the time of the first republic (four-to-five-year step) and Soviet period (ca. 10-year step), having a 23-year step till the Second World War and a 33-year step after the Singing Revolution until now (Figure 6).

According to Bourdieu, temporal structures are incarnated in "physical space as reified social space" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 162) by the guidance of omnipresent and omnipotent symbolic schemes. The physical space of the yearly period mirrored the constant struggle between the Rigans and the Livonian Order, where a rebellious, independence-seeking military habitus of the ruling class of traders, artisans, and craftsmen (the Brotherhood of Blackheads) in the booming city of the Hanseatic League constantly violated the religious authority of the military habitus of the Livonian Order.

The ditch and fortifications around the Livonian Castle, when the Order was pushed out of the city, was a remnant of this struggle and remained in the physical fabric more than 200 years after the Livonian Order ceased to exist in 1562. The Castle Square, having been integrated into the city fabric in 1783 after the ditch was filled up, remained at the geographic periphery of the city and at the periphery of the Rigans' perception and use, even though the Riga Castle became the residence of secular Polish, Swedish, Russian, and at last also Latvian powers.

The struggle of "two castles"—the Blackhead House and the Livonian Castle—is incorporated not only in the spatial memory and social life of two places in Old Riga but also inscribed in the perception of citizens

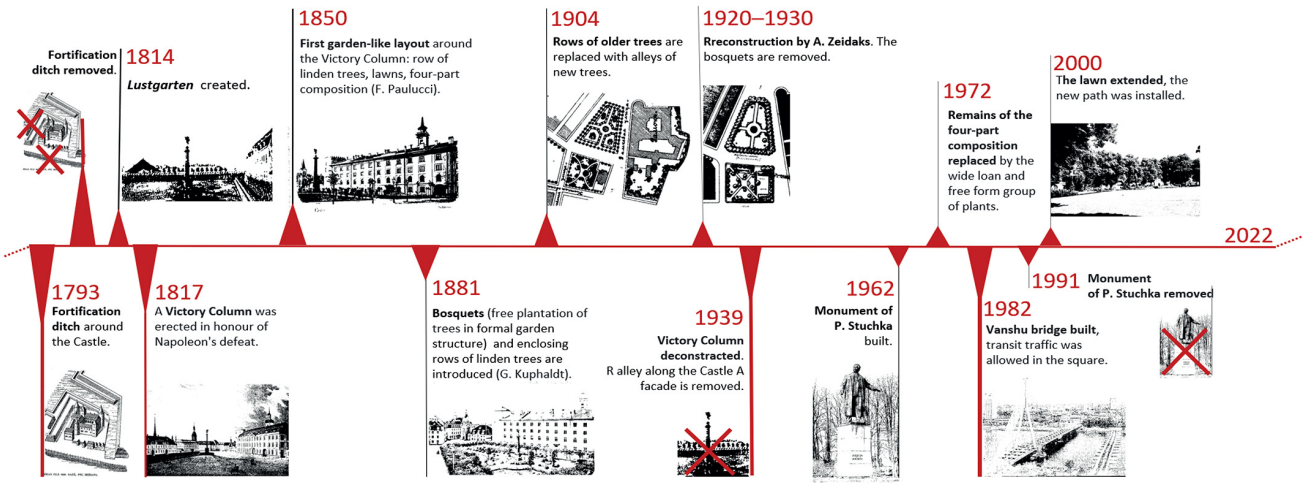

Figure 6. Chronological line showing the rhythm and pace of spatial changes. Source: Author's work based on Zudusī Latvija (n.d.).

and professionals dealing with city-making. The results of a survey conducted in 2002 show less interest of respondents in the Castle Square, pointing to six other places as potential priorities, all located in the centre of the Old Town (Bratuškins, 2006, p. 4). The workshop for the experts, organised within the URBACT II project "Sustainable Development of Urban Space" in June 2013, analysed the eight places of RHC with an aim to define the priority spaces. Although the Castle Square was scored high and named among spaces of higher priority, it was not chosen as a case for the next URBACT workshop. Instead, the work focused on Strelnieku Square, which was reconstructed in 2021 in the administrative centre of Riga, where, among others, the Blackhead House is located. It is worth mentioning that the Blackhead House, demolished in 1948, was built anew as one of the first within the rapid renewal of the administrative centre of Riga between 1996 and 1999, with funds provided by bankers and crowdfunding. The Riga Castle renovation works, however, started nearly 20 years after the regaining of independence and were partly finished in 2016.

The spatial oppositions (centre/periphery) of the two centres—the administrative centre of Riga and the administrative centre of the Latvian state—strengthen the differences in their socio-spatial profiles. The first is highly diverse, hosting the building of the Riga City Council, the Museum of Occupation, the House of the Blackheads as a centre of cultural events and a historical exhibition, residential buildings, and a large number of cafés, hotels, and restaurants. The second is populated by high-ranking state institutions, representing political, economic, traditional, artistic, religious, administrative and other fields, sustained by a habitus with a strong emphasis on "tradition" and "order" (Figure 7). The place, in the words of Loic Wacquant (2022), is a physical demonstration of the power of a state as a symbolic agency that sets out the broader parameters of physical, social, and symbolic space in the city while fostering or hindering the concentration and operation of rival symbolic agencies.

7. The Design Process of the Castle Square as a Manifestation of Habitus

The contest brief adopted the proposals from the planning documents and earlier research, translating them into requirements for design. As it was stated in the brief, these considered improving the planning and spatial structure of the Castle Square by developing a representative space for the presidential protocol, recovering the layout typical of the square of the Classicism era in the middle of the square; improving the connection between Old Riga and the Citadel; and distancing traffic from the perception of Castle Square physically, visually, and acoustically. The characteristics of the "classic" garden style were explained as a symmetrical trapezoidal square, delimiting the row of buildings built in front of the Palace, with a column in the middle, which corresponds with classical principles.

The brief stated that the square should regain the characteristic layout of the classicist square in the middle part of the square and the greenery should be reconstructed, preserving the valuable trees. Among all the requirements, "historicism" became a "stumbling block," bringing the practical issue of trees to the level of public scandal in 2010. The highly important question of traffic organization, controversially formulated in the brief, has not constituted a constraint and was one of the first to be solved within the elaboration of a technical project.

The six entries delivered different solutions, maximally covering the diversity of possible interpretations of three key components—traffic, "classical" style, and reconstruction of the existing green structure. Attempting to translate the statements of the brief into design solutions, each of the participants had to disobey

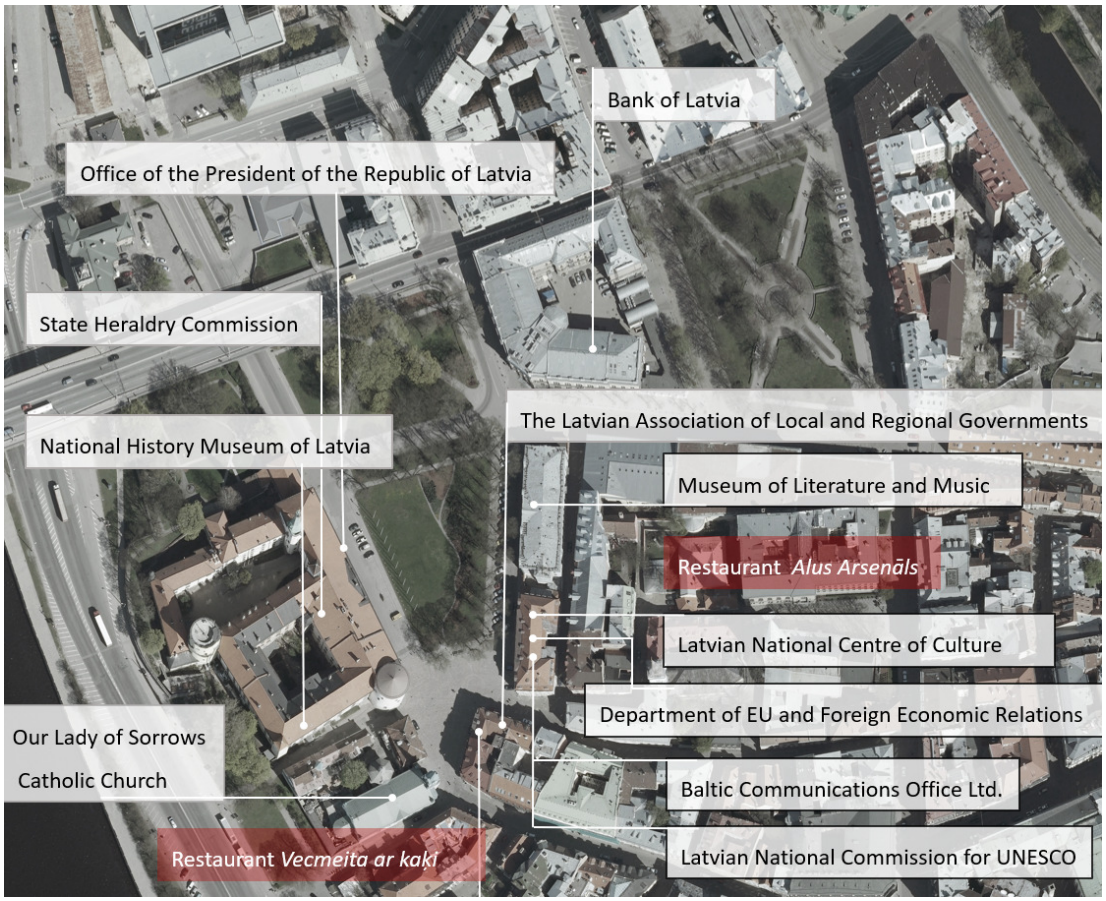

Figure 7. Institutional profile of the Castle Square, 2009–2022.

one or two requirements to a larger or lesser extent. Two obeyed the claim to restore "classical" style, improving the existing functionality, one by simple, clear, and functional composition, preserving all trees, another referencing existing eclectic style, but removing the historical alley of linden trees. Both proposals significantly changed the configurations of the Lustgarten paths network. Other two replicated the composition of a formal garden with or without plants, in this way translating the description of a "classic garden" provided in the brief. Two created open paved squares in the central part, drastically intervening with the historical structure of the trees. One enacted the modern rearticulation of historical plantings, deconstructing the formal character formed by the remains of historical alleys; another offered "traditional" reading, restoring the open character of the "classic" square, at its closest reconstructing the historical situation of the 18th century, when the square was formed by the surrounding architecture without later introduced plantings.

The green structure was approached differently as well. Four entries interpreted the contest brief to be to design a garden, one to design a modern square, and one a classic square. Four entries interpreted the aim of the contest to be to design a garden and two—a square—a "modern square" and a "classic square." Both "square" approaches, as well as that of "gardens" with replicas of existing landscape-like characters, removed the northern alley of linden trees, evaluated in the inventory as valuable. The "classic square" proposal, in opposition to the two others, consequently holding the "classic" line, preserved the row of the trees with formed crones, as it was planned by Kuphaldt for the alleys and the rows.

The three entries were nominated by the interdisciplinary jury, however with a dominating majority of architects with specialisation in The HC environment. The "classic square" proposal was selected as the winner, because it offered the most sensitivity to the requirement of "classic" historical character, backed up by strong historical analysis, as well as an innovative approach to mobility and detailed elaboration of the design solutions. The third place was granted to the "garden'' project with a high level of sensitivity to the historical natural environment (all trees untouched) and equally high level of disregard for the "classic spirit" of the contest brief. The second place was given to a "modern square" with its insensibility to both historical facts of greenery and spatial composition, however with a high attractiveness of vibrant functionality and aspiration of a radical, modern approach to historical environments (Figure 8).

Influenced by a contradictory spirit of contest statements and diverse proposals, the elaboration of the project started in the conditions of a high level of both

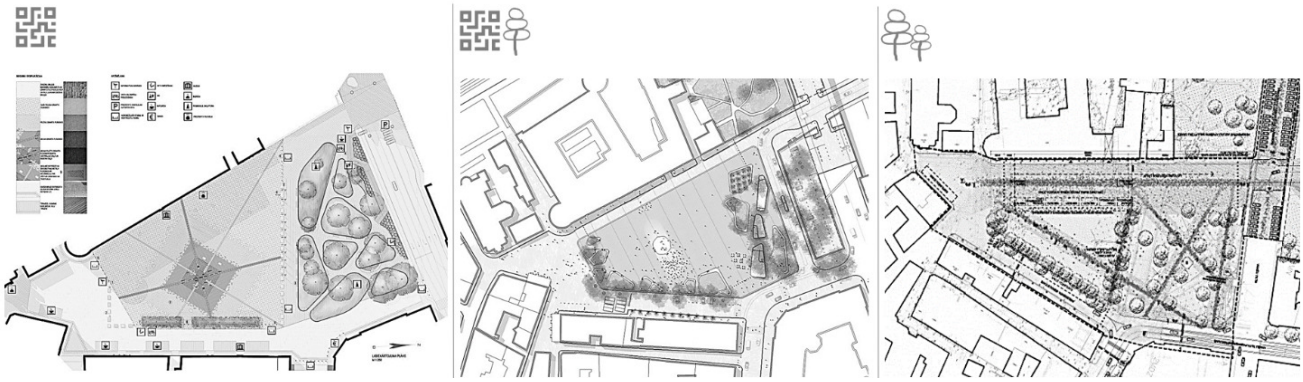

Figure 8. Winning proposals illustrate different approaches to the historical context: The first prize was awarded to ALPS, Future Living, Krauklis & Grende, and Baltatrend (left); the second prize was awarded to Fletcher Priest Architects and Grupa93 (centre); and the third prize was awarded to ARHIS (right).

explicit enthusiasm and implicit uncertainty, co-shared by the winning team and the customer, the Riga City Development Department. A contract stating a winner followed in August, pointing to a deadline in December 2009. The willingness to promptly deliver quality results and the conviction that the timetable of four months is feasible can be attributed to several factors.

Firstly, the initiative maintained a high degree of political, urban, and economic support. The contest was launched as a response to the initiating letter of the president of Latvia to the lord mayor of Riga at the beginning of 2008. It was, hence, highly loaded symbolically as an incarnation of presidential status. Moreover, it was rooted in consistent planning activities. As a result of these two factors, the investment was allocated for the project elaboration, and there was a mutual political agreement between the state and the municipality about the future investment in construction (Gutmane et al., 2013, p. 2).

Secondly, the winning proposal was highly rated by the jury. It was elaborated in detail, and the timetable was discussed with the relevant stakeholders prior to closing the contract. Thirdly, the Castle Square is "populated" mostly by institutions. As a result, it has a low diversity social profile, and the impact of the reconstruction work on the social environment of the square was evaluated as manageable. The civic activity in Latvia at that time was of relatively low intensity (Akmentiņa, 2020), mostly initiated by experts. Finally, the geographic position of the Castle Square was topical since, at the same time, the development of the Riga Passenger Terminal and its area as well as its connection to Old Riga were being widely discussed.

These accounts ensured a stable political, socio-economic, and physical "foundation" for the project, providing it with a solid symbolic but also financial capital for its successful execution. The symbolic capital, in Bourdieu's view, is a credit that the group gives to those who provide it with material and symbolic guarantees (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 120). The joint group of professional clerks and the designers with the successful contest entry provided symbolic guarantees for the initiator—a joint group of the office of the president of Latvia and of Riga's lord mayor. The symbolic capital, just like the monetary one, is sensitive to changing conditions. It heavily depends on trust, perception, and attitude. Its stability must be continuously maintained throughout the duration of the event.

Practice is inherent to its duration. The practical strategy is continuously playing with time and especially tempo (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 120). When constructing the timeline of the case, four phases can be distinguished: collateral (the time when the initiative "profited" from a "mortgage" of the symbolic capital, ensured by high authorities of political initiators, institutional executors, as well as the winning position of the designer team), active, latent, and unmanned phase.

The *collateral phase* (May 2008–September 2009) includes establishing the new evidence—a need for a representative space of the presidential residence, from the initiation of the contest to signing the contract with the winner. Its characteristics are a defined hierarchical composition of stakeholders with high authority, reactions predicted by subordination, the unanimous (due to being politically supported) agreement about the practical goal (a modern representative square), goal-oriented coordination of actions, established procedure (contest-project-construction), the enthusiasm and emotional attachment. The disposition of the involved stakeholders to perceive the situation as predictable, "under control," can be attributed to the interiorized, and therefore unconscious, subordination to the power of the authority. This facilitated a relatively "barrier-free" execution of planned actions and gave rise to a false perception of this phase as the most significant within the cycle of designing, the feeling of "the things are done."

The *active phase* (September 2009–end of 2014) covered the elaboration of the design proposal and the procedure of obtaining permissions for the proposed design from the responsible institutions. Its characteristics are a changed set of participants, a diverse and "free-for-all" stakeholders' profile; conflicting and contradicting opinions around the *doxa* of "classic" and

"historic'' as the "universe of the undiscussed" (Bourdieu, 1977); absence of end-oriented goals in the group of the authored commissions; turbulent and disordered communication, where designers and planners had to abandon their reflective habits and "communicative" habitus in order to form quick responses to the constantly arising challenges of technical, communicative, and psychological nature; opportunistic behaviour of responsible politicians; and collective feeling of despair and dissatisfaction with the previously accepted design. This constituted a "breaking point" when public discussion on the old trees' destiny deleted the "classic" approach of the winning design and transitioned the project to the next phase.

The *latent phase* (2014–2016) included actions of low intensity like formal issues regarding the contract (the team of designers initiated the termination of the contract) and informal communication on the past and the future of the project (the renewal of the acceptance process). The phase is characterised by a limited number of participants (only those involved in the legal procedure), unambitious goal-oriented work, emotional detachment from the project, and feelings of relief.

The *unmanned phase* (2016–2018) covers the period from the repeated tender for the technical project in 2016 until its acceptance in 2018. Its characteristics are a defined hierarchical composition of stakeholders with moderate authority and social capital; goal-oriented coordination of actions; an established procedure (project acceptation); renewed discussion on "historicism" concerning lighting issues that do not lead to a breaking point; and moderate emotional attachment, motivated by the necessity to finish the project. Interviews conducted at that time show evidence of emotional tiredness of the stakeholders involved (designers, responsible commissions, and managers of the project).

Due to botched negotiations, the doomed project could, fortunately, be quit early upon mutual agreement of the participants. On one hand, it enabled the finishing of the project; on the other, it constituted a loss of political, bureaucratic, and civic interest in the place.

8. Conclusions

Contributing to the analysis of socio-psychological dynamics of urban practice, the article provided specifications on which and how components interact when decisions are made during the design process. The assumption was made that the everyday of urban planning practitioners is guided by the logic of their practice when they continuously converge social and physical spaces under conditions of relative uncertainty. This convergence occurs by enacting socially constructed and interiorized ways of thinking, which Bourdieu conceive within the concept of habitus, and which often form influential symbolic space, strongly impacting the outcomes. The concept of habitus as a central in the ToP of Pierre Bourdieu was applied in the analysis of the case of a small-scale urban project in UNESCO protected area—the square in front of the presidential office of Latvia. Using the vocabulary of habitus-related concepts—*illusio*, *doxa*, and hysteresis—an attempt was made to trace the interrelations between the motivations and actions of professionals involved in the project and their influence on the results.

The choice of the case and the theoretical framework can be defined by several considerations. Firstly, symbolically and socially saturated public space in a historical area is the most appropriate for analysing these relations from a historical perspective. Secondly, designing public space involves a set of diverse stakeholders whose perceptions and actions form a turbulent communicative landscape, providing an exemplary opportunity to study patterned practices "in the wild." Thirdly, habitus, a set of acquired, durable, and transposable dispositions as models of cognition and action, is methodologically equipped to approach the heterogeneous nature of an urban project, which exposes the components and attributes of different types of habitus and their interaction.

The analysis of the case, aimed at answering a practical research question of why the realization of symbolically and spatially significant and supported by most stakeholders public space project was frustrated led to several conclusions. One is that the process was hampered by the effect of *hysteresis*—the discrepancy between habitus and the field where it acts. The field of planning and architecture, merged with at that time rapidly transforming fields of business, law, and economics, already having institutions compliant with the restored democratic municipal organisation, nevertheless upholds the rituals and "codes" of RPM habitus—affiliation with the scientific decision model, predictability, and predominance of spatial characteristics. Neither the authoritative initiator nor the knowledge about participative practices brought by multiple workshops and foreign experts helped to avoid the application of the "traditional," behind-the-door, formalized procedure of decision-making.

Another conclusion is that those involved in the procedure experienced difficulties in "decoding": The logic of communicative planning practice was not automatically recognized by the specialists used to apply the logic of RPM and vice versa. Not having any knowledge of how to enter "a code" of RPM habitus, the designer's team, which involved foreign experts and urban activists, tried to insert the collaborative ritual into the process, unconsciously following the logic of collaborative habitus. Interestingly, the Commission for Preservation and Development of the RHC (RVC SAP)—the player with the most symbolic capital and, consequently, symbolic power—consisted not only of the representatives of the traditional institutions but also of the practising well-known architects, high-rank clerks, involved in the democratic institutional reorganisation and young professors from academia. Thus, one would not evaluate RVC SAP as "stagnant." Additionally, the still-operating RVC SAP had no status of a formal institution; the experts

were involved on a volunteering basis, and its opinion has an advisory rather than a legally binding character. However, this commission evaluated the project during the first two phases 14 times between 2009 and 2014. During this time, the designers tried to clarify their arguments by elaborating five finalized and several in-between variants, studies of traffic, hydrology, dendrology, history, infrastructure, lighting, social profile, and underground communications, creating about 20 books with technical drawings and a participation plan.

This leads to the conclusion that the anamnesis of the case suggests a strongly developed bureaucratic field inhabiting its autonomous, self-referential symbolic space. The relative autonomy of symbolic space arises wherein symbolic forms are elaborated by specialists according to internal criteria (Wacquant, 2022). This statement is supported when one observes the local institutional systems in the field, which operate out of touch with the practical topicalities, promoting bureaucracy rather than the quality of architecture (Miķelsone, 2019). Self-promoting logic of practice in the bureaucratic field of planning in Riga, keeping alive the old RPM habitus of "making plans not places," results in the inefficiency of vertically and hierarchically organised governance structures. It paralyses the creative ability of professional civil servants to take responsibility, which, in turn, leads to the politicization of the managerial level, where decisions are taken "on the phone" as the most efficient city development instrument.

Bourdieu's ToP offers two concepts—*illusio* and *doxa*—which explain the persistence of these symbolic forms and their symbolic power. These concepts offer a plausible explanation for why planners and designers, both public sector and private practitioners, were not able to join forces despite the shared stimuli to create a so much needed liveable, modern, and representative place in Riga's urban fabric. Bourdieu conceived *illusio* as a shared sense of purpose within a field, as a kind of *collusio* (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 145). The shared value, undoubtedly, was a new quality of the Castle Square. But *collusio* becomes an individual's own sense of purpose once they begin to invest themselves (Threadgold, 2018). The decision of where to invest can be taken unconsciously when there is a lack of time or unclear context. The concept of habitus supports the conceptualization of urban planning practice as assemblages of diverse interdependent interactional settings where fraternities of practice communities communicate around values.

The analysis of the contest and the process of the project elaboration leads to the final conclusion: Among several important and practical aspects such as traffic, greenery, and space for presidential protocol, which were mentioned in the contest brief and needed real improvement, obscure historic value became a demarcation line between the professionals, caused the prolongation of the procedure, and finally resulted in the collective denial of the project implementation, letting the project fade slowly from the financial, political, and psychological investments' priorities of Riga. Thus, fetishizing of historicism is a form of symbolic power, which heritage institutions like the National Cultural Heritage Administration, RVC SAP, and the heritage section of the Development Department unconsciously "overimpose." It often occurs at the expense of the quality of public spaces and economic feasibility.

With regards to the more specific discussions concerning debates on consensus and conflict and undermined or abused democratic character of participation (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012; Metzger, 2017), the analysis of the case does not detect the arranged "choreographies" of citizen engagement or purposeful attempts to tame the conflict. Moreover, the disturbed communication cannot be understood in terms of conflict since there were no situations that the participants could label as "conflict," and consensus was reached in many of them. On the contrary, communicative planning tools used by the design team, although not able to prevent the undesired outcome, contributed to the growing participation wave in Riga, involving museums, pupils, artists, pastors, and the president.

The evidence also supports the Bourdieusian "toolbox" of habitus as more appropriate in explaining planners' practice since more than 20 professionals involved in the process explicitly and implicitly enacted different urban metaphors from classical sustainability to the newborn empathic city. Because of their relatively short existence in the symbolic space, these are not able to become an "ideology" on the ground, a "discourse that generates a sense of shared societal mission" (Metzger et al., 2021, p. 306), guiding decisions and action until they become *illusio* and *doxa*.

To summarize, one can state that the symbolic significance of a place makes salient symbolic space understood as a grid of cognitive structures guiding agents in their choices. When representative public spaces are transformed, the symbolic space imposes on the social and physical spaces through the symbolic forms of power used by specialists (Bourdieu, 2018). This offers an interpretation of heritage as a manifestation of habitus and historical public spaces as a social interface, expressing an interplay between traditional and emerging values.

The conceptual toolbox of Bourdieu's ToP, particularly the concepts of habitus, *doxa*, *illusio*, and hysteresis, is equipped to analytically assess the everyday rituals of urban design practice, where the almost mystical process of making decisions occurs. It offers methodological access to socio-psychological dynamics of decision-making and therefore micro-dynamics of power. How decisions are made is a source of never-ending discrepancies in urban planning practice, heavily impacting the outcome—physical and thus social—as well as the economic and psychological environment of the city.

The argument presented in the article highlights Bourdieu's ToP as a framework that, analytically relating symbolic, social, and physical space, can create a methodologically sustainable and diverse landscape, enabling

navigation between spatial scales and analytical levels, merging comparative urban studies into a broader topological science (Wacquant, 2022). Following topological mode of reasoning and overcoming duality of theory and practice, it offers a relational alternative to theoretical polarization of such phenomena of urban practice as the physical and the social, the rational and the collaborative, power and powerless.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material for this article is available online in the format provided by the author (unedited).

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Article

Urban Heritage Rehabilitation: Institutional Stakeholders' Contributions to Improve Implementation of Urban and Building Regulations

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Abstract
Climate change, natural hazards, and human actions are threatening cultural heritage in urban areas. More than ever, building regulations' procedures and criteria are essential to guarantee the protection and safeguarding of urban areas and their buildings. These procedures and criteria are crucial to assist stakeholders in decision-making, especially when facing rapid transitions and transformative changes in urban heritage areas. Several institutional stakeholders in charge of urban heritage protection strengthen the need for a better implementation of building regulations through flexible criteria to support intervention procedures in buildings with different features and in different contexts. Under this topic, the present study uses a twofold method. Firstly, the authors analyze and compare the urban and building regulations of three Southern European countries, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, concerning procedures and criteria directed to the built heritage; secondly, they highlight and compare the views of different institutional stakeholders from the same three countries, at different levels (national, regional, and municipal), to understand the impact of the implementation of the regulations on the ground. The findings show the relevance of the institutional stakeholders' views to improve the regulations and their practice. They highlight the need to promote inventory and cataloging procedures, as well as flexible criteria when dealing with urban heritage buildings.

Keywords
building regulations; flexible criteria; institutional stakeholders; Southern European countries; urban heritage

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1. Introduction

Nowadays, more than ever, urban heritage is exposed to change (e.g., buildings decay, climate changes, human actions, and tourism pressure by uncontrolled urban planning, among other menaces) that jeopardize their safeguarding. These factors reinforce the need for a broader study of the legal framework, namely, to analyze and understand the urban and building regulations' procedures and criteria, especially in urban areas whose integrity and authenticity need to be protected (Hedieh Arfa et al., 2022; Sesana et al., 2020; Silva, 2017).

Technical studies have mostly been focused on the building regulations' criteria concerned with new constructions, disregarding criteria and procedures for existing buildings (Casals-Tres et al., 2009; Nypan, 2010). Besides, the reuse of existing buildings in urban areas is a crucial issue that demands a more flexible application of the building regulations' criteria (Arcas-Abella et al., 2011; Casals-Tres et al., 2013). Regulations should be

able to adapt themselves to different realities, i.e., to local built heritage characteristics and residents' needs. These studies also consider that the buildings' rehabilitation does not need to satisfy all residents' needs, given that some of their needs can be fulfilled at the urban scale (Casals-Tres et al., 2013; Mària & Salvadó, 2017).

The criteria for building regulations are driven by European Community guidelines and regulations (European Union, 2022). However, they are implemented according to each country's legal framework, considering their geographical, historical, and cultural context (Allard et al., 2021; Ornelas et al., 2016a). Recent studies underline that the new building regulations are focused on new materials and techniques, being concerned with specific criteria for new constructions (Brambilla & Sangiorgio, 2021; Nugroho et al., 2022; O'Brien et al., 2020; Wang & van de Lindt, 2022). Other studies focus on the reuse of buildings and their materials; they criticize the waste of local materials (Foster, 2020; Hedieh Arfa et al., 2022), which occurs because the new regulations are concerned with modern materials and techniques. To meet energy efficiency demands, the regulations discard buildings' particular geometry, systems, traditional materials, and construction techniques (Allard et al., 2021; Ascione et al., 2022; Borrallo-Jiménez et al., 2022), and they are disconnected from urban heritage protection. The need for energy efficiency follows the Urban Agenda for the European Union (European Commission, 2022), which highlights the need to reduce energy consumption and provide affordable housing (Ascione et al., 2022; Casquero-Modrego & Goñi-Modrego, 2019). Some studies criticize the fact that the stakeholders in charge of decision-making lack knowledge of the environmental (e.g., reuse the materials), economic, social, and cultural benefits of the reuse of cultural heritage buildings (Foster, 2020; Fuertes, 2017; Giuliani et al., 2021; Mària & Salvadó, 2017), neglecting the protection of urban heritage areas and their landscape, as recommended by UNESCO guidelines (UNESCO, 1972, 2011).

However, these studies are fragmented and do not promote a holistic discussion on urban-built heritage intervention and safeguarding, a gap this article aims to fill. This study analyzes and compares the building regulations' criteria and procedures from three Southern European countries: Italy, Spain, and Portugal (Ornelas et al., 2016a, 2016b), considering the views of different institutional stakeholders, namely the way they manage and understand the implementation of the urban and building regulations' procedures and criteria. These contributions are the result of semi-structured interviews that are part of a research investigation (Ornelas, 2016), updated to reach the aims of this study. Therefore, it aims to answer the research questions: Can the stakeholders contribute to promoting a more efficient implementation of the building regulations' procedures and criteria? Can they contribute to more sustainable intervention actions?

The article is organized into five parts. Section 2 shows the context and the methodology used in this study. Section 3 compares the most representative actual building regulations of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and different institutional stakeholders' views (considering their expert knowledge, experience, and studies) on the procedures and criteria they consider crucial in the context of the urban heritage rehabilitation of these three countries. Moreover, it interconnects the existing building regulations' procedures and criteria with the different international stakeholders' contributions. Section 4 discusses the outcomes, and Section 5 presents the authors' final considerations concerning the most important findings related to the urban and building regulations and their practice, in the context of the rehabilitation of urban areas.

2. Context and Methodology

2.1. Scale of the Analyses: Southern European Countries

The article involves three Southern European countries—Italy, Spain, and Portugal—selected because of their geographical localization and similar cultural and construction systems. Their rules and regulations are embedded in European Union Guidelines (European Union, 2022) and European Urban Agenda (European Commission, 2022), though different adjustments and implementations occur in each country (Petti et al., 2019). The analysis is carried out at different levels: national (governmental), regional (regional directions), and local (municipalities; see Figure1).

The analysis uses semi-structured interviews with a range of stakeholders (senior technicians, experts, academics) from 18 different institutions (public and academic) from different cities in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. These stakeholders have studied, overseen, and managed the implementation of the urban and building regulations related to cultural and urban heritage. In Italy, stakeholders from Milan, Monza, Verona, Padua, and Siena were interviewed; in Spain, stakeholders from Madrid and Barcelona; and in Portugal, stakeholders from Lisbon and Porto. The institutional stakeholders were contacted previously with the topics and aims of the research, and the meetings/interviews were conducted at their institutions in person (see Table 1).

That we selected and interviewed a wide variety of institutions and stakeholders with a range of roles is crucial to have a broader view of how they manage and understand the implementation of the urban and building regulations' procedures and criteria.

2.2. Analysis: Urban and Building Regulations and Institutional Stakeholders' Contributions

The methodological approach applied in this study was twofold. Firstly, the authors examine the legal framework comprising the most representative and actual

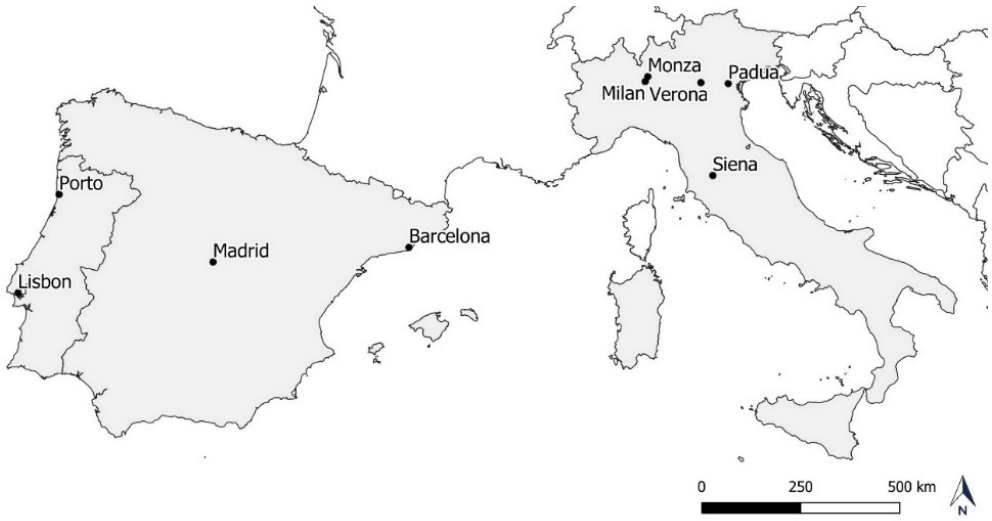

Figure 1. Case studies: Southern European countries and respective cities.

urban and building regulations related to cultural heritage in urban areas of the three selected countries: Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Beyond the national rules, regulations related to the regions and municipalities where the institutional stakeholders carry out their duties were selected. The main procedures and criteria corresponding to the different levels of safeguarding and intervention in urban heritage were identified. Hence, the article presents the most representative rules and regulations of the three countries at the national level as well

Table 1. Interviewed public institutions involved in urban and building regulations' development and implementation.

Countries	Institutions	Name of the Institutions
Italy	National	• Superintendency for Architectural and Landscape Heritage for the Municipality of Siena and Grosseto (Superintendency of Siena and Grosseto)
	Regional	• Office of the Province of Management and Spatial Planning of the Tuscany Region, Siena, and Grosseto (Tuscany's Office of the Province)
	Municipal	• Municipality of Siena • Municipality of Verona • Municipality of Padua • Municipality of Monza
	Academic	• Polytechnic of Milan: Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, and Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering • University of Siena: Cultural Heritage Conservation of the Department of Environmental Sciences • University of Padua: Department of Civil, Environmental, and Architectural Engineering
Spain	National	• Ministry of Development and Housing (Madrid) • Spanish National Research Council—Eduardo Torroja Institute for Construction Sciences
	Regional	• Commission for the Protection of the Historic Heritage of Madrid Region
	Municipal	• Municipality of Madrid
	Academic	• Faculty of Architecture of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC) in Sant Cugat del Vallès, Barcelona: Department of Architectural Constructions I and Department of • Architectural Projects' HABITAR—Research Group
Portugal	National	• National Laboratory of Civil Engineering
	Regional	• Regional Directorate of Culture of the North
	Municipal	• Municipality of Porto
	Academic	• Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto • Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto: Civil Engineering Department

as the regional and municipal levels. It includes the legislation of two regions in Italy (Tuscany and Veneto), two regions in Spain (Madrid and Catalonia), and one region in Portugal (northern region), and the legislation of the municipalities of Padua, Verona, and Siena in Italy, of Madrid in Spain, and of Porto in Portugal.

Secondly, the authors analyze the summarised views of the stakeholders' expert knowledge on the urban and building regulations concerning urban heritage safeguarding procedures (protection categories, inventory, and cataloging), measures and levels of intervention regarding safety and housing conditions (e.g., structural, fire, accessibility, and housing conditions; energy efficiency; protection against noise), and social issues. This data was obtained from semi-structured interviews that are part of a research investigation (Ornelas, 2016), updated to reach the aims of this study. The review includes 42 institutional stakeholders (multidisciplinary senior technicians, experts, and academics) with various roles and activities (see Table 2).

The interviews' data treatment was conducted using the Bardin method (Bardin, 1977), a methodology that helps compare qualitative data. This analysis highlighted the most representative contributions of the stakeholders regarding urban and building regulations' procedures and criteria, which may be used to improve the implementation of the regulations and, at the same time, to promote sustainable interventions and maximize the protection of urban heritage.

3. Building and Urban Regulations Vs. Stakeholders' Contributions to Improve Criteria and Procedures Implementation

3.1. Comparison of Urban and Building Regulations in Italy, Spain, and Portugal

The first step's analysis shows that there are different procedures and distinct criteria for building regulations in the three Southern European countries (Italy, Spain, and Portugal). In Italy, the national level of building regulation associated with the protection categories and inventory and cataloging procedures—Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio (President of the Republic, 2004)—has clear and uniform criteria to classify the cultural heritage in all the territorial scales; it is adopted at the regional and municipal regulations. The measures and levels of intervention are inserted in the building regulations: Norme in Materia di Controllo dell'Attività Urbanistico-Edilizia (Chamber of Deputies & Senate of the Republic, 1985), Norme per l'Edilizia Residenziale (President of the Republic, 1978), and Testo Unico delle Disposizioni Legislative e Regolamentari in Materia Edilizia (President of the Republic, 2001), which support the regional and municipal procedures. Besides, there are building regulations regarding the technical aspects of urban heritage buildings, such as Norme Tecniche per le Costruzioni (Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport, 2018), which establish different levels of intervention on existing urban buildings (adequacy, improvement, and local repairs), especially for structural interventions on urban heritage buildings. Additionally, there are building regulations that should be applied to urban heritage buildings regarding fire safety, accessibility, comfort, and acoustic conditions, respectively: Decreto Minesteriale 25.01.2019 (Ministry of the Interior, 2019), Legge 13 (Chamber of Deputies & Senate of the Republic, 1989), Decreto Legislativo 115 (President of the Republic, 2008), and Decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri (President of the Council of Ministers, 1997). The regions have urban plans that give guidelines to the provinces and municipalities; for example, Tuscany region: Piani di Indirizzo Territoriale (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism & Region of Tuscany, 2014) and Piani Territoriale di Coordinamento Provinciale (Province of Siena, 2020); Venice region: Legge Regionale 14 (Regional Council of Veneto, 2019) and Legge Regionale 21 (Region of Veneto, 1999). At the municipal level, there are building regulations—e.g., Regolamento Urbanistico (Municipality of Siena, 2016) and Regolamento d'Igiene di Verona (Municipality of Verona, 2010)—that introduce the technical criteria to the municipality. For instance, the Norme Tecniche di Attuazione del Piano Regolatore Generale (Municipality of Padua, 2015) includes the cultural heritage and technical criteria, as well as the procedures from national, regional, and municipal building regulations to be applied to the municipality of Padua. Other regulations, with similar or different criteria and procedures, are applied to the urban heritage of other Italian municipalities.

In Spain, the building and urban regulations at the national level related to cultural and urban heritage have

Table 2. Number and distribution of the stakeholders per institution level.

	Stakeholders' Country			
Institutions	Italy	Spain	Portugal	Total of Stakeholders
National	3	6	3	12
Regional	1	2	1	4
Municipal	3	3	2	8
Academics	7	4	7	18
Total	14	15	13	42

criteria and procedures (protection categories, inventory, cataloging) that concern all Spanish cultural heritage: Património Histórico Español (Head of State, 1985) and Ley de Rehabilitación, Regeneración y Renovación Urbanas (Head of State, 2013). The Plan Estatal de Fomento del Alquiler de Viviendas, la Rehabilitación Edificatoria, y la Regeneración y Renovación Urbanas (Ministry of Development, 2013) aims to improve the quality of the buildings and their energy efficiency, accessibility, and conservation. However, each region has the autonomy to consider different criteria to classify, inventory, and catalog the cultural and built heritage, and their own laws for the protection of built and urban heritage—e.g., Ley do Patrimonio Histórico de la Comunidad de Madrid (Community of Madrid, 1998). Consequently, the measures and levels of intervention are also different for each region and municipality. In the municipality of Madrid, for instance, the Protocolo de Condiciones de Protección del Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Cultural (City Council of Madrid, 2011b) determines the cataloging of single elements and defines three levels for cataloging for buildings: singular or integral value, structural or volumetric value, partial or environmental value. The intervention on catalogued buildings should consider the criteria imposed by the regional entity (Criterios Generales de la Comisión para la Protección del Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Natural [CIPHAN], a Aplicar en las Solicitudes de Licencias Urbanísticas en Edificios Catalogados; City Council of Madrid, 2012). Also, in the municipality of Madrid, the Ordenanza de Conservación, Rehabilitación y Estado Ruinoso de las Edificaciones (City Council of Madrid, 2011a) defines measures and levels of intervention, looking at what needs to be preserved and rehabilitated. This regulation appeals to the duty of maintenance and regular inspections, especially in buildings over 30 years old, to verify their state of conservation. On the other hand, the national building code—Código Técnico de la Edificación (CTE; Ministry of Development, 2019; Ministry of Housing, 2006)—establishes criteria for structural safety, fire safety, and housing conditions for new constructions. The application to existing buildings is made through the consideration of proportionality and flexibility criteria, allowing the decision to depend on the heritage value of the building and the technical and economic aspects of each demanded intervention. It should be noted that the minimum housing conditions requirements related to dimensions, ventilation, lighting, and hygiene are established at the municipal level, according to the particularities of the construction system and architecture of the region (e.g., Catalonia Region's Condicions Mínimes d'Habitabilitat dels Habitatges i la Cèdula d'Habitabilitat; Agència de l'Habitatge de Catalunya, 2012).

In Portugal, the national protection laws are Regime e Proteção e Valorização do Património Cultural (Assembly of the Republic, 2001) and Procedimento de Classificação dos Bens Imóveis de Interesse Cultural, Regime das Zonas de Proteção e do Plano de Pormenor de Salvaguarda (Ministry of Culture, 2009). These building and urban regulations defend inventorying and cataloging procedures of built heritage to update and identify cultural property and, simultaneously, as a measure of legal protection to prevent their disappearance or degradation. However, it promotes the creation of these procedures only for classified assets, such as monuments or other constructions with national or public interest. In Portugal there are two main regulations that support and control the interventions on urban built heritage at the municipal level: Regime Jurídico da Reabilitação Urbana (RJRU; Assembly of the Republic, 2012), complemented by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers related to the improvement of the quality of the life of the citizens in urban areas (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2018); and Regime Jurídico da Urbanização e da Edificação (RJUE; Ministry of Equipment, Planning, and Territorial Administration, 1999). However, these building regulations do not refer to inventorying and classification procedures. Recently, the Projeto Reabilitar Como Regra (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2017) allows a gradual implementation of the building regulations' demands on the existing buildings. In addition, the Regime Aplicável à Reabilitação de Edifícios e Frações Autónomas (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2019) introduces concessions when intervening in existing buildings. Besides, this regulation includes amendments on fire safety (Ministry of Internal Administration, 2015), energy efficiency (Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning, and Energy, 2015), acoustic requirements (Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning, and Regional Development, 2008), accessibility requirements (Ministry of Labour, Solidarity, and Social Security, 2017), electronic communications networks (Ministry of Planning and Infrastructure, 2017), and the general regime of urban buildings, concerned with housing conditions (Ministry of Social Equipment, 1975). In addition, the building regulation (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2019) establishes the need not to worsen safety conditions and introduces seismic vulnerability analysis as mandatory for all buildings in Portugal (European Committee for Standartization, 2005), considering the structural impact of the intervention works on the buildings. The Decreto-Lei 95 (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2019) allows the structural and seismic analysis, as well as the level of intervention, to be under the responsibility of the technicians (architect and engineer) through a descriptive memory, to be approved by the competent authorities. Moreover, it introduces measures and criteria of flexibility and proportionality, considering progressive improvement to the existing buildings through the possible articulation between the performance of buildings concerning current expectations of comfort, safety, protection, and environmental sustainability. These building regulations exist at the national level and are applied at the municipal level directly and with the support of the national regulations

(RJUE and RJRU). Therefore, in Portugal, and at the regional level, there are very diffuse criteria and procedures to safeguard built heritage (e.g., Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território Para a Região do Norte; Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2021b). At the municipality level, and taking the city of Porto as an example, the Regulamento do Plano Diretor Municipal do Porto (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2021a) includes a wider cataloging of urban, architectural, natural, and archeologic heritage. Also, there are recent studies (Pinho & Freitas, 2022) that support the technicians when intervening in built heritage.

3.2. The Institutional Stakeholders' Contributions to Improve Building Regulations' Criteria and Procedures Implementation

The second step's analysis shows the contributions that the different institutional stakeholders from Italy, Spain, and Portugal have on the urban and building regulations. The contributions of each of the institutions' stakeholders were summarized (Bardin, 1977) to point out the most significant outcomes related to the article's aims (see Table 3).

The previous analysis shows how the stakeholders for the three countries view the regulations' procedures and criteria. The Italian stakeholders, in line with the legislation, consider the existence of exhaustive inventory procedures crucial (President of the Republic, 2004), giving each municipality the necessary mechanisms (procedures and criteria) and data to intervene in urban heritage systematically. The Spanish stakeholders appeal to a wider application of the flexibility criteria of CTE (Ministry of Housing, 2006), using a matrix of general criteria with red limits defined. The protection categories between regions are diverse, but the municipal stakeholders defend that the cataloging procedures should have homogenous criteria throughout the

Table 3. Institutional stakeholders' contributions to building regulations concerning urban rehabilitation.

Countries	Institutions	Contributions
Italy	National	Superintendency of Siena and Grosseto: The urban areas are inside the landscape assets, having values to be preserved (e.g., historical, cultural, material, morphological, and aesthetic of the territory). The criteria expressed in the national legislation and regulations are uniform for the territory. Each superintendency (national/regional entity responsible for safeguarding cultural heritage) adopts the necessary procedures to declare an asset of cultural interest.
	Regional	Tuscany's Office of the Province: There is a broader definition of a historic center and a territory; urban areas are seen as living organisms. The open territory is safeguarded, including the structure of the provincial territory articulated with the historic centers, small clusters of housing, and historical architectural heritage, for greater control of the plans and procedures. Each region has the autonomy to create tools to support urban rehabilitation with private and public entities (e.g., recovery plans).
	Municipal	Municipalities of Siena, Verona, Padua, and Monza: The Piano Generale Regulatore contains all mechanisms to systematically assess urban heritage and produces the measures and levels of intervention. The municipalities have technicians specialized in assessing and diagnosing buildings and urban heritage. Each municipality creates intervention measures according to the data assessed from the inventory and cataloging procedures stipulated by the corresponding regions.
	Academic	Polytechnic of Milan: It is crucial to protect the existences and small settlements through a broader view, in a close relationship between territory, landscape, and local culture, considering the territory conditions (e.g., seismic areas), as well as the contemporary ways of living and the socio-economic aspects of the inhabitants.
Spain	National	Ministry of Development and Housing: Regarding CTE, it defends the need for a regulatory line to implement the building regulations in a stratified, structured, and clear way. It states that the technical criteria of CTE related to safety, housing, and comfort conditions are not still stratified on different demanding levels to facilitate the establishment of flexibility criteria in urban rehabilitation areas. Moreover, it stresses that municipal technicians are not yet prepared to approve and implement the flexibility criteria. It should be the responsibility of the technicians (architects or engineers) to justify, through a descriptive memory, the level of the CTE attained, considering the level of requirements achieved in each regulation of the CTE, and that should guarantee the safety conditions of buildings, as well as not worsening their actual conditions. It points out the need for trained project teams to control the criteria and procedures for implementing the CTE building regulations.

Table 3. (Cont.) Institutional stakeholders' contributions to building regulations concerning urban rehabilitation.

Countries	Institutions	Contributions
Spain	National	In Spain, the quality of urban heritage rehabilitation has improved with urban rules concerned with urban rehabilitation. These rules are coordinated with European funds for energy efficiency as a starting point to promote the refurbishment of buildings in urban areas. Spanish National Research Council—Eduardo Torroja Institute for Construction Sciences: Since 2006, several changes have been made to the CTE, boosting the rehabilitation of urban areas with criteria that stimulate interventions on built heritage. A guide was prepared to help regional and municipal technicians implement the criteria of proportionality and flexibility in each basic CTE document related to safety and housing conditions through a matrix of general criteria with red limits defined. In particular, it expresses (a) the criterion that the existing conditions of the buildings not be worsened, (b) that interventions should reach a minimum level of performance, (c) the compensatory measures when the overall level of performance required by the building regulations cannot be achieved, and (d) qualitative assessments, allowing alternative solutions with minimum safety criteria. In addition, an analysis of urban areas with a socioeconomically vulnerable population was made to implement criteria that promote opportunities for all citizens to access affordable and comfortable housing.
	Regional	Commission for the Protection of the Historic Heritage of Madrid Region: The classification of cultural heritage depends on each region's criteria; the building regulations have extensive criteria for conserving historical heritage and protected buildings. In particular, the cataloging procedures have criteria that sustain different protection categories for each region, which technicians must apply following predefined procedures. The buildings under the jurisdiction of the Municipality of Madrid are subject to intervention restrictions according to their degree of protection.
	Municipal	Municipality of Madrid: All building regulations at the local level must have clear criteria for the intervention measures and be supported by appropriate documentation. The procedures of protection should be standardized and convergent throughout the Spanish territory (i.e., be more in agreement with the national regulations), though respecting the particularities of each autonomous community (regions), to improve the quality of the urban heritage protection. Likewise, the cataloging procedure should also be supported by uniform inspection and inventory criteria throughout the country.
	Academic	UPC Department of Architectural Constructions I: The greatest energy expenditure of a building is in its construction and demolition. The rehabilitation of the buildings should have an urban perspective and be a social resource for all citizens, mixing cohabitation (older and younger people in the same building) and promoting new social dynamics. It is necessary to redefine new building regulations criteria to integrate new ways of living that are not submitted just to the technical criteria but also to social and urban criteria. UPC HABITAR: In agreement with the cities, the academic stakeholders are studying the urban and building regulations and their constant transformation. Apart from technical problems, there is a need to develop regulations focusing on how to use buildings. This focus should go to preserving buildings, verifying their functions, promoting the safeguard of their function/use, or providing similar uses, to maintain their original structure and materials. The regulations criteria should promote flexibility to provide alternatives to address these buildings' limitations, promoting their reuse. The citizens must reuse buildings in the best possible way to prolong their life, underlining that users must "accept" their characteristics to keep urban heritage alive.
Portugal	National	National Laboratory of Civil Engineering: Although the methodologies implemented at the national level do not yet reflect the heritage attributes of buildings in urban areas, it is important to carry out studies to assess and evaluate these issues. The "principle of protection of the existing" is established in the RJUE and RJRU. These building regulations determine how the general criteria should be applied to existing buildings in urban areas. The intervention procedures must at least meet requirements that guarantee specific criteria for safety and minimum housing conditions, being also relevant to the criteria of suitability for use, appearance, economy, and sustainability. The building regulations are under analysis, and progressive improvements are being made, endorsing the articulation between the performance of comfort and safety, and the protection and environmental sustainability of the buildings.

Table 3. (Cont.) Institutional stakeholders' contributions to building regulations concerning urban rehabilitation.

Countries	Institutions	Contributions
Portugal	Regional	Regional Directorate of Culture of the North: The classification of urban areas and properties is seen as a legal instrument, given that the heritage value is attributed through a law. The criteria for the protection of the built/urban heritage are often based on the criteria that assess the outstanding universal values stipulated in the UNESCO Convention of 1972. The cataloging of urban heritage must include the identification of the state of conservation of the buildings and how they are managed as a social fabric. The knowledge of the traditional techniques and materials used is required, and any intervention should be sustained by a legal report, aiming to avoid unnecessary and unjustified loss of heritage value of buildings and urban areas. The management of urban heritage requires trained technicians for decision-making.
	Municipal	Municipality of Porto: The legal framework at the municipal level imposes that intervention procedures maintain the original design of the buildings, as well as guarantee their safety and minimum housing conditions, especially when the buildings represent a risk to public health, are degraded, or in a state of disrepair. Many efforts have been made to include more information in the Municipal Master Plan.
	Academic	Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto: It underlines the need for an integrated and methodological vision in conserving urban heritage. Architecture is seen as an integrator of the various specialties, which should promote the maintenance of the integrity, authenticity, and value of the buildings, as well as the quality of life of residents in urban areas. The inspection and assessment of built heritage should follow rigorous procedures to ensure that corrective interventions are effective. There should be multidisciplinary teams to survey the built heritage and traditional construction techniques, and technicians should be well-qualified. Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto's Civil Engineering Department: The procedures of inventory and cataloging are necessary to assess their physical characteristics and state of conservation to find sustained solutions. The technical building regulations are not flexible and do not address rehabilitation. Specific and flexible regulation is necessary to support the rehabilitation of urban heritage. Currently, experts are discussing and preparing manuals to support the rehabilitation of built heritage, considering the applicable legislation.

Spanish territory. The Portuguese stakeholders consider that inventorying and cataloging procedures should not be restricted to the national monuments and their values (Assembly of the Republic, 2001). They acknowledge the importance of establishing minimum requirement levels. Although new legislation introduces flexible and proportional criteria to the interventions in the existing buildings (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2019), they ask for a wider application of these criteria.

4. Discussion

The results from the twofold analysis show that the three Southern European countries under analysis—Italy, Spain, and Portugal—have different criteria and practices regarding the protection and intervention of urban heritage. Italy is the country that has the most homogeneous criteria in terms of protection and intervention in urban heritage, which are interconnected at the national, regional, and municipal levels, aiming to protect all categories of cultural heritage at the territory scale (President of the Republic, 2004). The Italian institutional stakeholders point out that national and regional regulations are organized to allow a more flexible adjustment of the procedures (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism & Region of Tuscany, 2014; Province of Siena, 2020; Regional Council of Veneto, 2019; Region of Veneto, 1999), especially at the municipal level (Municipality of Siena, 2016). They ensure that inventory and cataloging procedures are the first and main step for a weight-oriented construction of the technical building regulations, in agreement with the local plans (Municipality of Padua, 2015), and aligned with the measures and levels of intervention. However, academic stakeholders consider it important to include socioeconomic aspects in these plans, especially in historical areas under reconstruction due to catastrophic events (Giuliani et al., 2021).

In Spain, the institutional stakeholders consider the proportional and, especially, the flexible criteria within the CTE crucial (Ministry of Development, 2019) to guarantee adequate interventions on urban heritage. They recognize the need for more uniform criteria and procedures for cataloging and classifying urban heritage in the whole country (Head of State, 1985). They claim that they carefully assess the built heritage (City Council of Madrid, 2012). Both national and regional stakeholders are making efforts to create teams of technicians able to incorporate the CTE flexible criteria at the municipal level. On the other hand, academics understand that specific criteria

from regulations can be an obstacle to the intervention in urban areas, which require improvements in the living conditions of a diverse range of inhabitants (Casals-Tres et al., 2013). They apply for the existing buildings' preservation instead of their demolition for the preservation of their features, materials, use, and function (Mària & Salvadó, 2017), as well as for adequate energy efficiency demands (Fuertes, 2017).

Finally, in Portugal, the institutional stakeholders now understand that inventory and cataloging urban heritage is important to guarantee sustained interventions. Efforts have been made to introduce flexible criteria in the national building regulations (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2019) involving intervention in urban heritage (Assembly of the Republic, 2012). Moreover, they underline the importance of urban heritage criteria to support the protection of urban areas and acknowledge the need to improve the citizens' quality of life in urban areas (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2018). The municipal stakeholders' practice still does not follow these dynamics. However, the municipalities have recently been engaged in a transformative process to improve their plans and databases, involving municipal technicians. The academic stakeholders argue that the assessment and management of urban areas should meet social, economic, and sustainability criteria, highlighting the need to establish inventory and cataloging processes; they highlight the need for a multidisciplinary assessment of built heritage (Pinho & Freitas, 2022).

5. Conclusions

This study shows that the institutional stakeholders from the three Southern European countries (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) have similar views on urban and building regulations, although they express them differently, according to their own particular experiences and practices. The different countries' realities and stakeholders' roles lie behind this variation. Those in the governmental and regional institutions have a macro vision of the procedures and criteria and establish different levels of connection to the municipal levels. In Italy, this interconnection is more homogenous than in Spain and Portugal. At the municipal level, the stakeholders from Italy and Spain benefit from better tools for urban heritage safeguarding (e.g., inventorying and cataloging procedures with robust criteria), although the Spanish stakeholders refer to the lack of technician training. The Portuguese municipal stakeholders are subjugated to comply with national regulations that are diffuse and discretionary, even when amended. The academic stakeholders from the three countries converge on the importance of the flexible criteria to guarantee the environmental, economic, social, and cultural benefits of urban heritage interventions, considering the different social vulnerabilities of the citizens (Ascione et al., 2022; Borrallo-Jiménez et al., 2022; Casals-Tres et al., 2013; Casquero-Modrego & Goñi-Modrego, 2019; Fuertes, 2017; Giuliani et al., 2021; Mària & Salvadó, 2017; Pinho & Freitas, 2022; UNESCO, 1972, 2011).

The results highlight that the stakeholders' knowledge, experience, and studies are key elements to improve and promote the efficient implementation of the building regulations with more flexible and inclusive criteria. Italian and Spanish stakeholders are moving faster than Portuguese stakeholders towards this aim, reflecting the different countries' backgrounds. The convergency of stakeholders' views on these subjects (procedures and criteria) contributes to the development of sustainable intervention actions that could be a path to support the current and future patterns of change when facing rapid transitions and transformative changes in urban heritage.

This analysis also underlines that the intervention procedures within the urban and building regulations should be sustained by proportional and flexible criteria/measures which are adaptable to the different urban contexts to guarantee their effective implementation. Flexible and proportional criteria also allow progressive improvements in urban heritage buildings over time. Furthermore, systematic inventory and cataloging procedures should be mandatory and clarified in building and urban regulations. These processes make it possible to monitor the evolution of urban areas and identify problems, especially in areas under threat from climate change and uncontrolled urban development. Additionally, the inventory and cataloging procedures are essential for decision-making, allowing more sustainable and sustained intervention actions, as well as for supporting the fast-changing patterns in urban areas under diverse pressures. However, these inventory and cataloging procedures are not yet clear; the municipal technicians do not have training on these matters or on applying the proportional and flexible criteria related to intervention actions, especially in Spain and Portugal. Moreover, multidisciplinary teams are not in the field working together on these issues. Therefore, the municipalities should invest more in training technicians and provide clear monitoring and inventorying procedures. This will improve the quality of data concerning urban heritage in general (classified or not) and will promote its sustainable protection through oriented urban planning management tools.

Future research will be focused on the different contexts at the municipal level. It will be studied how local and inter-municipal institutions and stakeholders introduce the inspection and diagnosis techniques to inventory and catalog urban heritage. Finally, the authors believe this systematic assessment is the key to supporting environmental sustainability and the digital transition of urban tools.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Conservation Planning and the Development Trajectory of the Historic Core of Worcester, England

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Abstract
For over half a century many urban centres in England have been influenced by local conservation policies designed to preserve and enhance their historic townscapes. Whilst these policies have been viewed as broadly successful in preventing the loss of valued historic buildings, there has been limited detailed evaluation of their impact on the localised trajectories of development and change within cities. This article seeks to examine one of these localised trajectories through consideration of the impact of conservation planning on the nature of major development in the commercial core of the historic city of Worcester, England. Utilising local authority planning records, it explores the complex local unfolding of wider conservation and development interests through a focus on the outcomes of planning decision-making evident in the changing nature, location and architectural style of major development in the city core from the late 1980s onwards. The article uses the idea of conservation planning as an "assemblage" to consider how variation in the extent and nature of change across the core reflected the outcome of a complex web of decision-making, moulded by the material agency of a "heritage map" of heritage asset designation. Three distinct "turns" are noted over the study period when shifts in the wider discourses of conservation planning, changing local planning contexts, and amendments to the heritage map produced changes in the local conservation planning assemblage. The discussion highlights how a policy deficiency in articulating the value and significance of the existing urban form and character of the area impacted development proposals and outcomes, leading to the incremental erosion of local character, both in terms of morphological and functional change. The article concludes by reflecting on how exploration of change within local conservation-planning-assemblages might provide insights into some of the current challenges facing urban conservation practice in seeking to articulate how the management of historic urban landscapes can support sustainable urban development.

Keywords
city centres; commercial development; conservation areas; conservation-planning-assemblage; heritage map; townscape character; Worcester

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1. Introduction

For over half a century sizeable parts of the centres of many English towns and cities have been designated as conservation areas. Conservation areas are heritage protection designations, determined at the local planning district level, first introduced by the Civic Amenities Act in 1967. They are defined in legislation as "areas of special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance" (GOV.UK, 1990, clause 69) and designation offers local planning authorities (LPAs) additional planning controls, including control over the demolition of unlisted buildings. Their introduction was a response to widespread publicly expressed concern about the loss of historic urban fabric resulting from the increasing scale, pace, and style of modern commercial and public sector development in England's cities in the 1960s (Larkham, 1996). Their institution extended the scope of urban heritage protection in England beyond its earlier focus on

the guardianship of individual buildings, nationally recognised as holding historic value through listing, to encompass a wider temporal and typological range of urban fabric of local significance, and greatly extended the spatial extent of conservation controls to larger parts of cities.

Despite their growing influence on planning and change within cities, detailed research into the specific material impacts of conservation area controls and management, and the trajectories of development, and change within conservation areas, has been limited. In a review to mark the 50th anniversary of conservation areas concern was expressed that many areas were at risk of incremental erosion of their special character through a lack of monitoring of development outcomes and an absence of proactive management strategies (Civic Voice, 2018). To date, detailed analyses of change in English city centre conservation areas have principally come from a handful of academic research studies; see for example Barrett (1993) and Larkham and Barrett (1998) on Birmingham and Bristol, Madgin (2010) on Manchester, Mageean (1999) on Chester, Pendlebury (2002) on Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and While (2006) on Coventry and Plymouth. However, LPA conservation practice remains largely unacquainted with this work and how detailed analyses of change can support pro-active management of historic urban landscapes (HULs; Rodwell, 2018; Thomas, 2018; Whitehand & Gu, 2010).

This article seeks to add to our understanding of the localised impacts of conservation control by offering a detailed assessment of the specific material outcomes of conservation planning decision-making, evident in the changing trajectory of development within one early-designated conservation area, the historic core of the city of Worcester in England. It does this through an examination of the changing type and location of major development proposals documented in LPA planning records in the period from 1987–2021, and through reflection on the operation of local conservation planning practice over this timeframe, drawing on the author's role as a committee member of the city's Civic Society and its Conservation Advisory Panel (CAP) throughout much of this time. The study utilises the idea of conservation planning as an assemblage of human and nonhuman actants to consider how change within Worcester's core reflected the outcome of a complex web of decision-making, moulded by the material agency of a heritage map of heritage asset designation. Three distinct "turns" are noted over the study period, when shifts in the wider discourses of conservation planning, changing local planning contexts, and alterations to the heritage map produced changes in the local conservation-planning-assemblage. These periods represent important phases in the wider development of English conservation practice as it became more central to the planning of cities, albeit with many challenges to its traditional architectural heritage focus, linked to changing national conservation agendas which impacted localised negotiations and trajectories of change (Pendlebury, 2013; Pendlebury et al., 2020; Pendlebury & Strange, 2011).

2. English Conservation Planning: Changing Discourses and Assemblages

The growing influence of conservation on the development of English cities is demonstrated by the increasing amount of built fabric afforded official protection as designated heritage assets through both the listed building and conservation area systems. Currently, in England, there are over 9,900 conservation areas and over 379,000 listed buildings (Historic England, 2021). Since their introduction in 1967, the number and variety of conservation areas has grown significantly, broadening their scope beyond an early focus on areas within recognised historic city jewels (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). As heritage values have broadened in scope, conservation area designations have expanded to embrace a greater diversity of urban fabric, more recently including areas of urban industrial heritage (Madgin, 2010) and post-war buildings (Tait & While, 2009) within England's larger industrial or core cities (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). This extension in area designations has also drawn more locally significant but unlisted fabric into the remit of conservation practice. However, it has been suggested that this expansion in conservation area designations has debased their fundamental concept, and increasingly called their special significance into question (Morton, 1991). Nevertheless, by the 1990s, this expanded scope and reach of conservation designations had positioned conservation as a more central objective within the broader realm of planning and development within English cities (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011).

2.1. Changing Values: The Authorised Heritage Discourse

The mainstreaming of conservation concerns into planning practice has increasingly challenged the authorised heritage discourse (AHD; see Smith, 2006) of historic building conservation and generated tensions between conservation and development at the local level. This has been particularly evident in city cores where economic pressures are most intense, and a multitude of forces of change and continuity collide most markedly. Equally, city cores represent the symbolic heart of the city, and as such their built forms embody multiple values and meanings which are shaped and contested through discourses about development and change. Nationally, the dominant values of the AHD have shaped the material and policy frames within which local conservation practice has operated. This has moulded the discourses about which buildings and areas are valued and protected through asset designation and outlined how protection should take place in terms of acceptable conservation practice and building management intervention. This traditional AHD, rooted in 19th-century Romanticism

(Pendlebury, 2013), has tended to overlook buildings and areas within cities of 19th and 20th-century industrial and commercial origin, and those buildings which are more mundane in scale and design, with conservation values privileging the grand and monumental, and grounded in art-historic and aesthetic philosophies. However, as Pendlebury (2013) notes, this AHD has been increasingly challenged by wider political and economic forces and changing thinking around the values underpinning conservation practice, tactically repositioning itself within these shifting frames of operation to produce a number of new conservation planning discourses.

One important tactical shift has been a repositioning to associate conservation planning with economic values. Guidance documents from the national heritage advisory body Historic England have actively sought to build on earlier economic connections between urban heritage and tourism and reposition conservation as an active agent in economic growth and regeneration, rather than being a barrier to it (Pendlebury, 2013; Pendlebury et al., 2020). In terms of local conservation practices on the ground, this shifted negotiations from tussles over the demolition versus retention of listed buildings to the degree of allowable intervention into the historic fabric, the merits of façadism (redevelopment behind a retained building façade) as a development solution, and alterations to building interiors (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). The period following the economic crash of 2008 has served to reinforce rather than sever these entanglements between conservation and economic regeneration, with a renewed emphasis on selling the historic city as a tourist and leisure destination, driven increasingly by the activities of local business organisations, in the face of austerity measures and a declining public-sector capacity to lead in managing urban change (Pendlebury et al., 2020). This has been accompanied by the introduction of the National Planning Policy Framework in 2012, which has sought to mandate LPAs to take an increasingly liberal approach to decision-making and establish a more pre-determined and streamlined process of conservation planning to support economic growth (GOV.UK, 2021). These trends have continued in the period following the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020–2021, where the historic environment has again been positioned as a key player in high street recovery and economic revitalisation, following closures to shops, hospitality venues, and heritage attractions during the pandemic (Historic England, 2022).

2.2. Conservation Planning as Assemblage

In the context of examining changes in English conservation planning, focus on the shifting AHD offers an important theoretical lens to critically examine the values attached to historic buildings, the foundations of the values, and validated practice of conservation planning and tensions in the management of heritage (Pendlebury, 2013). Pendlebury (2013) contends that these dominant AHDs in conservation planning practice are articulated through an assemblage of various conservation organisations, values, and practices, with its own distinct history and narratives and with intersections with interests outside the heritage sphere. Using the idea of assemblage, with its consideration of the multi-scaled and multi-sited conjunction of different actants active in shaping urban change, can help in unpacking and understanding changes to the conservation planning process over time and its specific unfolding in particular contexts and places. Critically, assemblage thinking insists that the social is not the only basis for action or foundation for explanations of urban change, but rather locates both human and nonhuman elements in the same arena of observation and explanation (Jacobs, 2006; McGuirk et al., 2016). As Pendlebury (2013) observes, in considering the conservation-planning-assemblage the buildings and environments included in conservation practice form part of the assemblage and acquire agency. The materiality of buildings and area designations provides a critical frame through which conservation values are articulated, and through which conservation policies and guidance are enacted through the everyday practice of actors operating within the conservation-planning-assemblage at the local level. Studies of local conservation practice in Birmingham and Bristol have highlighted the influence of the type of built fabric conserved in mediating wider development trends and influencing local planning responses to wider pressures (Larkham & Barrett, 1998). Pendlebury and Strange (2011) also note the influence of the material in conservation planning, highlighting the role of the heritage map of designated heritage assets in focussing heritage-based regeneration schemes and deflecting other forms of investment to locations without designated assets within industrial core cities, although they do not elaborate on how this specifically operates as part of a conservation-planning-assemblage. The current study, therefore, seeks to develop this idea of the heritage map to explore the role that the materiality of built form and heritage asset designation play as important actants within the conservation-planning-assemblage. To do this new build development proposals are mapped, and their spatial expression related to the heritage map of asset designation, seeking to uncover the ways in which changing heritage values and discourses were articulated through the local conservation-planning-assemblage.

Variation in the operation of local conservation-planning-assemblages, reflected in different outcomes and trajectories of change within conservation areas, highlights the value of examining occurring conservation on the ground within different cities to provide insight into how broader shifts in the terrain of conservation planning have unfolded. Previous studies suggest that within English cities, changing conservation planning discourses have played out differently in those historic jewel cities that pioneered conservation protection, where tourism is a key driver (e.g., Bath or York),

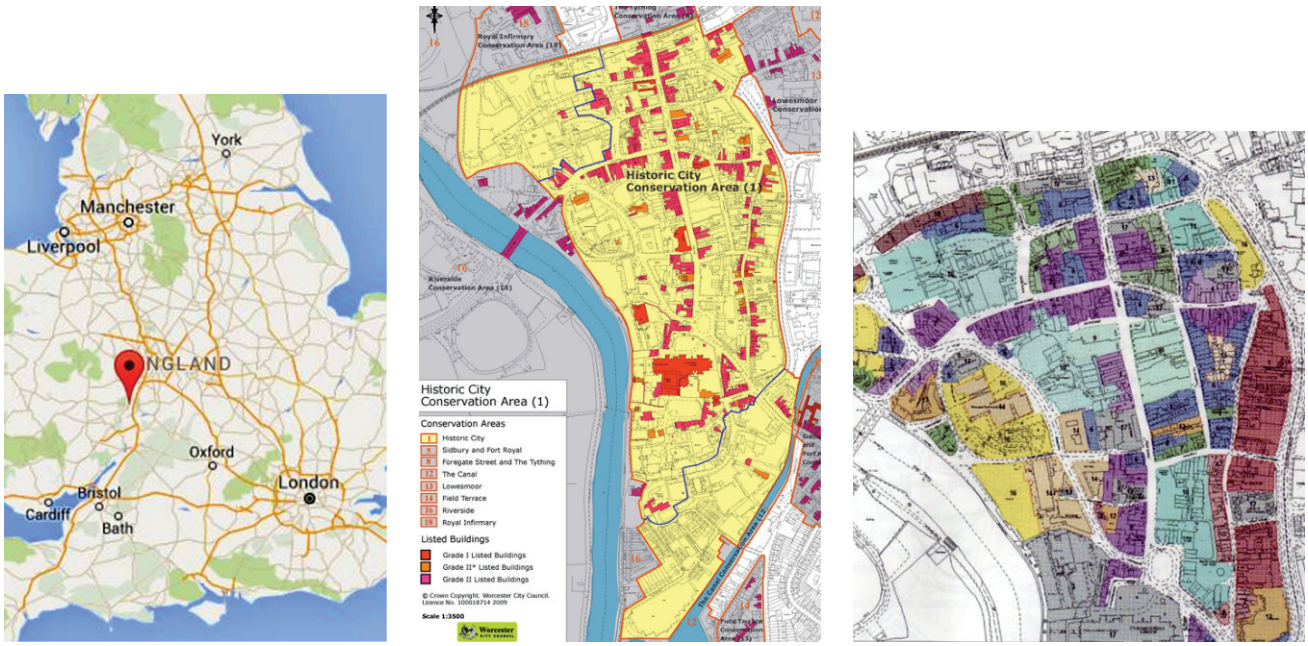
and core cities, those larger industrial cities which have embraced conservation of their industrial-era urban heritage more recently, where regeneration is the primary agenda, for example, Manchester or Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). Importantly, the different morphological and heritage map frames articulated in the classification "jewel" and "core" represent a key influence in shaping conservation planning outcomes on the ground within cities. Based on this observation, the article focuses on examining conservation planning in the context of Worcester, a small English city which exemplifies the characteristics and challenges of both a jewel and a core city, being a Medieval cathedral city but also a city with an important industrial legacy. The city has a long-established central conservation area, and exploration of change over time within this area provides an insight into the material influence of variations to the heritage map of local asset designation, and changes in personnel and policy in the local conservation planning administration, in (re)configuring its conservation-planning-assemblage.

3. Case Study City and Data Sources

3.1. The Historic City Conservation Area, Worcester

Worcester is a small city of around 100,000 people located in central England's West Midlands region on the banks of the River Severn (Figure 1a). Worcester emerged as an important ecclesiastical centre during the Anglo-Saxon period, with the development of a significant walled city in the Medieval period (Baker et al., 1992; Baker & Holt, 2004). The city's Medieval street pattern, city wall line, Medieval Cathedral, and some 16th and 17th-century timber-framed buildings are still visible in the city core, but the area's built fabric is dominated by a mix of later Georgian, Victorian, and Modern architecture. With this morphological legacy, it can be viewed as a jewel city, like other English cathedral cities, although within a tourism context it is not recognised as an official English Heritage City and underperforms in tourism visits and spending in comparison to the national average (Worcester City Council [WCC], 2017). Equally, although it is not widely recognised as an industrial/manufacturing centre, or core city, it does have a significant Victorian manufacturing heritage based on industries such as glove making, porcelain production, vinegar, and sauce making, and latterly engineering which have left an important legacy of industrial sites close to the city core (Bridges & Mundy, 1996).

The city centre was designated as the Historic City Conservation Area (HCCA) in 1969, covering a tightly drawn area focussed on the Cathedral and its setting, Foregate Street, and the commercial centre (based on the key north-south and east-west retail street spines and secondary shopping streets east of the High Street), and encompassing key listed buildings along these streets (Figure 1b). In common with other early designations, the conservation area has experienced boundary changes, representing important changes in both the local heritage map and conservation-planning-assemblage, and reflective of wider changes within the



(a) The location of Worcester in England.

(b) The Historic City Conservation Area, Worcester showing the current boundary and listed buildings within the area. Pre-2000 boundary variations shown in blue.

(c) Historic townscape characterisation of central Worcester showing designated areas.

Figure 1. The case study area. Sources: (a) World Easy Guides (n.d.), (b) WCC (n.d.), (c) Baker et al. (2004, p. 13).

national conservation AHD and a revaluing of areas of fabric within the core. In 1980, the boundary was amended to include the area within the Medieval city walls and areas that related directly to it, correcting identified deficiencies in the first boundary focused on the principal streets alone, and more clearly respecting the line of the city wall to the east, following a road redevelopment (Figure 1b). At this time Foregate Street, beyond the boundary of the railway bridge, was removed and included its own conservation area to the north. In 1992, the creation of the Riverside Conservation Area removed some parts of the riverside from the HCCA to the west. The most recent boundary change was in 2000, creating the current area boundary with the inclusion of more land to the northwest and south of the centre (Figure 1b).

The designation of the HCCA, and the aims articulated in the first designation document, represented an important "moment" in the development of conservation-planning in Worcester. A study of new building development in central Worcester from the 1940s–1980s by Vilagrasa and Larkham (1995) highlights the impact that the designation of the conservation area had. Their study reveals how planning officers were influential in shaping a new development discourse in the city, shifting the development trajectory away from the Modernist architectural styles that had dominated in the 1960s building boom, renegotiating new-build proposals to encourage the use of historical contextual styles, and promoting listed building refurbishment using grant funding (Figure 2). This transition to a greater emphasis on conservation within city centre development mirrors that of other similar historic centres during that period, such as Bristol (Barrett, 1996) and Chester (Mageean, 1999).

Whilst the HCCA is long-established and has undergone boundary reviews, the conservation area lacks a published character appraisal document to underpin management, in common with many other early-designated conservation areas (Larkham & Jones, 1993). Although national conservation legislation and guidance have made more explicit the need for these documents, complex city centre conservation areas have frequently been the last areas to be fully appraised, given the challenge of evaluating these heterogeneous areas and the capacity and resource constraints upon LPAs. Whilst historic townscape characterisation work covering the city's intra-mural core has been undertaken (Baker et al., 2004) as seen in Figure 1c, this remains unpublished and not part of the current formal planning guidance for the area. Consequently, the values embodied within the wider urban morphological frame of the area, and the significance of the constituent parts of the conservation area, remain largely unarticulated and implicit within the localised conservation-planning discourse, reliant on information relating to individual listed buildings, and bound within unpublished documents and the tacit knowledge of LPA conservation officers. This lack of a published appraisal and management document, which has been publicly consulted on, has therefore made it challenging for the LPA in managing the conservation area proactively, and in articulating whether new development preserves or enhances the area's character or contributes positively to its significance. Management has therefore been reliant on broader national and local conservation planning guidance and the everyday practice of conservation officers in advising on development proposals, with the changing conservation-planning-assemblage shaped through individual decisions on development applications which provide a useful resource to examine the unfolding of conservation practice on the ground.

3.2. The Use of Planning Application Records to Monitor Change

The principal source of data for the research is the planning application records held by LPAs. The 1947 and subsequent Town and Country Planning Acts have required all but the most minor of development proposals to obtain planning permission. LPAs hold publicly accessible records of these applications, now principally managed and accessed via online digital platforms. These planning application records provide a key resource for in-depth studies of built environment change, as they provide information on the applicants and agents involved, details of the nature of the development proposed, and the outcome of the LPA decision-making on the application. Files can also include supporting information, such as consultant reports, architectural drawings, and consultation correspondence. Supporting

(a) Modern retail development (multiple plots) (b) Modern architecture (increased height) (c) "Georgianizing" (neo-Georgian contextual style) (d) Refurbishment of listed buildings

Figure 2. Examples of Modern 1960s retail-led developments (a and b) and later contextual style schemes (c) and listed building refurbishment (d). Photos by the author.

documents and consultation responses can be helpful in exploring how particular values are articulated in the decision-making process by key actors, including developers, officers, amenity groups, and the public.

LPA planning records have been used in numerous research studies, and the benefits and challenges of utilising them have been long-articulated (Larkham, 1988). One of the primary problems in assessing the overall trajectory of change is the multiple counting of changes which can inflate the measure of development pressure. This can be a key issue when examining development in conservation areas which include many listed buildings, where separate applications for listed building consent (LBC) can duplicate full planning applications for the same development (Barrett, 1993). Within the current study, this problem of inflation is addressed by separating out these different application types in the presentation and analysis of data. Additionally, applications including multiple changes have not been disaggregated, which can also inflate figures, and each application is recorded under a single category code. Analysis concentrates on those applications categorised as major changes, which includes demolition and new building, major rebuilding schemes (principally involving redevelopment behind a retained building façade, i.e., façadism), upward or outward extensions to existing buildings, extensive refurbishment of buildings, and significant internal alteration to buildings. The category definitions used follow those employed by Barrett (1993, 1996) in studying townscape change in conservation areas. Major applications, whilst fewer in number compared to minor change applications, such as signage, have a significant visible impact upon the character of a conservation area. Additionally, a focus on major applications, particularly demolition and new building schemes, is useful as these applications are important in shaping local decision-making and therefore exploring changes in the conservation-planning-assemblage.

The study also draws upon policy information, planning meeting minutes, and personal reflection on practice to support the examination of the conservation planning discourse and contextualise the information available within the planning application records. Specifically, insights are drawn from interviews with conservation officers active in the city between 1978–2013 and minutes from the city's Planning Committee and Conservation Advisory Panel—formerly Conservation Area Advisory Committee. The analysis also draws on personal reflection in terms of the author's involvement with the Worcester Civic Society (a local amenity body) from the late 1990s onwards and as a member of the CAP since 2013. Reflection on actions from within the conservation-planning assemblage can offer additional insight into understanding the operation of everyday practices, how values were articulated, and how practice unfolded beyond traditional research observations.

4. The Changing Trajectory of Development in Worcester's Historic City Conservation Area

4.1. Overall Trends in the Volume and Nature of Major Development, 1987–2021

Analysis of planning application data reveals that the overall trajectory of major development applied for over the 35-year study period, from the late-1980s within the current boundaries of the HCCA, broadly mirrored wider commercial property development cycles within England, demonstrating the increasing interconnection between conservation and wider processes of economic change (Figure 3). The emerging wider national consensus that conservation was no longer viewed as a barrier to development is evident in the broadly similar patterns for full and LBC applications, indicating that conservation control through listing did not preclude managed change (Figure 3).

The end of the commercial property development boom of the late-1980s is evident, followed by a relative development downturn in the 1990s linked to economic declines resulting from a series of financial crises throughout the decade (Jadevicius & Huston, 2017). Within Worcester, as in other commercial cores, there

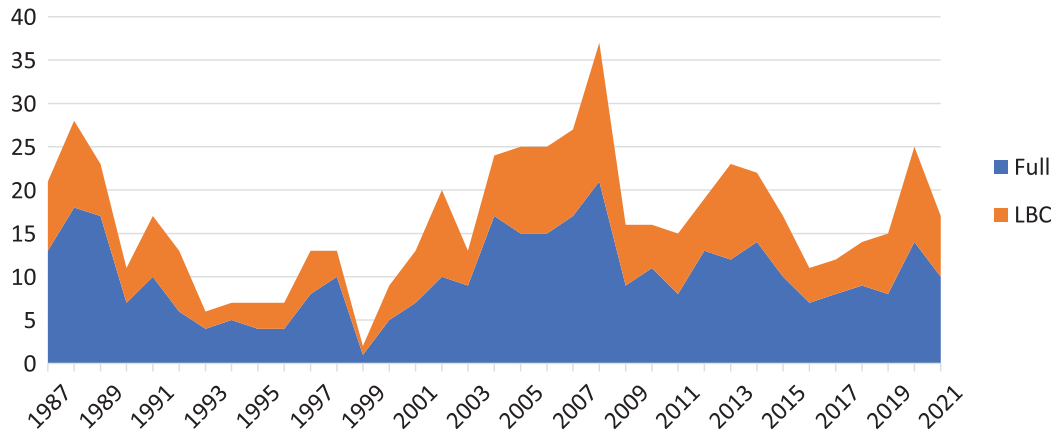


Figure 3. Volume of full (planning permission) and LBC major applications between 1987–2021 in the HCCA.

was an increasing number of applications in the early 2000s linked to the general upturn in the commercial building cycle, followed by a sharp decline after the 2008 global financial crash and a subdued recovery thereafter (Figure 3). LBC applications remained buoyant during this period, experiencing relatively less of a decline than general planning applications in line with the national picture (Historic England, 2021). In the period between 2016–2020, there was a slight rise in both planning and listed building applications, indicating a relatively confident, if modest, development market in the historic city, against a national backdrop of dips in both planning and LBC applications (Historic England, 2021). 2020 saw a sharp rise in applications, particularly LBC applications, although this declined sharply in 2021 as the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on commercial confidence were felt in the city, along with the country overall. In Worcester, as in other cities (Pendlebury et al., 2020), the increasing role of historic buildings as important elements in the economic recovery of places is evident.

Examination of the type of major change applied for over the study period offers additional insight into the local development trajectory in the core of Worcester and its relationship to conservation planning controls. Figure 4 shows that new building and demolition applications were more prevalent in the development upturns of the late-1980s and the early 2000s, although this almost all involved 20th-century unlisted fabric and minor buildings to the rear of plots. New building was more limited within periods of development downturn. Similarly, extensions to existing buildings, either to the rear or to the roofscape, were more evident in the periods of relative building boom. Both these trends highlight the impact of heritage restrictions within the historic city core, with a significant number of protected listed buildings and a small number of open development sites influencing when it was considered profitable for developers to navigate these constraints.

In this respect, Worcester mirrored the national picture with the economic benefits of historic building retention recognised, and proposals shifting from applications for demolition and rebuilding to a greater focus on the managed change of the existing historic fabric and the nature of permissible intervention (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). The strength of conservation controls is also evident in the fact that proposals involving façadism were infrequent during the study period, with this contentious practice largely rejected as a development form in the conservation area, again linked to strongly enforced building listing controls. In the late-1980s two schemes were submitted, but nothing further was applied for until 2013 and 2015 when development behind the retained façade of an unlisted Victorian factory building was proposed (Figure 4).

The other key trend, particularly from 2007 onwards, was the rising number of applications for significant internal alterations, linked to the conversion of the upper floors of buildings into housing (Figure 4). This was stimulated by two broader housing trends. Firstly, national limitations on new housebuilding on greenfield sites on the urban periphery increased the demand for, and economic return on, the development of flats in the city centre. Secondly, there was growing demand for student accommodation linked to the expansion of the University of Worcester. This trend for conversions continued from 2013 onwards as national planning changes to permitted development rights facilitated the conversion of upper-floor office accommodation to residential use. Internal alterations reached a post-2008 crash peak in 2020 but were curtailed in the mini-development slump resulting from the Covid-19 pandemic. There has been some debate as to whether the stimulus to encourage the conversion of buildings into housing represents a positive or negative trend for conservation areas and high streets (Clifford & Madeddu, 2022; Grimwood, 2021). Positively, it supports a longer-term conservation goal to bring the often empty upper floors of historic buildings in commercial centres back into use. However, concerns have also been expressed as to the quality of the new housing developed and the impact of conversions

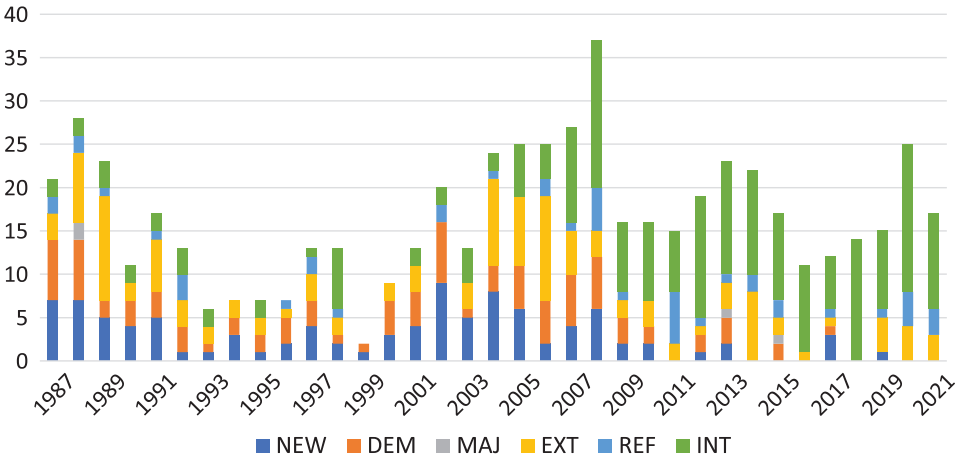


Figure 4. Trends in major development type between 1987–2021 in the HCCA. Note: Categories used refer to those outlined in Section 3.2.

on high street functional diversity. In this respect, whilst change to the external physical appearance of the conservation area was limited over the study period, the change to the functional character of the area was more extensive.

4.2. The Influence of the Heritage Map on Development in the Core

Examination of overall changes in the volume and nature of major development proposed between 1987–2021 reveals that conservation controls did not impede broader commercial development trends; however, it is clear from the analysis above that these unfolded in specific ways over the study period. Further analysis of the changing location and architectural style of applications for new build development reveals unique patterns of activity within each of the three decades of the study period, which reflected specific formations of the conservation-planning-assemblage, operating through individual application negotiations on these key developments and the changing frame of the heritage map. The first key phase is the period in the late-1980s into the 1990s when conservation became more central to the planning of the city core. The second phase covers changes in the first decade of the new millennium when conservation controls were extended beyond the focus of the intra-mural core, creating new challenges amid a rising volume of development. The final phase covers the period following the 2008 financial crisis when the period of austerity precipitated an increasing focus on heritage as an economic resource within private-sector development and created challenges for LPA conservation practice.

4.2.1. The Late-1980s and 1990s: Conservation-Led Commercial Development

By the late-1980s conservation had arguably emerged as the dominant paradigm influencing development in the city centre, in common with other historic centres (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). The constraints offered by the 1980 revised conservation area boundary, extensive building listing, and the presence of proactive and experienced conservation and design teams within the LPA, created a strong conservation-planning-assemblage that sought to pro-actively shape development proposals and preserve and enhance the character and appearance of the historic city in line with national conservation area guidance. Figure 5 maps the location, and illustrates the style, of new build development associated with the upturn in the building cycle in the late-1980s and into the 1990s. This reveals the influence of the heritage map of building listing, and recognition of important plan forms and character areas within the intra-mural core, in providing the material context within a conservation-planning-assemblage that supported the "cloaking" of modern development or its deflection to industrial fringe sites beyond the intra-mural core.

Modern commercial development was concealed through de-modernisation of earlier modern-style retail schemes (Figure 5a), use of backland sites behind retained historic buildings (Figure 5b and 5d), or through the adoption of Post-Modern historicist architectural styles (Figure 5c and 5e), characteristic of the new "conservation-area-architecture" evident in other historic jewel cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Larkham, 1996; Mageean, 1999; Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). Within the sluggish development market of the 1990s, the

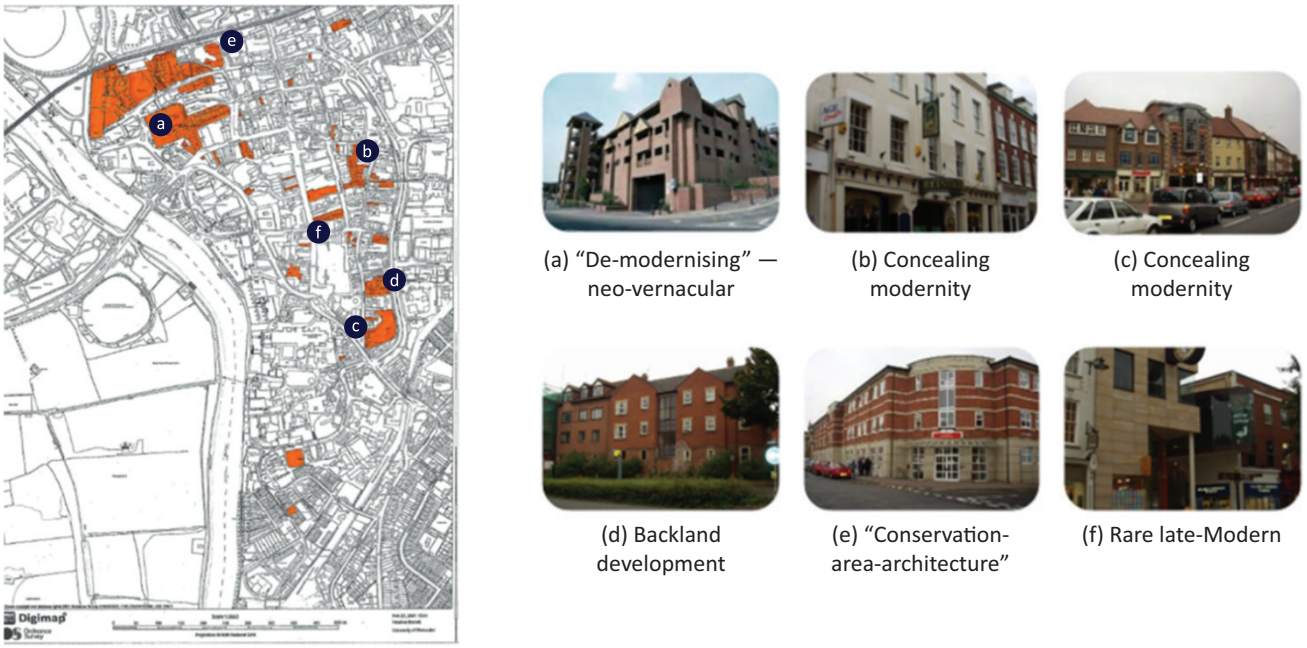


Figure 5. The location of new build development proposals between 1987–1997: The heritage map of backland development and concealed modernity. Base-map on the left by Digimap and on the right annotations and photos by the author.

experienced conservation officer team worked proactively with planning officers in the city to press developers for high-design quality conservation-led schemes. The success of this "assemblage" was most visible in a multiplex cinema development which included an extensive archaeological programme, a re-instated individual plot street frontage, and a per cent for art scheme (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008; Figure 5c). Only one new-build scheme, the City Arcade (Figure 5f), utilised the Late-Modern style more common for commercial new builds at the time. This was a contentious replacement for a Modernist 1950s shopping arcade on the High Street opposite the Grade I listed Guildhall. Within the mixed fabric of the High Street, the conservation officer had argued that this was an appropriate design response to the local historical context of the site, rather than defaulting to a Neo-Georgian pastiche building (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008). This reflected a deeper understanding of local character and value, informed by wider professional design and conservation planning values, combining retention of historical significance alongside innovative new urban design and public art schemes, with the scheme receiving recognition in the national Civic Trust Awards.

By the late-1980s, the revised heritage map, with increased asset designation and an amended 1980 conservation area boundary, had become established and deflected proposals for larger-scale commercial developments for housing, and a major supermarket, to the area to the north of the line of the city wall, beyond the conservation area boundary (Figure 1b and Figure 5). In this marginal core area, beyond the frame of the heritage map, tensions between conservation and redevelopment were played out through difficult and protracted negotiations on new build applications, with the LPA seeking to extend its conservation-led approach to commercial development by refusing initial proposals and developing an urban design brief for part of the area to provide clearer articulation of the historical value of the area and its character significance to support their wish for schemes sensitive to the local historical context (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008). That these proposed developments were not eventually built highlights the emerging tensions in the conservation-planning-assemblage, where the materiality of the undesignated fabric beyond the heritage map was less able to support the application of the conservation-led approaches and values hitherto articulated by conservation offices in commercial developments, although developers did not feel willing to test this at a planning appeal.

4.2.2. The 2000s: Shifting Boundaries and Changing Development Pressures

In the 2000s, substantive retail-led development effectively ceased within the newly expanded conservation area. The enhanced control offered by the frame of the revised heritage map deflected proposals for large retail schemes towards older industrial sites beyond the HCCA, or to retail parks on the edge of the city. Also, in Worcester, as elsewhere in the country, this was a time of change to the high street (Wrigley et al., 2015), with challenges to the dominance of the core as the primary retail zone and a shift to more non-retail and leisure uses. In this period new building proposals changed to be largely residential-led, presenting new challenges to negotiation within the conservation-planning-assemblage. However, in the continued absence of a published appraisal document for the revised conservation area, development negotiation continued to be guided by tacit conservation knowledge and the differing value attached to fabric within the intra-mural (jewel) and the extra-mural (core) parts of the conservation area.

Initially, there was continuity in the nature of proposals, which sought to utilise backland areas, or the limited number of small vacant sites within the intra-mural area, rather than seeking demolition and rebuilding (Figure 6). These smaller schemes increasingly adopted more Late-Modern styling as LPA officers continued to shape the local heritage discourse in terms of contemporary urban design approaches to conservation practice and managed change, seeking a move away from a default of historicist pastiche to promote more local context and innovation in schemes, although largely using the height and building materials pallet of the core and often only on sites hidden from the primary street frontage (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008; Figures 6d, 6e, and 6f). Consequently, there was limited impact on the physical characteristics of the conservation area demonstrating the tight material controls offered by the frame of the heritage map of enhanced designation and continuity in the values and approaches offered in negotiating proposals by established conservation and planning teams. Late-Modern styling was also used on the re-cladding of the prominent 1960s shopping centre Cathedral Square (Figure 2a in its original form) at the end of the High Street opposite Worcester Cathedral. As a refurbishment rather than a rebuild there was little negotiating leverage for LPA officers to press for a more contextual cloaked scheme, like the multiplex development in the 1990s (Figure 5c), despite its sensitive location opposite the Cathedral (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008).

Both the increasing volume and complexity of development proposals in the new millennium and personnel changes within the established conservation and planning teams precipitated modification of the established operation of the conservation-planning-assemblage, with increasing constraint on the nature and extent of conservation control exerted by LPA officers (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008). These challenges were particularly exemplified in the most significant development application during the period, again beyond the edge of the intra-mural area in an industrial core zone to the south of the conservation

Figure 6. The location of new build development proposals between 1998–2007: Change at extra-mural edges and "hidden'' late-Modernism. Base-map on the left by Digimap and on the right annotations and photos by the author.

area, with proposals for redevelopment of the former Royal Worcester Porcelain manufacturing site (Figure 6b and 6c). The speed with which the Porcelain Works became vacant left conservation officers relatively unprepared in articulating their values in guiding the redevelopment of this site, focussed as they had been on smaller developments within the intra-mural core, without a clear approach to dealing with this industrial heritage (Conservation officer, interview, 18 July 2008). Without a strong material frame of building listing or character assessment guidance to inform negotiation on development, the design of the scheme was shaped principally by the developer's generic conception of contextual canal side heritage, with little reference to Worcester's architectural vernacular or the morphology of this former industrial area. Through protracted and contentious negotiation, the one listed building was retained in the scheme, although other unlisted industrial fabric was removed or only partially retained through façadism (Figure 6c), reflecting a shift to privilege developer interests and values in negotiation within the Worcester conservation-planning-assemblage. The impact was one of both significant physical and functional character changes, resulting in the residential gentrification of this former industrial zone.

4.2.3. The 2010s: Conservation in the Age of Austerity

The economic crash of 2008 had a significant impact on development in central Worcester (Figure 7), with a reduction in the number of new building applications which paralleled development trends in other larger European historic cities (Pendlebury et al., 2020). In the face of austerity, city administrations increasingly promoted neo-liberal economic agendas of diversification and regeneration which challenged earlier conservation planning discourses, with cuts in LPA budgets curtailing their capacity to play a proactive role in guiding development (Pendlebury et al., 2020). In part, this was evident in Worcester, with cuts in planning department personnel and broader pressure to speed up decision-making on applications putting negotiating capacity under strain. The small number of recent new build developments have come primarily from either local educational institutions or culture-led commercial schemes. Firstly, the University of Worcester has been an increasingly important agent in shaping local urban heritage discourses through its developments, as has been evident in other cities (Melhuish et al., 2022). The most significant new build development during the period was a joint university and public library, "The Hive," an iconic building that could be viewed as a "flagship" development, built on an industrial site to the north of the intra-mural area (Figure 7a). The building's design emphasises sustainability and its symbolic role as linking "town and gown" in the city, rather than seeking to meld with the character of this part of the historic city. In the continued absence of an appraisal document articulating the local character, value, and significance of this part of the conservation area, conservation discourses of contextualisation have been supplanted by the discourses of iconic architecture and the creative knowledge-based city (Strange, 2016).

Other developments post-2008 also highlight the contemporary challenges to local conservation practice within the age of austerity, with the reappearance of façadism in further development proposals for the Royal Porcelain Works site (Figure 7c). Here, the planned culture-led development was substantially revised to

Figure 7. The location of new build development proposals between 2008—2021: Conservation in the "age of austerity." Sources: (a) University of Worcester (2019; image), (b) base-map on the left by Digimap, (c) annotations and photos by the author, and (d) Barnett (2019; image).

contain less retention of historic fabric and include more market housing to fund viable redevelopment (WCC CAAC, 2016). Additionally, pressures for increased building heights have emerged in Worcester, with plans for a large block of student flats opposite the Hive development (Figure 7d), reflecting the recent trend for tall buildings in cities (Short, 2007) which here has filtered down the urban hierarchy to smaller cities beyond the larger core cities. In approving the scheme, including the demolition of an unlisted 19th-century engineering factory building, the LPA's emphasis was focused on the economic value of the individual site (WCC CAP, 2019; WCC Planning Committee, 2019), with no reference to the wider character context of the conservation area, albeit still unarticulated through lack of an appraisal document, highlighting the emerging pressures which have continued to reshape Worcester's local conservation-planning-assemblage.

5. Conclusions

This article has sought to examine the trajectory of major development change from the late-1980s onwards within Worcester's HCCA, aiming to detail occurring conservation practice on the ground through a focus on the material nature of that change as an outcome of the operation of the local conservation-planning-assemblage. As an early-designated conservation area, the HCCA has experienced the effects of numerous "turns" in English conservation planning practice as this has evolved as part of the fluctuating development agendas for cities. Charting the local trajectory of major development within the conservation area over this 35-year period reveals that, in common with other English cities, conservation planning has become increasingly complexly enmeshed with development and regeneration activities, rather than separate from it, a trajectory which is set to endure with guidance at both the national (GOV.UK, 2021) and international (Roders & Bandarin, 2019) level increasingly articulating the aspiration to balance heritage protection alongside sustainable urban development.

Importantly, analysis of major development and change within a single conservation area over time reveals the ways in which this change has been shaped through the operation of an assemblage of assets, actors, policies, and practices, embodying key values and discourses about heritage and conservation. Considering conservation planning as an assemblage assists in understanding the complexity, but also mutability, of the social-material relationships in this arena of heritage management. As Pendlebury (2013, p. 724) observes: "[Assemblage] helps draw out the horizontal and shifting power relationships that exist in contestations over the management of places, alongside the hegemonic vertical power relations that also exist within AHDs." Echoing McGuirk et al.'s (2016) consideration of urban regeneration, assemblage accounts of conservation planning can invigorate our sense of its possible pathways by exposing the constitution of its trajectories, opening up new insights and revealing hidden capacities that are seemingly quiescent. Equally, assemblage's appreciation of materiality and its agentic capacities extends consideration of the range of actants and forces enlivening conservation outcomes, with the morphological materiality of buildings and places having an important role in

constructing the assemblage, its values and discourses, specifically in relation to their identification, or not, as designated heritage assets within the local heritage map.

As the Worcester example reveals, the frame offered by the heritage map of asset designation (building listing and the boundary of the conservation area) exerts a strong influence on development trajectories on the ground. In Worcester, different conservation outcomes were delivered within the professionally valued and highly protected Medieval historic core (the jewel), where redevelopment was "masked" by strong conservation-led design control, and the former industrial extra-mural areas to the north and south of the historic centre (the core), where the predominantly unlisted status of many buildings, and their comparatively late incorporation into the conservation area, lead to more comprehensive redevelopment which paid little regard to the deeper historical character of these areas in both a material and non-material sense. Critically, the preservation and enhancement of the historical character of the conservation area was hampered by the continued absence of a published character appraisal of the area. The heritage values and significance, embodied within the materiality of the wider urban morphological frame of the area, therefore remained largely unarticulated and implicit, reliant on information relating to individual listed buildings and the tacit values, knowledge, and practice of LPA conservation officers. Tensions were evident in decision-making as these unarticulated, tacit values and practices within the local conservation-planning-assemblage were increasingly challenged by different values within a changing local and national economic and political context.

Clear articulation of the values embodied in HULs is of critical concern to the development of conservation practice at all levels, not just locally in the context of Worcester's HCCA, but also nationally and internationally, in seeking to reconcile heritage protection with sustainable urban development and the continuing vitality of urban centres in a holistic way. This contemporary challenge can be viewed in the context of the UNESCO Recommendation on the HUL 2011, and its espousal of an inclusive landscape-based approach, with a clear acknowledgement of the importance of non-exceptional landscapes which are nonetheless illustrative of collective memories and identities (Sykes & Ludwig, 2015). Considering the wider historic value of urban landscapes, beyond a focus on "exceptional" individual buildings, demands the adoption of a more nuanced and informed consideration of the relational complexity of urban form and embedded cultural value (Roders & Bandarin, 2019; Rodwell, 2018). Whilst the HUL recommendation provides guidelines on implementing a landscape-based approach, it has lacked operational methods for assessment which are cross-cultural, and which provide a dynamic consideration of urban landscapes as the cumulative outcome of complex processes (Palaiologou, 2017). Several authors have suggested that the methods, concepts, and representational tools from the field of urban morphology can provide the basis for systematic investigation of the historical morphogenetic processes of urban landscape change and articulate how individual buildings, monuments, and special areas relate to one another, and how they emerge from a process of change over time and embody meanings (Palaiologou, 2017; Rodwell, 2018; Thomas, 2018; Whitehand & Gu, 2010). However, engagement with this body of work by conservation professionals remains limited (Rodwell, 2018; Thomas, 2018), and whilst urban morphological approaches have been viewed as potentially an important basis for HUL analyses (Jokilehto, 2015) their terminology and techniques are frequently viewed as too complex to understand and too time-consuming to apply (van Oers, 2015). A challenge, therefore, remains in seeking to apply more nuanced and inclusive approaches to articulating the embodied cultural values within HULs. In the context of Worcester's HCCA, this challenge is indeed pressing as it still lacks a published appraisal document through which such values can be articulated. As we emerge from the Covid-19 pandemic, with significant government regeneration funding recently secured by WCC for projects in the city centre, it is critical that detailed character guidance for the conservation area is produced, publicly consulted on, and adopted, to clearly set out what within the city's historic centre is valued and why, and to convey a locally agreed vision for its future sustainable management. Without this, the area will be unprepared for the planning challenges which lie ahead and remain vulnerable to continued incremental erosion of its deeper local historic character and meaning.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Heather Barrett is a principal lecturer in human geography at the University of Worcester. Her teaching and research interests relate to urban geography and planning, particularly urban morphology, and urban conservation planning. She has published research in these areas and is also the co-author of the undergraduate student textbook *Urban Geography*. She is a senior fellow of the Higher Education Academy and has undertaken a range of pedagogic research, recently focussed on education for sustainable development.

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