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Things Don't Really Exist Until You Give Them a Name
Unpacking Urban Heritage

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Unpacking urban heritage

Rachel Lee, Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk and Philipp Misselwitz (eds.)

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CONTENTS

Urban heritage in Dar es Salaam?
photo credit: Rachel Lee

INTRODUCTION

Things don't really exist until you give them a name:
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Rachel Lee and Philipp Misselwitz

Urban heritage conundrum

Urban built environments are spatial and material archives. Streets, buildings, open spaces, or infrastructures are registers of historical negotiations and repositories of data. Stories of power, geopolitics, economic systems, labour and culture can be revealed through road names and construction materials, portals and pediments, park benches and chimneys. Embodying our desires, needs, and resources, they condition how we live and interact with each other, and trigger countless reinterpretations and re-appropriations. Most of this dense layering is not immediately legible; it has not been decoded. Rather it is part of a more intuitive, lived sense of "urbanity" that generates contemporary individual and collective senses of identity and belonging. These complex urban palimpsests form the constitutive stages upon, with and against which everyday and extraordinary cultural life is performed.

While transformation is generally accepted as inherent to the urban condition, demo-litions and other forms of destruction can spark conflicts fuelled by a perceived threat to identity. In such controversial contexts, the impulse to record, protect and preserve a piece of urban fabric, for the narratives it encapsulates or the practices it enables, instigates debates about the foregrounding of what is otherwise taken for granted by designating it as worth protecting: labelling it as heritage is giving it a name. Equally, in a contrasting scenario, activists seeking redress for historical wrongs or recognition for past elisions can also pursue the demolition of objects that have previously been granted heritage status.

Such debates also demonstrate how difficult it is to intervene, as the question of what is foregrounded or protected is inextricably linked to the question of *who* makes that choice, *who* has the resources to act, and *whose* heritage is represented, as Stuart Hall famously underlined.[1] While the erasure of specific heritage elements associated with ethnic, religious or racial groups is a strategy in many conflicts and wars, curatorial

authorship of "naming heritage" may also be subtle and its motivations not always so explicit. Heritage protection lists for buildings or urban areas, as well as heritage trails or guided city walks, for example, reveal, at close scrutiny, agendas that are not shared by everyone and that are potentially alienating. Motivated by political or commercial self-interest, they may convey historical narratives that are sanctioned by some, and contested by others, reinterpreting the city as a consciously and narrowly curated display of culture. Heritage agendas are often delineated within a nation-state frame-work with the intention of constructing and reinforcing a sense of national identity and belonging.[2] The discriminatory nature of this approach necessarily excludes alternative narratives, reifying certain stories while omitting others. Some voices are loudly represented; others are silenced or ignored. Clearly this inequity has the potential to provoke new conflict. Herein lies the urban heritage conundrum: Although heritage is touted as having the power to effect social cohesion and galvanise communities, it is intrinsically contested and divisive.

Urban heritage conflicts
Differences in the influence of discourses, the application of policies and instruments, and the willingness of local and national authorities to heed grassroots movements, shape diverse urban heritage scenarios around the world. Recently, multiple urban heritage conflicts have been reported on in local and international media, revealing struggles among governments, activists and developers. These examples show that urban history is deeply disputed and, at the same time, exerts power over the present.

In line with the disposal of the statue of the colonist Cecil Rhodes from the University of Cape Town campus in 2015, this year has witnessed the removal of Confederacy-era memorials, which celebrate histories linked to the enslavement of African-Americans, from public spaces in the American South. In Baltimore, the municipality used the cover of night to stealthily dispose of public statuary,[3] while in broad daylight the student Takiya Thomson took matters into her own hands, placing a noose around the Confederate Soldiers Monument in Durham, North Carolina, and allowing others to topple the figure from its plinth, reducing it to a heap of buckled bronze.[4] Meanwhile alt-right demonstrators, tacitly tolerated by the Trump administration, protested against the erasure of what they perceived as legitimate and heroic North American history. Past and present conflicts around race and politics frequently converge and cause a surge of deadly clashes not only in the United States.

In other cases, rather than being catalysed by activists' protests, erasures from the built environment have been initiated by government authorities intent on overwriting inconvenient histories of past political eras. Earlier this year, despite local and global protests from groups including the International Union of Architects, New York's MoMA and the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the Hall of Nations complex in New Delhi designed by architect Raj Rewal and engineer Mahendra Raj was demolished just days before a court hearing seeking to stop the destruction was scheduled.[5]+[6] Although marking a high point in modern India's architectural history and commemorating 25 years of independence when it opened in 1972, the iconic group of symbolic buildings (including the Nehru Pavilion) did not correspond to the Hindu nationalist narrative that the current government seeks to impose. In the name of heritage, Turkey under the presidency of Recep Erdogan aims to erase the emblematic buildings of the Kemalist and secular

Turkish Republic on Taksim Square, such as the Ataturk Cultural Palace, replacing them with dehistoricising Ottomanesque structures.

In Dar es Salaam urban heritage is often violently lost to massive redevelopment pressure through so-called "stealth demolitions" – bulldozers move onto National Housing Corporation (government) owned properties on holiday weekends, such as Eid, with only a few days' notice – if any – given to the tenants. Not only does this long weekend strategy prevent legal injunctions being sought, but, as many people travel during these periods, some families return to Dar es Salaam to find that their homes and businesses have been reduced to rubble and the contents looted. Following the "stealth demolition" of an entire city block that consisted of five historical structures, one known as the "Light Corner" built in 1905, the historical centre of Dar es Salaam was added to the World Monument Fund "watch list". Meanwhile in Berlin, on the site of the painstakingly dismantled GDR parliament building – the Palast der Republik – the publicly protested reconstruction of the Prussian Palace is nearing completion. As well as erasing a potent symbol of Berlin's divided, Cold War past, the Humboldt Forum, as the new building is called, will display objects gathered during Germany's colonial occupations in the rooms of the relocated Ethnological Museum. The risk of glorifying Germany's monarchic, imperial past is obvious.

From universal certainty to conflict-based perceptions of heritage
Throughout most of its history the heritage community responded to conflict by attempting to define a universal set of norms and standards reflecting a belief in values and certainties that would be immune to individual or group co-optation. Since early iterations such as the influential Venice Charter of 1964, protection-oriented, international organisations like UNESCO and ICOMOS have relied on the deliberations of elites including academics and politicians to select material objects, building or ensembles, and analyse, canonise and preserve those elements which were perceived to reveal a specific and unique cultural value. Over the second half of the twentieth century, the definition of the term "cultural heritage" changed considerably. Valuing everyday, immaterial culture slowly became a component of the heritage landscape. Embodied in practices, representations, expressions, knowledge or skills, "intangible cultural heritage" was finally recognised by UNESCO in 2003. While the scope of heritage may have gradually widened, the awarding of heritage status remained the remit of professional committees and advisors until very recently. Indeed, it was not until an intervention by the Council of Europe in 2005 that a real paradigm shift occurred: the "radical"[7] Faro Convention declared the right to heritage to be a basic human right.[8]+[9] Going beyond conventional conceptions of heritage, such as places of "outstanding universal value" or national significance, the Faro Convention also recognises heritage in "all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places and through time."[10] And, by omitting territorial and social criteria from its delineation of "heritage communities", it repudiates the sometimes-perceived need for an individual to physically or culturally "belong" to a locale in order to contribute to the collective conversation about its heritage. As well as opening up the discussion to a diverse range of voices beyond national boundaries, this also allows for virtual and digital participation.[11]

These institutional discourses have been accompanied by democratising movements within the academic heritage community that also attempt to make heritage more

inclusive and community-oriented. Significant among these is "heritage from below", which draws on Subaltern Studies, itself an expression of the "history from below" movement that began in the 1960s and contributed to revitalising social history through its focus on studies of non-elites. In architectural and urban history a similar moment is marked by an interest in vernacular and indigenous building and spatial practices, perhaps epitomised by the exhibition *Architecture without Architects* curated by Bernard Rudofsky at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1965. As is the case with the early interventions of Subaltern Studies, much of the theoretical base of "heritage from below" is founded on Gramscian notions of hegemony. As an expression of oppositional cultures, "heritage from below" works from the ground up, proposing counter-hegemonic heritage narratives to those of the dominant society, with little input from heritage professionals. Because they engage with identity at a local rather than national level, these narratives harbour the potential to unite communities around alternative constructions of identity and narratives of place, and are particularly effective in urban situations,[12] where they can build new "communities", sometimes in animosity to old ones.

Although "heritage from below" aspires to minimise the role of external professionals, it does not exclude it. Reconciling this issue of the influence and dominance of the urban heritage "curator", particularly in contexts where grassroots mobilisation is weak and development pressures are strong, is difficult. This challenge was summed up succinctly by Joy Mboya, director of the GoDown Arts Center, Nairobi. When discussing the *Nai Ni Who?* [Who is Nairobi?] festival, she asked: "How do we enter the space without leading the conversation, leading the interrogation?"[13] Even with the best of intentions, curating and communicating "heritage from below" risks both exposing people and their cultural practices, and manipulating or co-opting their voices through the (self-appointed) role of spokesperson. And, in attempting to make urban heritage more inclusive by representing more voices – as the Faro Convention envisages – and thereby defining discrete cultural "groups" or "communities", curators and researchers are marking them as exceptional. Teasing out differences and specificities could be less constructive than underscoring similarities.[14]

"Heritage from below" and the Faro Convention have challenged the status quo, opening up heritage as a discursive space that includes multiple and diverse narratives. They have also complicated – in a positive sense – decision-making processes about what is maintained, demolished and remembered in public space and created a new set of references for challenges to ill-conceived policies and practice. Rather than considering conflict as the enemy of heritage, it has now become central and constitutive of the way heritage is understood.

However, crucial limitations need to be acknowledged. Critical discourses still frequently remain trapped in a bubble of global heritage professionals or academic elites. And even in that context, while academic debates continue to produce detailed analyses of heritage at national and supranational levels, there is a paucity of explorations of "heritage from below". The notion has been named, but the constituting practices and methods have not. While lauded as a concept, on an operational level the Faro Convention remains relatively untested. Indeed, around the world even the power of global organisations such as UNESCO to influence national and local policies is extremely limited. Finally, one might argue that opening and broadening the scope of heritage

has made a formal definition increasingly difficult. How can something so broad be protected in practice? How can politicians be held accountable along this axis of possibility? While building on the broad and conflict-sensitive lens introduced by the Faro Convention and the "heritage from below" approach, this book aims to contribute to the on-going heritage discourse in three distinct ways:

1. Bringing an urban lens to the heritage debate

Things don't really exist until you give them a name opens a more explicit link between heritage discourses to critical urban studies and the "right to the city" discourses. It thus followed a rights-based approach that underlines the crucial role of local people in the definition of heritage,[15] in line with the emphasis of current urban theory on the lived experience of city dwellers.[16] By locating the claim for a right to heritage within specific urban settings, it is hoped that the dilemma between a broad and inclusive heritage understanding on the one hand, and the need for formalisation and political accountability can be overcome. To give something a name, as the title of the book suggests, could be understood as claiming a "right" to identity and representation in the city.

2. Horizontal learning across diverse contexts

Rather than focusing on examples of urban heritage from one region, such as Germany or northern Europe, *Things don't really exist until you give them a name* brings together a selection of explorations from around the world. The book's wide geographical scope allows the effects of geopolitical and economic shifts through, for example, colonial and postcolonial histories, Cold War heritage narratives, and the making and remaking of space by neoliberal global capital, to be explored in specific urban contexts in Africa, South Asia, Europe, and North and Latin America.[17] Within this comparative framework, by conceiving of the various urban areas using Jennifer Robinson's notion of ordinary cities,[18] the application of divisive labels and categories such as Western, Third World, global North/South, post-socialist etc. has been avoided. Amongst the global case studies, Dar es Salaam, the largest city, former colonial capital and now thriving commercial centre of Tanzania, as well as the German capital of Berlin, have received a particular focus as entry points into a global heritage debate.

3. Connecting new voices to the heritage debate

Drawing on two years of curated research activities conducted through the overarching project Simulizi Mijini / UrbanNarratives (www.urbannarratives.org), this book assembles contributions by voices not usually included in heritage discourses including practising, researching and teaching architects and urbanists, as well as artists, journalists, urban activists, historians and curators. By foregrounding activist tactics, artistic strategies, teaching methods and tools, and research this book aims to broaden the scope of a solution-oriented debate of heritage conflicts.

Critical positions

Things don't really exist until you give them a name is organised as an assemblage; its rhythm is dictated by the variety of contributions. Our aim was not to produce a book to be read linearly from the first page to the last, although that is also a possibility, but rather to be dipped in and out of, using the tension created by the juxtaposition of contrasting contributions and formats to stimulate ambiguities and catalyse new links between ideas. It brings together contributions that engage with urban heritage around

the world by authors working in a range of fields and media. While some authors prob-
lematise national heritage narratives, as Samaila Suleiman does in his study of Nigeria,
the majority focuses on expanding the realm of urban heritage by presenting previously
overlooked or excluded cases. Beyond memorials, monuments and listed buildings,
the authors consider urban heritage through a variety of objects, places and practices
as well as technologies and infrastructures. These include street signs in Berlin that
uncritically memorialise the city's colonial past; the habit of taking short cuts through
Lubumbashi's back alleys that is a legacy of colonial urban planning; and an artistic
intervention in the centre of Lahore – a particularly volatile environment for heritage
activism – to commemorate people who were killed in the city's streets. Not confined to
archives and secondary literature, these essays point out that urban heritage is not only
inscribed into the built environment; it is part of the embodied experience of the city.

The authors also unpack methodological questions related to approaching, reading,
documenting, archiving, curating, exhibiting and communicating urban heritage. Al-
though several pieces discuss the potentials of oral history as a method of data collec-
tion, brochures, books and birds-eye view maps still dominate as means of transmis-
sion. Reflecting current theoretical considerations on decolonising research,[19] some
essays, such as Erica Abreu and Marcelo Murta's contribution on community museums
in favelas in Brazil, highlight the importance of disseminating research findings back to
the community from which the knowledge was gathered, in formats that will be em-
braced by that community.

Interspersed among the critical essays are presentations of the work produced by
invited artists during residencies, including a set of wooden stools that traversed Dar
es Salaam, an archival investigation of the role of German missionaries in the forced
resettlement of southern African communities, and paintings of everyday activities in
Berlin's parks. Interviews with heritage activists, who discuss among other things music
landscapes and the challenges in opening a dialogue with local government, add to the
mix. At the beginning of the book a critical reflection on the pedagogical methods and
tools that guided student investigations of urban heritage in Dar es Salaam and Berlin,
and the results they produced, completes the combination.

Right to urban narrative?
Reflecting concerns of postcolonial studies, gender studies, and, indeed, "heritage
from below", Arundhati Roy's epigraph to *The God of Small Things* reads, "Never again
will a single story be told as though it's the only one."[20] The diversity of urban heritage
narratives contained in this book confirms that there are countless ways of interpreting,
defining and recounting heritage. At this point, however, it is perhaps crucial to ask:
What can bind the ever-diversifying aggregate of narratives? Twenty years later, in con-
sidering how to tell a story of narrative fragments, Roy suggested an answer: "By slowly
becoming everybody. No. By slowly becoming everything."[21] This kind of foregrounding
of the background, of creating a complex relief in which all things are contoured – and
named – was an underlying intention of the project, particularly in the explorations of
Dar es Salaam and Berlin; many of the contributions in this book also reveal a commit-
ment to carefully rendering inclusive urban heritage narratives. However, the textual
space of a novel is a more manageable territory for realising such a vision than the
vastly more complex terrain of urban space. As detailed, vibrant and community-based

as the urban heritage narratives may be, they remain splinters. Perhaps then, as well as naming urban heritage as it pertains to particular groups or places, it is also important to explore, at a more abstract level, what might connect them.

When studying closely related things, such as a row of tenement buildings, there is a (learned?) tendency to seek differences among them (the windows are smaller in that one; the ornamentation is richer in this one). However, when studying a selection of less obviously related things, such as urban squares in different cities, there is an inclination to find similarities between them (there are fountains in all of them; there are benches here, here and here). While differences remain discrete and isolating, the recognition of similarities and linkages opens up the possibility to perceive unexpected patterns and complex relationships. With their wide sweep of the planet's cities, the diverse and multidisciplinary interpretations of urban heritage juxtaposed in this book could be a starting point for such an analysis. By presenting a range of related yet contextually very different cases of "heritage from below", there is the potential – through reading with and against the grain – to construe similarities among the examples, and recognise patterns and relationships from which new theories could perhaps be generated, named, and form the basis for further investigations.

1   Stuart Hall, 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling "the Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-nation', *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1 December 1999): 3–13.

2   Stuart Hall, 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling "the Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-nation', *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1 December 1999): 3–13.

3   Jamie Grierson, 'Baltimore Takes down Confederate Statues in Middle of Night', *The Guardian*, 16 August 2017, sec. US news, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/16/baltimore-takes-down-confederate-statues-in-middle-of-night.

4   Democracy Now!, 'Meet the College Student Who Pulled Down a Confederate Statue in Durham & Defied White Supremacy', *Democracy Now!*, 16 August 2017, https://www.democracynow.org/2017/8/16/meet_the_college_student_who_pulled.

5   The Wire Staff, 'Despite Opposition, Hall of Nations in Pragati Maidan Demolished', *The Wire*, 24 April 2017, https://thewire.in/127843/hall-of-nations-demolished/.

6   'The Demolition of Delhi's Hall of Nations Reveals India's Broken Attitude to Architectural Heritage', *ArchDaily*, 23 June 2017, http://www.archdaily.com/874154/the-demolition-of-delhis-hall-of-nations-reveals-indias-broken-attitude-to-architectural-heritage.

7   John Schofield, *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Farnham, Surry, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 2, http://site.ebrary.com/id/10802613.

8   Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, 'The Social and Spatial Frameworks of Heritage – What's New in the Faro Convention?', in *Heritage and Beyond*, ed. Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2009), 69.

9   The 2008 ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites included some of the concepts of the Faro Convention.

10   Council of Europe, 'Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society', *Treaty Office*, 27 October 2005, https://www.coe.int/web/conventions/full-list.

11   See for example: Madalena Cunha Matos, Johan Lagae, and Rachel Lee, 'Digital Lieux de Mémoire. Connecting History and Remembrance through the Internet', *ABE Journal. Architecture beyond Europe*, no. 3 (2 February 2013).

12   Iain J. M. Robertson, 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance', in *The Routledge Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Peter Howard (Routledge, 2016).

13   Joy Mboya, 'Nai Ni Who?' (Simulizi Mijini: Reconfiguring urban heritage from below, Dar es Salaam, 1 April 2016).

14   Benjamin Zachariah, 'On Not Understanding the Stranger: Histories, Collective Victimhood and the Futility of Postcolonialism', in *Cultural Politics and Identity: The Public Space of Recognition*, ed. Barbara Weber et al. (LIT Verlag Münster, 2011), 112.

15   Schofield, *Who Needs Experts?*

16   For example: Swati Chattopadhyay, Edgar Pieterse, Ananya Roy, AbdouMaliq Simone, Vanessa Watson

17   Unfortunately Eastern Europe, Australasia, and South East Asia are not represented

18   Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* (Routledge, 2013).

19   Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books, 1999); Raewyn Connell, 'Using Southern Theory: Decolonizing Social Thought in Theory, Research and Application', *Planning Theory*, 2 September 2013; Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2008).

20   Arundhati Roy, *The God of Small Things* (Penguin Books India, 2002), quoting John Berger.

21   Arundhati Roy, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (Penguin UK, 2017), 442.

Urban heritage in Berlin?
photo credit: Rachel Lee

TALKING CITIES

Urban narratives from Dar es Salaam and Berlin

Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk and Rachel Lee

In 2016, summer schools were held in Dar es Salaam and Berlin with students from the architecture, urban design and town and regional planning programmes at Ardhi University and the Technical University Berlin. The following is a reflection on the challenges, opportunities and insights that arose from inserting storytelling into the curricula of spatial practices.[1]

In the rooms that narrate Tanzania's history since the origins of humankind, objects such as skulls and Omani beds anchor the stories to the museum's spaces. More than the National Museum's exhibits, however, what instigates conversations between the students is the colossal tree that stands in the centre of the landscaped garden. Is it native to Tanzania? The beautiful *ficus benjamina*, which by many accounts is over a century old, originates from the Indian subcontinent and is one of the many sacred trees of Dar es Salaam. As we discuss its story, other narratives of transcontinental migration begin to emerge, interwoven with the plot of the city's development.

Months later, the students are sitting in a circle, staring into the *Kaiserpanorama* in Berlin's Märkisches Museum (city museum). Stereoscopic images of an old city scroll in front of their eyes: the steel and glass structure of a 19th century building; the mayor, flanked by industrial leaders, celebrating the opening of a new bridge over the River Spree; a crowd of Berliners gathered for a fair in a public square. With each rotation, a mechanical bell rings; and the hundred-year-old viewing system gradually makes us believe in the narratives portrayed through these "real" historical images. But beyond the fascination with the quirky device, an uncomfortable feeling arises: these fragments of the past feel like an isolated demonstration, an encapsulated illusion of a past that can no longer be accessed. Few questions emerge in the group: the city is being spoken for.

Exploring urban heritage "from below" requires taking some distance from institutional discourses, since politicians, museum curators, and historians, among others, select what is kept and validated, and what is silenced and excluded. As parts of the city are sometimes not considered integral agents of a city's identity, entire buildings, streets,

neighbourhoods and communities become implicitly excluded from official histories. Attempting to locate blind spots where tangible and intangible heritage has been erased or forgotten inevitably triggers a reassessment of activism, research and teaching in spatial practices. Where do we look and how do we see the "other" picture of urban heritage? How do we handle the fragmentation, disappearance and simplification that so often sanctions a city's history into a single story? One key pedagogical objective was to shift the perception of heritage in Dar es Salaam and Berlin by assembling an alternative archive that could communicate invisible borders, uncanny amalgamations, no-go zones, and urban myths.

Attempting to locate a bridge from memory to history between such dissimilar cities seemed difficult at first. Dar es Salaam, under massive (re)development pressure, is challenged by the absence of an effectively funded, politically empowered heritage protection framework. A small heritage activism community with limited resources attempts to instigate debates and interventions. While negotiations are in progress about which histories should be designated as urban heritage (including the material legacies of colonialism), testaments of the urban past are disappearing from the cityscape more or less overnight. The historic centre is transforming, and the window for action is closing quickly. On the other hand, as is the case with many European cities, Berlin's history is closely monitored. The formerly politically and culturally divided city had to reassess its heritage after German reunification, and space opened up for artistic and critical interpretations of heritage. Recently however, these discussions have given way to a tension between a well subsidised, regulatory bureaucracy pursuing a more "German" identity programme, and the changing needs of the contemporary, globalised, increasingly diverse civil society.

In these radically different contexts, we chose to reconfigure our sometimes blinkered approach to urbanism by going into the field: "just go out and listen", as activist Jeanne van Heeswijk recommends.[2] This meant studying cities "from below" rather than from a bird's eye view; deliberately going to neighbourhoods outside our radars and comfort zones; and deconstructing the monotone dictates of city guides, archives and museums. Fundamentally, we claimed that urban heritage is best communicated in the form of stories – many stories, in fact.[3] So we took to the streets and talked to residents about the places that create a sense of community, an emotional attachment, a special meaning in their urban worlds. Our data spanned family anecdotes to colonial narrations, a spectrum within which lodged perhaps the broadest, most diverse and most exhaustive representation of both cities, side by side. In teams, the students translated interviews and observations into narratives about the cities, creating a growing archive filled with rich, unexpected reflections on urban culture, spaces and changes.

Collaborations between students from very different cultural backgrounds also meant facing semantic divergences: in Kiswahili, the translation of "heritage" is either *urithi*, which relates to material rather than intangible inheritance, or *makumbusho*, which is a memorial or a museum. Following lengthy discussions, the students used the English term with a shared definition: "Heritage is what we inherit, and what we keep". From this consensus, it was possible for students to use their own voices to retell anecdotes, transforming their findings into a collection of stories and images, perhaps like a "prism from which we can refract, or foreground, questions about a recent yet blotted out and

thus complicated, past."[4] Dissemination was also problematic: What format is appropriate to communicate the stories in both cities and beyond? We created online and offline platforms to explore the archive: a mobile app,[5] a blog,[6] a book,[7] and sets of postcards to take away. It was crucial to show, in all of these formats, that the collection is a subjective and speculative account of events that have not yet been written into "the" history per se, or have been forgotten entirely.

Poetic, naive or trivial at first, with a second reading the narratives begin to convey a sense of place and become tools to address bigger political themes. They rely on another form of historical construction to understand urban change, based on personal and communal recollections, chronicles, legends, and genealogies.[8] Some stories remind us how the global phenomenon of migration creates a unique urban locality on the scale of a building, a street, a district: mosques and temples cohabit in the streets of the Tanzanian metropolis, surrounded by the smells of spices and street food sold by vendors at dusk; and the same aromas follow us through the quiet Berlin neighbourhood of Moabit, in the shop of a Pakistani immigrant who provides all sorts of "exotic" foods to the mixed community. Urban landscapes, however, are still heavily determined by planning: in both Dar es Salaam and Berlin, the sandy open spaces, where a child learns to bike in "BMX Tracks and Bonfires" and where families gather on Sundays in "Lost Access", can be redeveloped quickly if they are designated as disused areas rather than public spaces. These bygone sites tell of the struggle to adapt to the systemised frames of urban life, split between translations, infrastructural and institutional networks, and claimed by different groups. Perhaps this is what can bring us closer to a sense of informal urban heritage: a physical manifestation of thousands of individual subjectivities layered together.[9] These familiar scenes provoke a sense of empathy from a shared experience of urban life, even if the circumstances come from a different part of the globe.

Within the diverse and entangled histories of the two cities, it seemed difficult to grasp a "heritage" that did not pervade urban politics or personal prejudice. Approaching the city through popular stories, conversations and memories allowed for a shift in perspective but also required critical analysis and cross-referencing, which we discuss further in the following pedagogical toolkit. Our explorations of Berlin and Dar es Salaam often surprised us, and the stories show a candid view of "heritage from below", towards a more inclusive and expressive understanding of the two cities' histories. As the students' research emphasised, shared urban spaces – markets, social centres, green spaces, cafes, arcades, bars, even traffic intersections and other "residual" spaces – where multiple and intersecting urban cultures are practised and where people congregate, were repeatedly cited as the most significant places in neighbourhoods in Berlin and Dar es Salaam – a finding that is reflected in several of the artists' works in this book.[10] As global capital rapidly reworks the built environment, diminishing urban habitat and streamlining space, the significance of these ambiguous places grows. Could recognising them as sites of urban culture through conceiving of them as urban heritage help safeguard their future? Beyond the Faro Convention and its recognition of heritage as a human right, could naming social space as an aspect of urban heritage that is shared around the world be used to make our cities more just?

1   Extracts from this article were published under the title "Simulizi Mijini: Shifting Perspectives on Urban Heritage", in *ANZA Magazine #8: Unintended Consequences,* March 2017

2   Alma Viviers, "Stop waiting, start making: Lessons in liveability from Jeanne van Heeswijk", *Cape Town Partnership*, 2 April 2013

3   Chimamanda Ngozi Achidie, "The Danger of a Single Story", talk presented during *TEDGlobal 2009*

4   Rasha Salti, "Around the Postcolony and the Museum. Curatorial Practice and Decolonizing Exhibition Histories" in *Internationale Online*, 16 September 2015

5   The Urban Narratives app is available for Android via GooglePlay

6   The blog is available online: www.urbannarratives.mod.org.in

7   Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee & Philipp Misselwitz (eds), *Talking Cities: Urban Narratives from Dar es Salaam and Berlin*, 2017

8   M.M. Mulokozi, *A Survey of Tanzanian Oral Traditions*, 1999, pp.14-15

9   AbdouMaliq Simone, "Tracing Individuated Subjectivities", Interview in *Transtopia*, eds. Rainer Hehl and Ludwig Engel, 2017

10   Of course in different urban contexts, beyond Berlin and Dar es Salaam, these types of spaces can also be exclusive and potential sites of intimidation.

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p. 29 - Arnold Mkony
p. 30 - Arne Mickerts
p. 31 - Rachel Lee
p. 32 - Ana Vgroč
p. 33 - Irina Pelmegow
p. 34 - Irina Pelmegow
p. 35 - Khilan Parmar
p. 36 - MinJi Kim
p. 37 - Sascha Hoffman
p. 38 - Khilan Parmar
p. 39 - Maryam Poursafar
p. 40 - Irina Pelmegow
p. 41 - Sascha Hoffman

LOST ACCESS

I remember the parking space in a local field where my father used to leave his car when he came home from work and where I would wait to greet him. Today, the field has been enclosed by fences and a tall building has been erected. A place for public gathering, where the local kids used to learn to ride their bikes, has been lost. I realise only now how important this space was for me growing up, and for my whole family. I have good memories of those days. I met many friends there, and it helped make me the person I am today. I can't help but wonder how different my story would be without the experience of this place in my childhood.
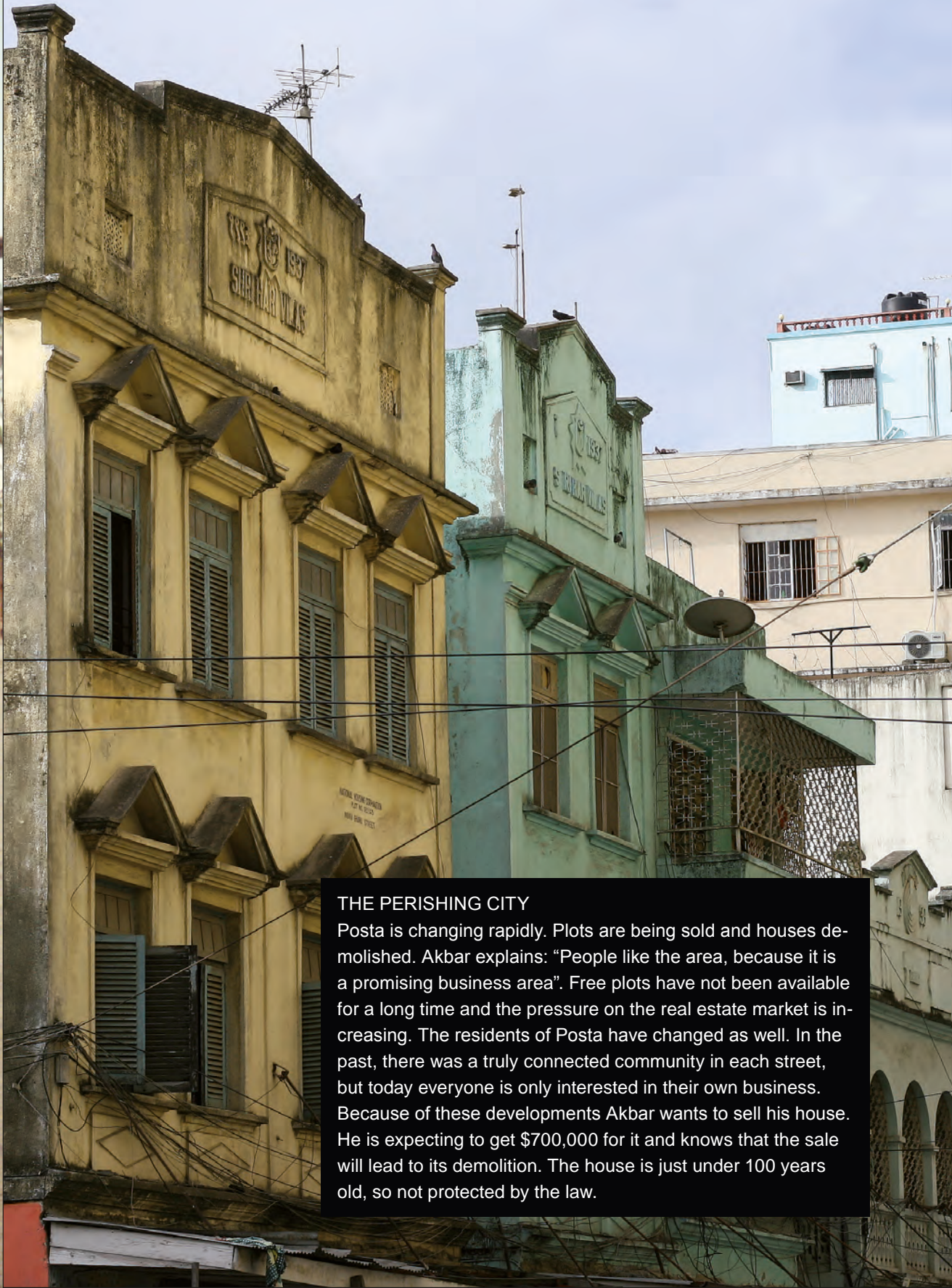
THE PERISHING CITY

Posta is changing rapidly. Plots are being sold and houses demolished. Akbar explains: "People like the area, because it is a promising business area". Free plots have not been available for a long time and the pressure on the real estate market is increasing. The residents of Posta have changed as well. In the past, there was a truly connected community in each street, but today everyone is only interested in their own business. Because of these developments Akbar wants to sell his house. He is expecting to get $700,000 for it and knows that the sale will lead to its demolition. The house is just under 100 years old, so not protected by the law.

DANCE OF THE SPECTATORS

According to Promota Kimata, it was in Manyara Park Pool Corner, his famous bar in the Manzese district of Dar es Salaam, that *singeli* was born. People from the neighbourhood and beyond were drawn by the musicians rehearsing in the bar and this led to the creation of an informal style of music playing and dancing. *Singeli* involves the beats produced by a DJ and someone singing while others dance. The dancing involves hand clapping and energetic leg movements. Now, four years after its creation, thanks to well-known artists like Athuman its popularity has spread to other neighbourhoods, such as Mbagala, Kigogo, Magomeni and even beyond Dar es Salaam to the Tanga region.

A TRUE MIX OF DAR

Lost in the maze of streets that is Kisutu, two contrasting worlds, one Muslim, the other Hindu. On one side, the call to prayer echoes across the streets from the minarets of the Ngazija Mosque; on the other men gather in small groups on the street to watch the Cricket World Cup on television. A young woman dressed in a bright orange *pashar* leads us through the colourful streets that smell of sweet cardamom, telling us her story of the city – as we suspected, as complex as her own. Seeing our confused faces, she explains, laughing, "I'm a fusion of African heritage, Indian birth and Muslim upbringing. Spicy, bitter and sour. A true mix of Dar!"

FROM LAND TO LAND

In a chamber under the Shree Sanatan Dharma Sabah Temple, you can find Bena sitting at her desk, busily planning decorations for the impending Holi festival. A second generation Indian living in Dar, Bena's family has been here since the beginning of the twentieth century. This city is her home and she feels no need to ever leave. Here she runs her furniture store and her temple, and that keeps her busy and satisfied. The fabric of the city is more or less irrelevant. All she cares about is her faith and the vessels that carry it – the Shiva temple, the Krishna temple, and the local neighbourhood which is home to the Hindu community of Dar.

WAKING UP TO THE RICE MUSIC

It's late evening and my sister is preparing the rice for dinner. The sound of rice grains swishing against the dry leaves of the *ungo* or winnowing basket creates a subtle beat. A beat that blends into the sound of the wind and the singing birds, creating a sort of music like a sound from nature, a soft intro to the fast setting sun. Even though I don't hear it as often as I used to, something about this sound still manages to put a smile on my face. That homely feeling, the cooking and the promise of a "proper evening meal". Unlike other modern day kitchen utensils the *ungo* seems to have been around throughout the course of time, irreplaceable and multifunctional.

SLEEPING BEAUTY

An elderly man is quietly raking the sandy footpaths that might once have been surrounded by a fine lawn. There are no visitors today. The nursery is a neglected patch of plants and, like the other remaining plants and trees in the grounds, unlabelled. When the Botanical Gardens of Dar es Salaam were established by German colonisers in 1893, they were the largest on the African continent. Today, however, rather than a majestic garden with established species of plants from all over the world, they are reduced to only a fraction of their former spatial dimension and appear like a sleeping beauty. And, sadly, it does not look as though they'll be waking up any time soon.

SMALL KARIAKOO MARKET
I came to Kariakoo in 1949, when I was only twelve years old. At the time, the area was filled with houses with thatched roofs, surrounded by beautiful trees, mostly coconut trees. The market manager had bought tree seeds from Morogoro and asked every vendor to grow a tree in front of his shop. Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika, had this market built. He taught us how to do business and took care that every shop owner had a farm where he could grow his own products. That's when I met him.

A ROAD

In the shadow of the towers, away from the bigger roads, an array of intricate alleyways lies before us, hidden between the buildings. The air is full of sounds and smells. There are big pots and a lot of women cooking together. Some cut the potatoes, others fetch the water. There is no hierarchy, everyone sits at the same table. Beyond the table, the alley closes up again, then, a few metres on, the scenario repeats itself. This area is bigger, there are two or three tables and some chickens stray amongst them. Peter laughs as he points towards the chickens: "Yes, the food is local here."

WILD LIFE

A couple of years ago it was really wild. The whole area was abandoned and overgrown. It was like an oasis right in the middle of the city. So mesmerising and enchanting. I really enjoyed being there. But that has all changed. Just about everything has been rebuilt. There are soccer fields and an outdoor gym and a huge, expensive spa. But, next to the spa, there is a little gap in the fence where you can slip through and, once on the other side, you can still find this feeling of mesmerising wilderness. A completely different and mystical atmosphere takes over near the old steps. It is like years ago, everything is overgrown and you feel like you are in a totally different world.

BMX-TRACKS AND BONFIRES

Things have changed for the better on Lehrter Strasse since the early 1980s. In those days the houses were battered and dilapidated and there was only stove heating. But the community spirit was actually better back then, mainly because of the insufficient infrastructure everyone had to deal with. If your toilet was frozen, you had to collaborate with your neighbour to get water. Some of those neighbourhood friendships are still strong today. When my son was a little boy we would build informal BMX tracks and have huge bonfires. Over time, these open spaces were lost to investment forces. Years ago I thought that at least the housing projects from the 1950s would be safe from redevelopment. Boy, was I wrong!

BEST INDOOR TOUR

I paused for a moment to pay tribute to the victims of the war, then moved on with the tour of the German Historical Museum. I was concerned to know about the African soldiers who fought the whites' war. I wanted to know how they felt about fighting for what they were not a part of, but I left without finding anything. Digging through the displays for the colonial era, I found only one object relating to the African context. I thought maybe I was just tired, so I went on looking, but still found nothing. Why does such a respected museum have nothing on this subject on display?

DID ANYTHING HAPPEN HERE?

"The exhibition is the city, the city is the exhibition." In 1896, Berlin competed with Paris by hosting the Great Industrial Exposition in Treptower Park, which had been completed eight years earlier to provide recreational space for the rapidly growing population of Berlin. One of the exposition's 23 themes was the German colonial exhibition, including a "Negro Village" next to the artificial carp pond. Today, the ten-metre-high trees and the carp pond still survive, but the village has vanished without trace. Only a clearing open to the sky and filled with birdsong and warm sunshine suggest where it might have been.

CALISTHENICS INTO SPACE

At around 6pm the group is already training at the Post Stadium, accompanied by cool hip-hop music from a ghetto blaster. Using only their own body weight and some racks, a group of calisthenics enthusiasts are working out. Previously, they met in a variety of different places around Berlin but when their numbers grew they contacted the mayor of Mitte district to request a permanent workout space. The result was a brand new facility equipped with the racks they need. Sometimes 50 people turn up, a little too many to fit in, but the group also use other areas of the Post Stadium for their workouts, like the steps, the climbing wall and the sports field. Even in winter this motivated group keeps on training.

FRESHLY BAKED

A shop on a street called Alt-Moabit. From the outside the place looks rather unremarkable. A foodstore like many others. But examine the sign above the door and you see at once that it's different. The sign tells you that Pakistani, Indian, Iranian, Arab, Afghan and African food is sold here. Inside you are thrown into a world of unfamiliar products and aromas: spices and herbs little known in Europe, freshly-baked African style cookies. Customers from many different countries fill the narrow spaces and search the shelves, while the Pakistani owner sits smiling behind the counter. He established the store in 2010 to serve the mixed community he found here.
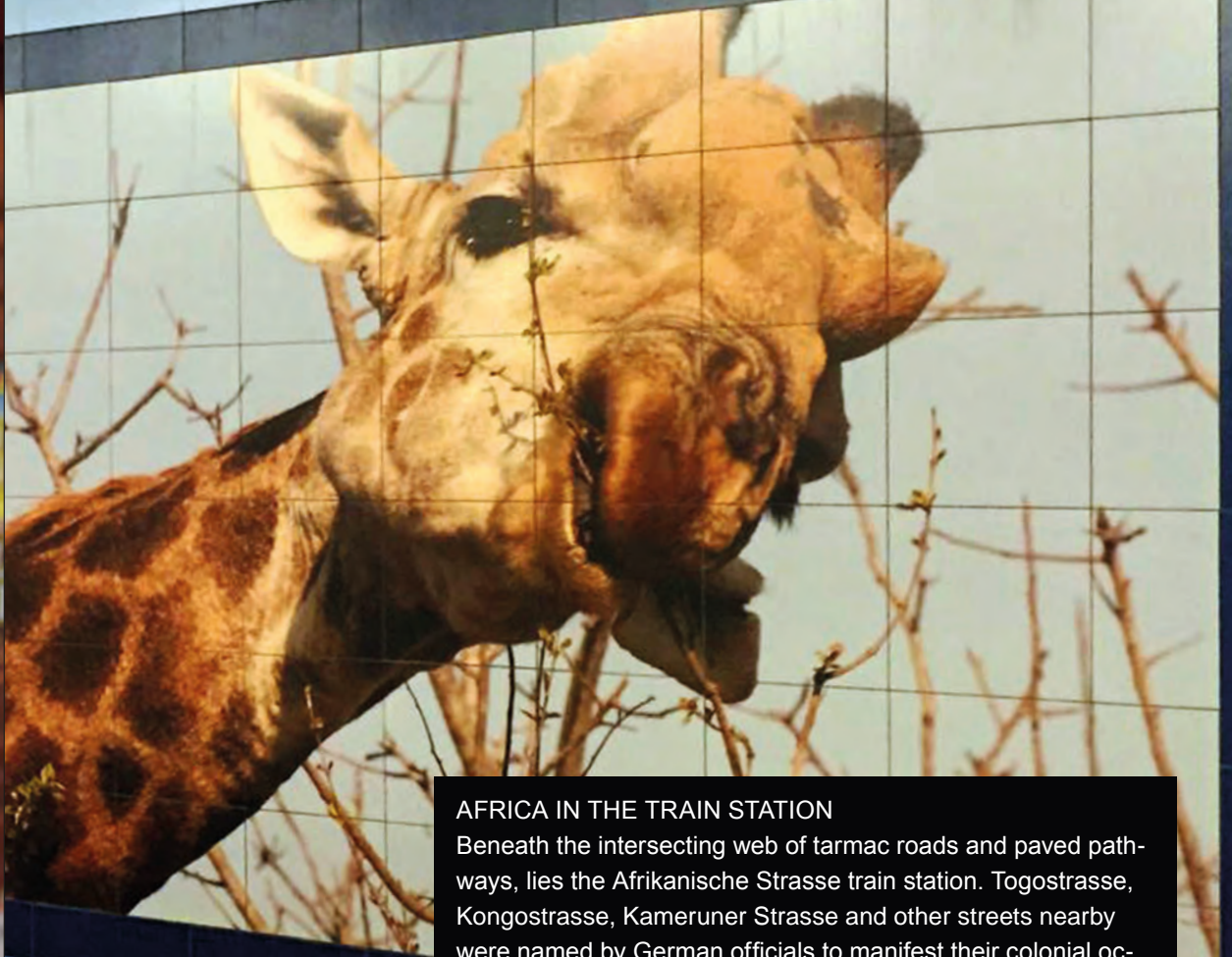
AFRICA IN THE TRAIN STATION

Beneath the intersecting web of tarmac roads and paved pathways, lies the Afrikanische Strasse train station. Togostrasse, Kongostrasse, Kameruner Strasse and other streets nearby were named by German officials to manifest their colonial occupation of Africa in an urban context. The station was recently renovated. African nature images were used to supposedly enhance the African theme – to synchronise the station's image with its name. But why is Africa only ever represented by savannah and wildlife? As much as these efforts should be applauded, a more varied representation of Africa, featuring its complex history, unique architecture and diverse peoples would provide a better insight and present a more relevant heritage of the continent to the public.

MADE OF BRICKS

Moabit's traffic floats by on grey asphalt. Loud, smelly scooters, cars, yellow double-decker buses, cyclists. People rush by on the paved sidewalks engaged in their business. A man walks his dog, two elderly tourists take pictures. The history-rich area still attracts vistors. The Borsigwerke U-bahn station, Schumann's porcelain factory, the prison and the military barracks are all here, and all were built with the same materials: red and yellow clay bricks, mostly hidden behind plaster. In the Borsigwerke entrance you can see them, however, and see how they have worn over time. There are also bullet holes next to the new stones that were added when the building was rebuilt after World War II. You can see and feel the history.

PING PONG MORBID?

Mandy and Jaquelin are holding bottles of Berliner Kindl beer. They are standing in a square with very worn paving and six ping pong tables whose best times are long behind them, although one of them is in noticeably good condition. Mandy and Jaquelin have been coming here for 30 years, almost as long as the ping pong tables have been standing. A group of around ten people regularly meets to play ping pong, chat, barbecue and enjoy a couple of beers. Urban renewal projects have not reached their area and dilapidation is taking over. Which is why Mandy, Jaquelin and their companions sometimes take action themselves – they repaired the table.
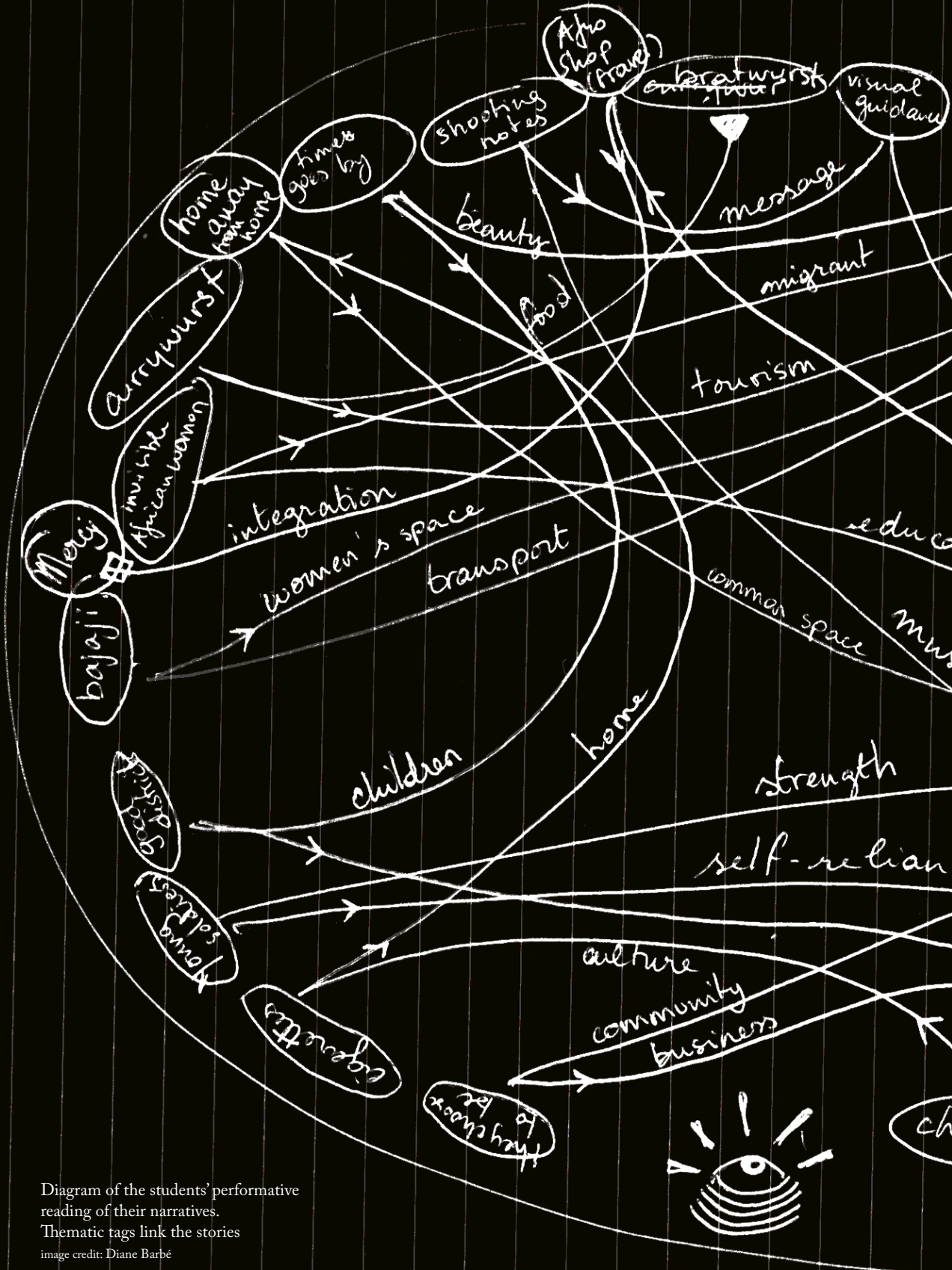
Diagram of the students' performative
reading of their narratives.
Thematic tags link the stories
image credit: Diane Barbé

bao

migration to Dar

artificial beauty

atanbuga

image of Afrika

theatre of Afrika

Afrika

dreaming bodies

akhua

Afrika stories

Shaki

social workshops

Mugo

dreams

game

ritual

community

gender

Berlin

cation

usic

nce

family

champions

back streets

Afro shop (fat)
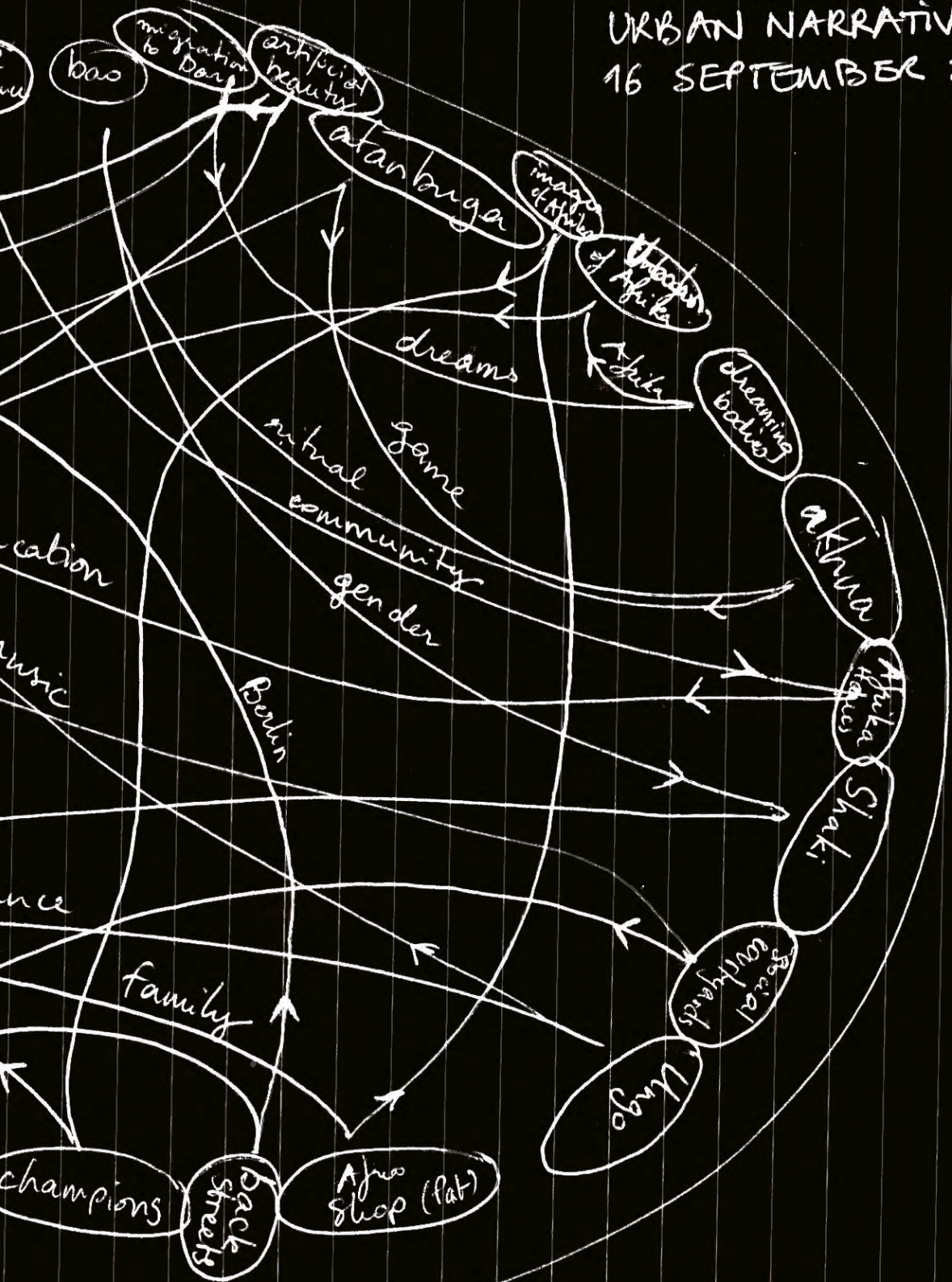
STUDYING URBAN HERITAGE FROM BELOW

Towards a toolkit

Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk and Rachel Lee

How to identify, decode and provide access to familiar but unofficial layers of urban heritage?

We brought this issue into the teaching environments of architecture, urban design and town and regional planning.

During summer schools in Dar es Salaam and Berlin, as well as preparatory seminars and a research-design studio, students experimented with a range of tools that transgress disciplinary boundaries between architectural history, art and media production, cultural theory, and social science research.

Ultimately, the different exercises proposed below aim to reconfigure the spatial practice from observation to deduction, grounded in the need for multiple perspectives and narratives about urban spaces.

They also experiment with the associations that can arise from working with text and image side by side, rather than looking at each medium separately.

The strategies have been assembled into an unfinished toolkit, designed as an evolving archive of methods to inspire critical commentary and further testing by others.

Staring into the *Kaiserpanorama*
in Berlin's Märkisches Museum
photo credit: Diane Barbé

Drift photography in Dar es Salaam. Visually recording a *dérive* can be helpful in finding repetitions, common grounds, or divergences

photo credits: MinJi Kim, Arianna Tiberti and Anka Walker

SITUATIONAL WANDERING

Go into the field. Stroll aimlessly and lose yourself in the city. Observe. Experience. Inquire.

Before the research begins, a curatorial decision is made: the choice of urban areas, how we enter them, and how we move through them. Walking is an elementary form of experiencing the city: the streets, open spaces and everything they contain offer clues to reinterpret the embedded cultural and historical subtexts. In real time and real space, visual patterns, events and atmospheres captured through drifting begin to form a language. The *dérive* as a research tactic embraces serendipity and makes use of chance encounters to discern layers of urban heritage.
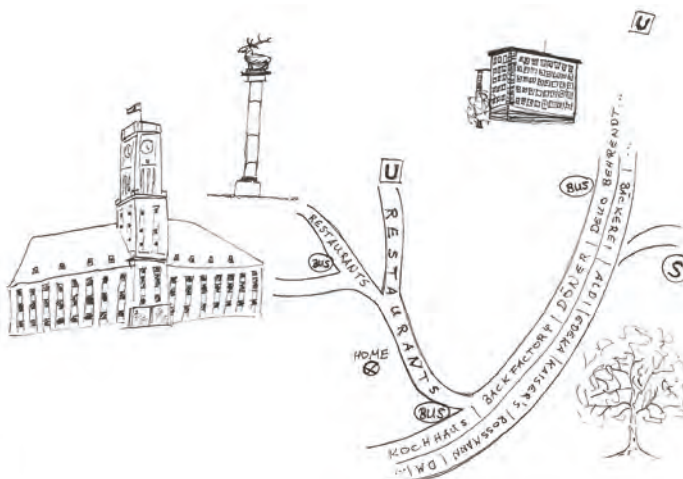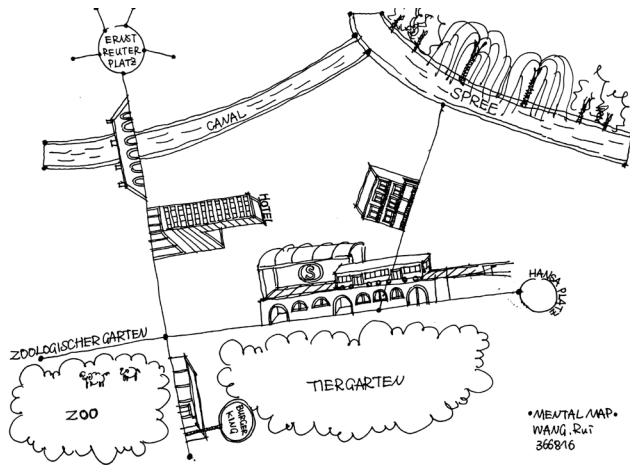
On paper, the mental map becomes a diagram of each person's habits and perceptions – what makes a landmark a landmark?

image credit: Arne Mickerts and Rui Wang

COGNITIVE MAPPING

Draw a map of your neighbourhood. Do not consult any materials. This map should be drawn from your memory only, without assistance from other people or books. There is no right or wrong map. This is your personal map.

Mental maps are a simple exercise to understand how urban space is selectively constructed and represented. They can be re-alised by both researchers and interviewees at different moments in time, with clear directions given from the outset (one of them could be: do not write anything).
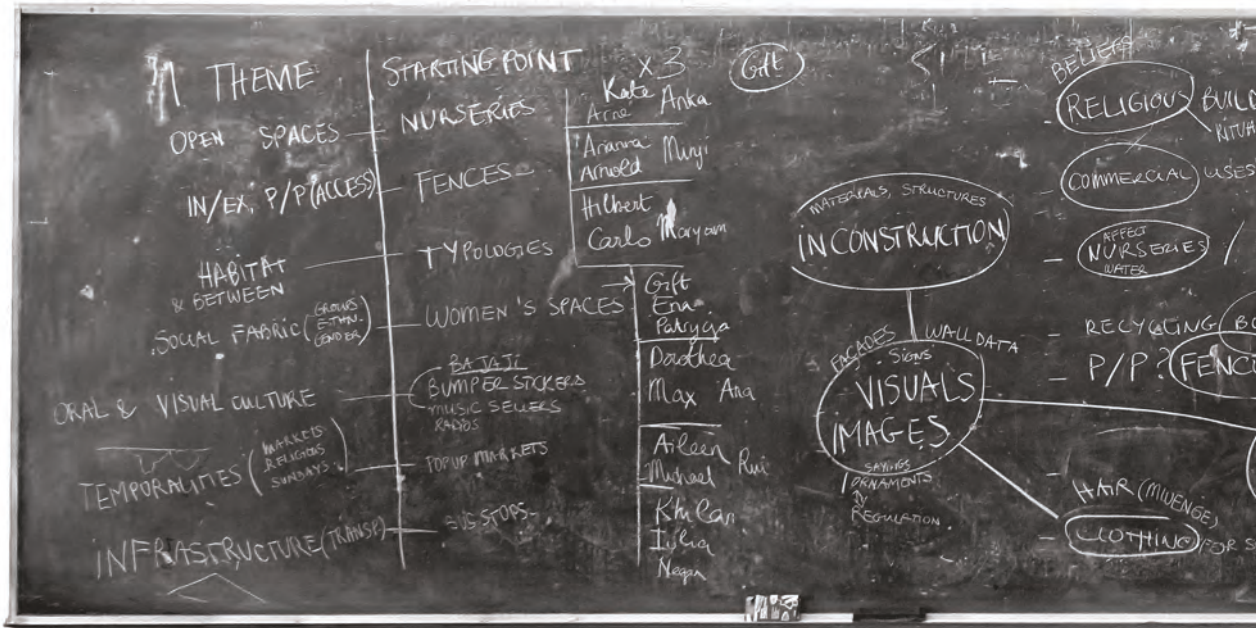
After two days of *dérive*, students discuss their experience
and gradually begin to group their observations into
questions for the next days of fieldwork
photo credit: Rachel Lee

BUILDINGS / PRACTICES
RITUALS IN SPACE, TIMES
USES - WHERE? CITY "CENTER" SPREAD OUT?
TEMPORALITIES
DISTANCES / SPEED/TRAVEL
/ ANIMALS
RISK?
MOVING POLICE STATIONS
HOTSPOTS FOR CRIME
TIMES - BEHAVIORS
COAST
TRANSPORT
BRIDGES?
FERRY
BETWEEN THE BUILDINGS (KARIAKOO)
GENDER SPATIALITIES & JOBS
ETHNICITIES EX/INCLUSION
BOTTLES?
NCES
PARKS
PUBLIC SPACE
MUSIC
MEGAPHONE
SOUNDSCAPES
DISTR.
OPEN SPACES
SPORTS/GAMES
VENDORS, KITCHENS
STR FURNITURE / DESIGN
URBAN SPACE
REAPPROPRIATION
BACKSTR - SUNDAYS
(TANDALE)
OR SPRING GROWS W/IN MAASAI
HOUSEHOLD TYPES
ARRIVAL CITIES

8 DAYS FIELDWORK
3 DAYS POSTPROD
MWENGE (1)
SINZA (2)
TANDALE (2)
UPANGA (2)
CITY CENTER (2)

FOCUSING

Brainstorm: throw down all the ideas, assumptions, paradoxes, myths and symbols that you have seen in the city. Name what you have seen and what made you curious.

The collective practice of debriefing observations has to be pushed further for less obvious remarks to appear: what was not seen is equally as interesting as what was seen. By rationalising these raw impressions, we can start to deconstruct what is out of focus, what is often diluted through a series of metaphors and euphemisms. Areas of inquiry begin to emerge through a process of discussion, selection, and omission.

"What is the oldest place in your neighbourhood?
Where do you like to go during your free time?"
A student interviews a local district leader in
Dar es Salaam
photo credit: Diane Barbé

URBAN ORAL HISTORIES

Without leading the conversation, let someone else walk you through the city and name its places. Give them enough room to start talking about what you couldn't guess about social space.

Collecting urban stories is a basis for beginning to understand what (or where) is perceived as urban heritage: "Orality is not a marginal, semi-obsolete, optional activity, but a way of life… Oral traditions are living, not antiquarian, traditions. They are dynamic, not fixed; they are continually being created and rec-reated in performance" (M. Mulokozi, *A Survey of Tanzanian Oral Traditions*, 1999). Although it is not always easy to elicit "urban narratives" from local people – because they may not be accustomed to sharing such information, or may feel that their knowledge of history is lacking – everyone can share their memories of events, places, objects, gestures and persons.

While each story is unique, it must function as something that can be shared and exchanged with others… through words or sounds

photo credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

TELLING STORIES

Become the storyteller. From your fieldwork, assemble oral histories, observations, images and factual information, and make them tell stories about the present heritage of the neighbourhood.

A historical narrative, though it may seem simple, conceals an extended form of memory, charged with singular perspectives, linguistic idiosyncrasies, and human understandings of change. The process of storytelling helps to reimagine a space and its meaning within the city. It can describe places that have never been written about, anecdotes that have been turned into memories, events that have become rituals. The biggest challenge is to anchor the stories in a territory, to locate the bridge between history and the physical space or artefact.

A Nkisi figure from the Kingdom of Congo, which acts as mediator between the visible world of the living and the spirit world. Joseph Cholet "collected" this artefact in 1892 and it was kept at the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris. The limited representation of "Africa" influenced Dada artists at the turn of the century, as shown in the *Dada Afrika* exhibition at the Berlinische Galerie

photo credit: Khilan Parmar

QUESTION THE INSTITUTION

In the museum, contemplate these questions: Who confesses to what heritage? What narratives are highlighted, and what values do they reveal? What is being left out?

Guided tours, visits to historical museums and art exhibitions give rise to critical discussions on the display and mediation of urban history. Working on "heritage from below" means becoming aware of the psychosocial sense of "us" and "them", in a context where identity politics have shaped conventional understandings of heritage through nationalist, religious or ethnic norms. For these constructions to appear, it is crucial to look at what remains in "the background" and reverse the storytelling to bring those narratives into focus.

The proportion of tangible to intangible heritage on the UNESCO list is 1 to 0.15. The former is epitomised by Berlin's Museum Island, and the latter by the king of German bread culture, the pretzel

image credit: Patrycja Stal

POLITICAL COLLAGES

Write your own manifesto of urban heritage: question contemporary approaches of collecting, archiving and publishing; claim what you think is right. Use a collage to show the presence of the past in the city.

Heritage politics are revealed throughout the city – even beyond the closed walls of museums, they pervade the streets and buildings. What is considered integral to a city's current identity? Which monuments are we celebrating, which are we erasing, and which are we not erecting? Collages, because they can suggest the existence of two or more objects side by side, have the power to visually express paradoxes in the same location, but at different moments in time. Beyond objects, a fragment of a photograph will also convey an idea, practice, ritual, memory to the viewer – a direct, emotional bond to the lesser acknowledged intangible heritage.

Some objects carry immense historical meaning, and they can
be hidden in plain sight: out in the streets, on advertisements,
or even in stores – like Sarotti chocolates. Berlin Postkolonial
e.V. members Christian Kopp and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro raise
awareness about street names and other colonial remnants
photo credit: Diane Barbé

OBJECTIFY!

*Can inanimate artefacts also tell a story? Choose an artefact and
discuss the kind of urban history it carries. What does it represent
or symbolise? Who used it, owned it, made it? What does it say
about how people inhabit the city? Can other stories be mapped
onto it?*

There are rational, commanding, simple versions of how
cities have been shaped – kings and emperors, planners and
mayors, immigration, exodus, economic booms, wars. But this
apparent multiplicity may hide, dismiss or subvert the story.
Material evidence collected from daily life can trigger other
conversations about migration, land, ownership, and identity;
familiar and accessible objects can be mapped and decon-
structed to become palimpsests of shared histories between
two countries across the globe.

Finding a space to gather the many fragments collected during fieldwork is essential. Online content management systems like Wordpress are efficient, free, and easy to use

design credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

OPEN ASSEMBLAGE

Deconstruct and fragment your narratives collectively, in an effort to realise the "dynamic process of history" (Boris Groys, The Logic of the Collection*, 1998). Multiply your stories and reconfigure your collection to fit a new medium: the internet.*

Following Chimamanda Adichie's argument that "many stories matter", the question then becomes: how to move beyond the single narrative. Creating a collection of narratives can be compared to an attic full of mixed objects that generate diverse readings when they are combined in different ways. Putting them together creates a context of history in the present and future. Consequently, narratives and objects do not only inherit a singular reading, but many.
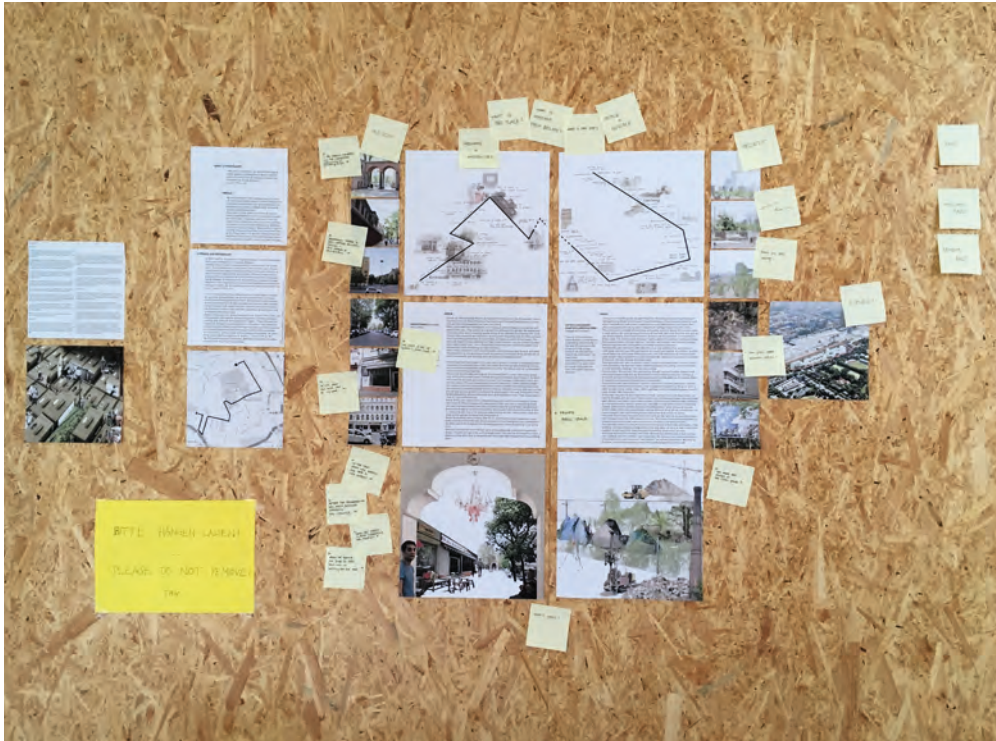
Each story contains an entire universe within it and we must deconstruct it to find ramifications, parallel narratives and unconscious associations – above, an exploration of Lehrter Strasse by Lisa Blum, Sarah Manz and Irina Pelmegow

photo credit: Rachel Lee

INTERSECTING PATHS

Analyse your stories, identify themes, create tags. Input metadata to help connect your contents: precise facts about time, location, and references.

For the collection to become a useful archive, it must be searchable. The quality of the links between the narratives is as crucial as the stories themselves. Linking to other sources – images, sounds, videos, press clippings – adds to the complexity of the archive, and the number of stories that can be told. Most importantly, one item should branch out to a vast number of possible routes.

The *Urban Narratives* app, available on Android, was developed using a commercial but cheap and reliable framework. It is intuitive to navigate and manage, opting for simplicity

design credit: Diane Barbé

INTERACTIVE NARRATIVES

Create an urban heritage mobile app. Make it free, user-friendly, and easy to maintain.

In creating a mobile app of urban heritage, the main priority is accessibility. It is a guide for exploring places in situ and an archive for exploring stories remotely. Most importantly, it should remain alive after the project ends, so residents can contribute their own knowledge to the platform. The programming world, however, remains very hard to penetrate without in-depth knowledge of coding; compromises have to be made on user-friendliness, design innovation, or cost. For a product to have some chance of lasting, it must be cheap (free) and easy to use, so it is often difficult to go beyond established standards like the bird's eye view map for georeferencing. In the end, creating a virtual collection of urban heritage has a dual purpose: first, it gathers oral histories and archival materials on the same level, rethinking how urban history is presented. Second, it brings to public attention erased or silenced stories, laying down the foundation for increased activism to preserve a more diverse heritage.

Can exploring an archive become a communal experience,
like a game to trigger conversations with family
or strangers?
photo credit: Rachel Lee

SERENDIPITOUS ARCHIVES

Design an online archival platform. Consider: How can the user navigate it, and why? How does the interface design affect the experience, the information? How do you conduct the curatorial process, and how do you make the user aware of it? How open to contribution is the platform?

How do you provide engaging access to urban heritage narratives from below? We experimented with artistic and digital archiving tools to assemble findings and link them back to the physical space of the city in real time. By reterritorialising the archive through internet-based platforms we propose a curatorial and visual translation of knowledge back into the city. Interestingly the often-resulting digital environments are primarily similar to a search path, but allow the user to approach the urban objects and narratives non-hierarchically. The platform should allow the user to navigate the collection in multiple ways and to "get lost" in the networks. Spearheading the question of conservation is the issue of how information is transmitted to future generations; and while some formats have earned more scientific and political recognition than others, a diverse range of possibilities must be explored.
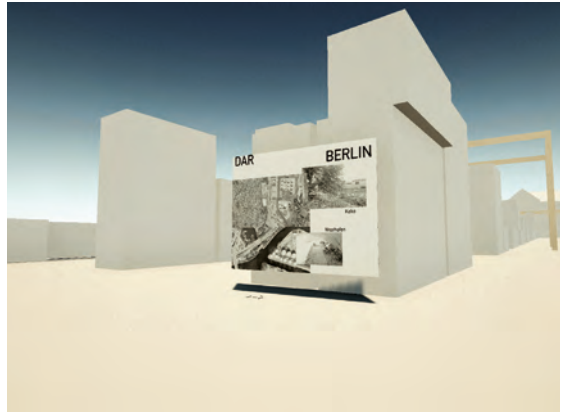
SERENDIPITOUS ARCHIVES I

A purely virtual 3D space like *DOMAA* can also be an archive; mapped to scale, it becomes a digital echo of Berlin's post-industrial port area, where visitors contribute notes, memes and comments.

Statement by designers Patrycja Stal and Adrian Taylor:
"The methodology we developed encouraged speaking through representation, which accommodates different types of the Intangible – not a conventional index of phenomena, but rather a dynamic, curated collection. This is how the idea of an exploratory digital walk came about. Instead of using white walls and title tags, we articulate the Intangible through a simple, minimalistic interface and digital landscape encouraging moments of serendipity. Our aim was to bring the Intangible and its discovery to the forefront of the archive – hence the very restrained colour palette and minimal level of detail used in the digital environment. While the visitors still recognise the elements of space through their characteristic positioning, we ask them to reinterpret the site though its intangible aspects – sounds, visual themes, history, regulations, etc."
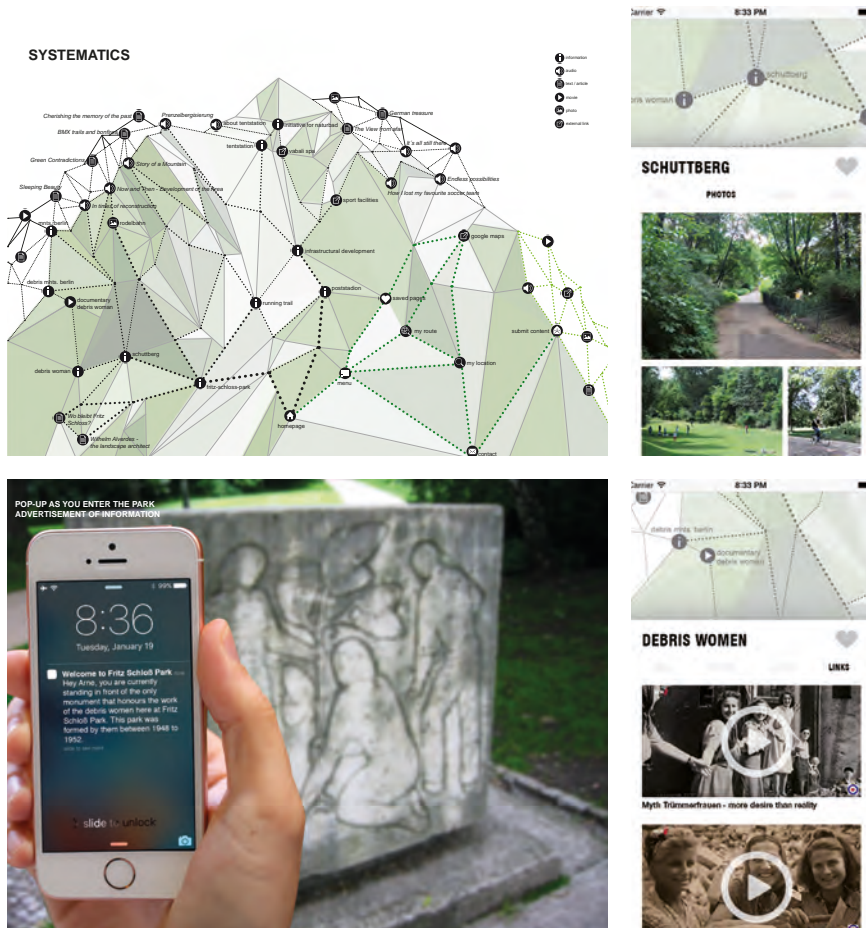
SERENDIPITOUS ARCHIVES II

MASS TRACKER, a graphic mountain and interactive app filled with stories to be serendipitously excavated.

Statement by designers Darius Duong Le, Arne Mickerts and Franziska Rüss:
"Our aim was to reveal the rich and diverse histories that have formed Fritz-Schloss-Park and to place them within a discourse that refers to something outside of itself. An archive platform is made of multiple layers: about an event, about the years before and after, about our understanding of heritage at different points in time. Walking round the park we noticed that there were very few references to the "debris women" [*Trümmerfrauen*], who, according to the myth, built this mountain from the rubble of the two World Wars. There was only one inscription, barely visible, with no substantial information… Fortunately, two pensioners from the neighbourhood, Ingeborg (85) and Irene (76) began to uncover the story: "We do like the park, where the debris mountains from the wars were buried. Memories of that time often surface back…" So we interrogated erasure and its political ramifications: our project spawned from the idea that history is a pile of buried matter, with a surface to be dug out."
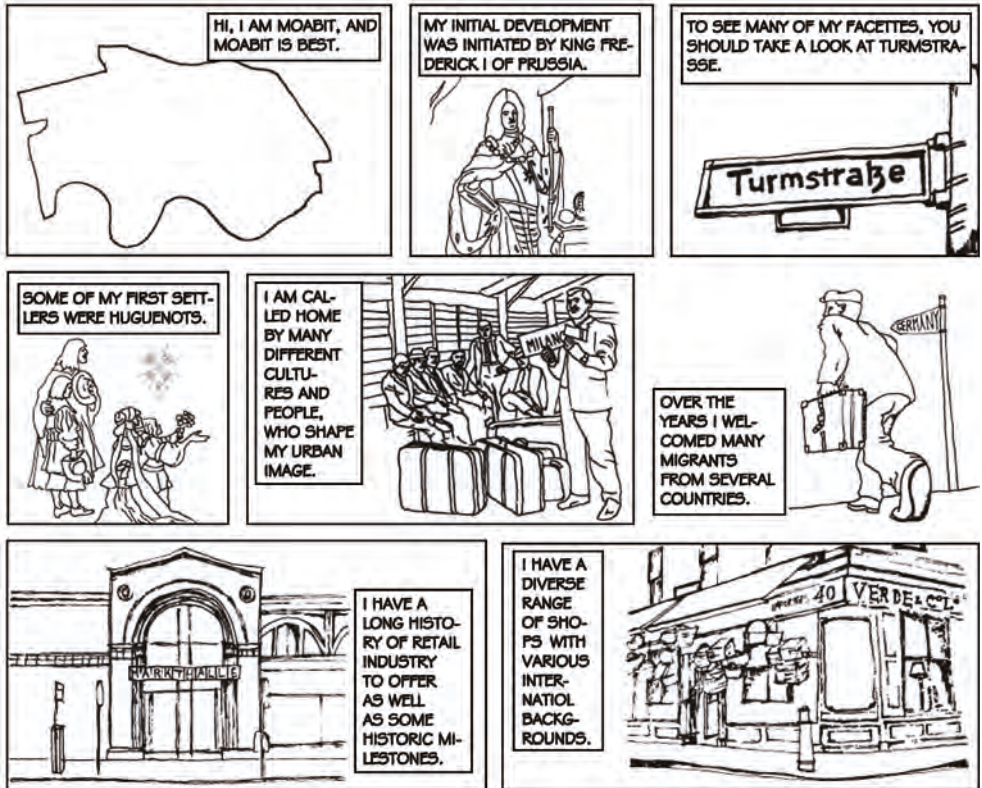
SERENDIPITOUS ARCHIVES III

MOABEAT, a culinary comic bringing together narratives of exile, marginalisation and food from Moabit to the Mediterranean.

Statement by designers MinJi Kim, Hannes Mundt and Andrea Protschky:
"We explored Turmstrasse with a *dérive*. On our walk, we passed hidden yards, churches and mosques, and a big industrial area. We assumed that most of the diversity of the neighbourhood would be connected to industrial jobs in the port and the factories, through the guest worker programme. But in fact, after talking with shop and restaurant owners, we noted that they were part of a bigger network of migrations. They were connected to Moabit through families or small businesses, not industrial jobs. We set out to uncover what the foodscape of Moabit shows us about the influence of migration on the urban environment. Starting from the two poles of migration and food, we started to build the MoabEat archive. The comics can be explored from either angle, because they are so connected – people, places, foods. Heritage in the end is not only buildings, it is everything that happens around them, which people tell us stories about: recipes, cultures and practices."

GLOBAL CASE STUDIES

This book is the result of two years of artistic, scientific and critical inquiry into urban heritage from below. Two major discursive events, in Dar es Salaam and Berlin, provided platforms for a diverse selection of contributors to discuss current urban heritage issues from around the world. The locations of their case studies are mapped below – those marked with an *asterisk were included in this publication.

Flint*
Kingston*
Bogóta
Santa Maria da Vitoria*
Belo Horizonte*
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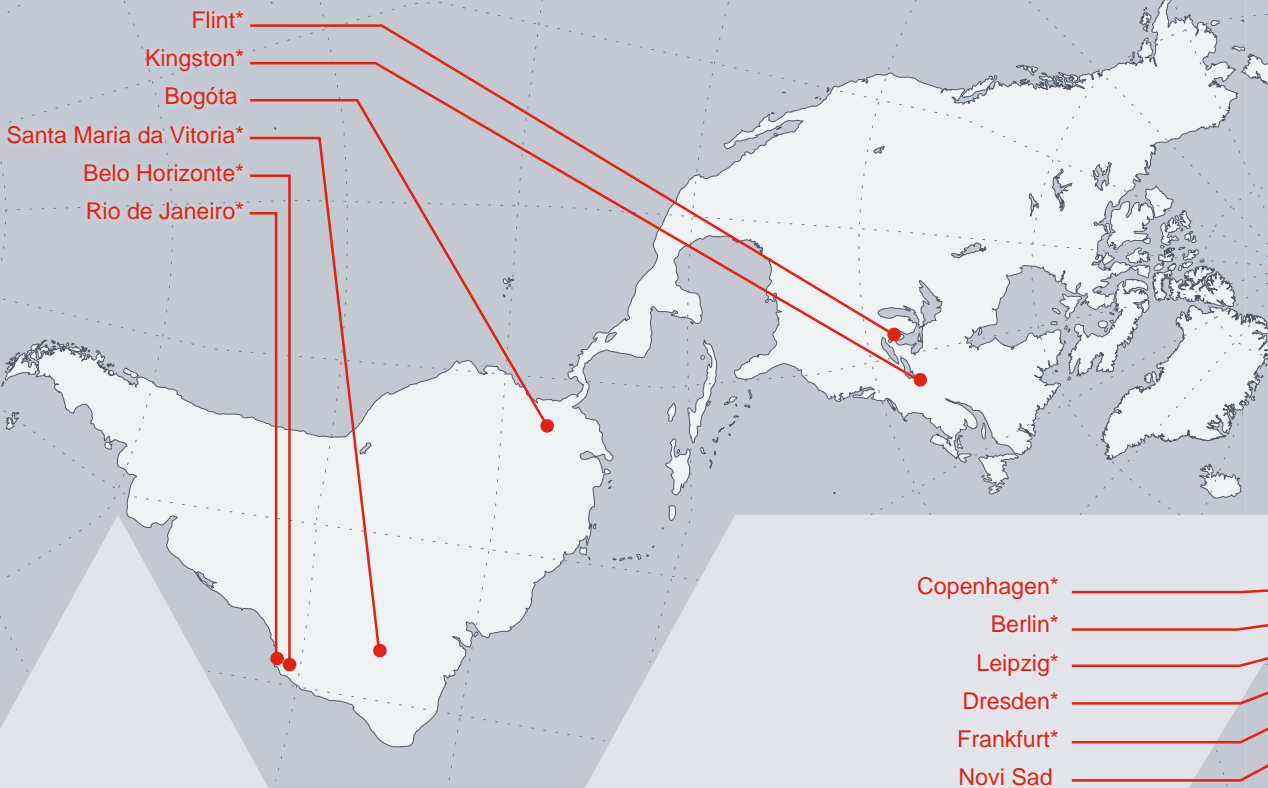
This graphic uses the Dymaxion map created by Buckminster Fuller and Shoji Sadao in the early 1950s. Heavily interrupted to preserve shapes and sizes, the flattened map has less distortion than the standard Mercator and Gall-Peters projections. The Dymaxion map has no right way up, according to Fuller, as "the universe has no up and no down, no north and no south; only in and out".

graphic credit: Diane Barbé
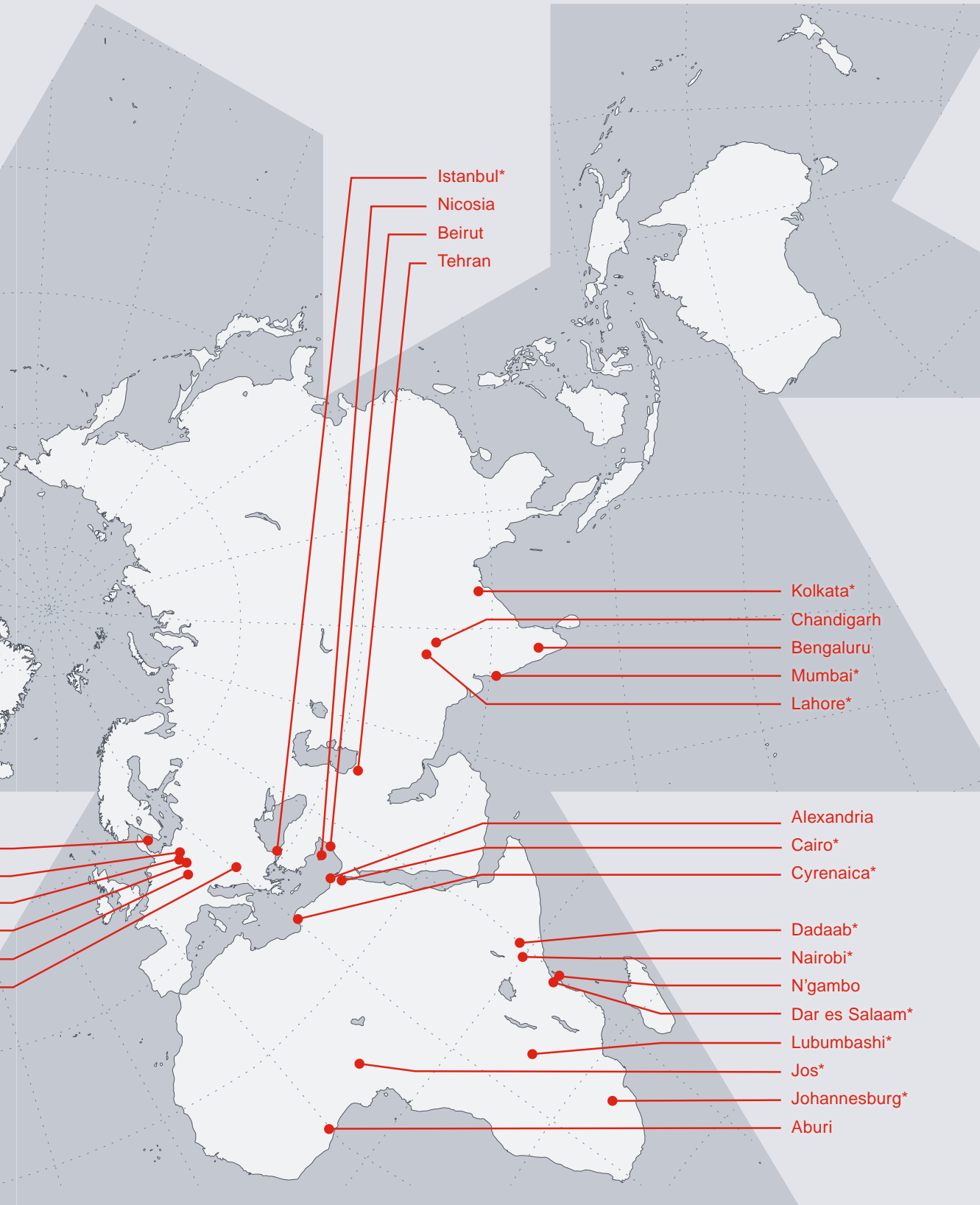
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Cyrenaica*

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Nairobi*
N'gambo
Dar es Salaam*
Lubumbashi*
Jos*
Johannesburg*
Aburi

NARRATIVES FROM THE NICHES OF URBAN LIFE

KUNSTrePUBLIK: Matthias Einhoff, Philip Horst and Harry Sachs

When asking which expressions of spatial production or action are considered to be cultural heritage, we often start with moments or objects that are trapped in amber, preserved in the state in which they became relevant to their respective societies. All actions, uses of objects and their interpretations are however subject to change, and are thus processes which bring changes of their own. This idea stands in conflict with the concept of cultural heritage as formulated in the original UNESCO statutes, but with the 1998 expansion of the UNESCO cultural heritage term through the inclusion of "intangible" cultural heritage, an attempt was made to take into account the importance of traditional activities with an ephemeral character and to understand procedural characteristics and instability as part of cultural heritage.

Through curating the artistic contributions our aim was to illuminate the transitions between the immateriality and materiality of cultural heritage. The artistic works explore cultural practices that characterize a form of tradition. While these practices cannot yet be understood under the heading of intangible heritage, they still shape and narrate the social, cultural and economic composition of the city. Central to the artistic exploration of the issues of urban narratives and their inscription in the city's fabric is the reciprocal exchange of knowledge and observations. To this end, five African artists were invited to Berlin and four German and one Indian artist were invited to Dar es Salaam.

Nafasi Art Space in Dar es Salaam and ZK/U (Center for Art and Urbanistics) in Berlin were the respective host institutions for these artistic explorations. Both art centers are located in former industrial locations: a freight depot in Berlin and a production hall in Dar es Salaam. Both are legacies of industrial histories now being operated by artists and both are now hubs of post-industrial cultural production.

The invited artists took a close look at the cities' narratives during multi-week residencies – exploring activities and patterns that, though completely "normal" to the locals,

Juxtaposing Narratives: *Parallel Encounters* by Nadin Reschke and
The Lie of the Land by Michelle Monareng,
ZK/U Berlin, 2017
photo credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

Park Life by Cloud Chatanda installed at the
Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition, ZK/U Berlin, 2017
photo credit: Rachel Lee

Tracking Dar es Salaam by Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver
Kochta-Kalleinen at the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition,
ZK/U Berlin, 2017
photo credit: Rachel Lee

Opening speech by Anne Fleckstein of
the German Federal Cultural Foundation at the
Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition, ZK/U Berlin, 2017
photo credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

appeared special to them, revealing how deeply rooted they were culturally, and illustrating how this rootedness defies self-criticality at a local level. They also investigated how our stories are interwoven. What common history and heritage do we share? How can it be expressed and questioned? How can we learn from the perspective of others? In this regard the artists went beyond critical studies of colonial heritage, also examining everyday lives in today's Dar es Salaam and Berlin. Works were developed in cooperation with artists, craftsmen, researchers, families, merchants and drivers at both locations, allowing them to examine daily life, traditions and techniques. This yielded not only mutual observation, but also solidarity and trust.

Umesh Maddanahalli embarked on his exploration of Dar es Salaam rolling a car tire in front of him. This playful artistic approach, using a symbol of mechanization and expendable part of the millions of cars around the world, opened him up to spontaneous and unique exchanges in the street.

Nadin Reschke's photos of the urban landscape of Dar es Salaam were interpreted in individual material pictorial forms. In this way, she was able to turn her outsider's view of the city into a collaborative work with local artists. The images are available for purchase, with the proceeds being shared between the collaborators.

Alexander Römer designed stools made of simple wooden planks. He went into the world of local artisans and, using their tools, developed a range of chairs that are now spread throughout the cityscape of Dar es Salaam.

Cloud Chatanda explored the parks of Berlin and recorded what he perceived as strange behavior: people sunbathing nude or relieving themselves in public. He painted the situations that he encountered like a landscape painter on portable wooden panels.

Paul Ndunguru brought controversial material in his luggage to Berlin: socks donated from Germany that can no longer be sold in markets in Dar es Salaam, as a new law prohibits the sale of used underwear and socks in Tanzania. He stiffened the socks so that – in defiance of their inherent material inertness – they took on their own sculptural form. He combined the "journey" of socks with the question of the status of traveling people.

Patrick Mudekereza used street maps to show the legacy of colonialism as ghosts haunting the buildings of Lubumbashi (Congo) and the street names in the African quarter in Berlin-Wedding.

Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen used a camera with GPS to follow individuals from a variety of backgrounds through tracking their daily routines in Dar for 24 hours, to observe how far-reaching or limited their activities were. These observations were then converted into a spatial multimedia map, allowing viewers to retrace the subjects' paths.

In her *Daladala Diaries*, **Rehema Chachage** addressed movement through the city from the perspective of travelers using different transport systems and interpreted her reflections in a sound installation.

Michelle Monareng visited the archive of the Protestant missionaries in Berlin. There she encountered a description of the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of a community from Heidelberg, South Africa, that completely differed from the one that the exiled group has passed down through generations.

The *Gyms in Dar* calendar, the product of a collaboration between **KUNSTrePUBLIK** and **Jan van Esch**, shows how an alternative to the standardized fitness and wellness centers of western cities has been created through self-organization and the simple recycling of leftover and discarded materials.

The artworks were shown alongside contributions from *ANZA* and *Baunetzwoche* magazines and the work of the researchers from TU Berlin, in the *Juxtaposing Narratives* exhibition at ZK/U from 17 March – 6 April 2017 and at the *Urithi Mijini* exhibition in DARCH, Dar es Salaam from 30 June - 30 September 2017.

Rue de la Résistance installation by Patrick Mudekereza and *Dar Stool b*y Alexander Römer (opposite)
photo credits: Rachel Lee

Gyms in Dar installation by KUNSTrePUBLIK and Jan van Esch at the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition, ZK/U, Berlin 2017
photo credit: Rachel Lee

Come Home Meal's Ready performance by Umesh
Maddanahalli at the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition
at ZK/U Berlin, 2017
photo credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

TYRE

Umesh Maddanahalli

In Bangalore I often walk past an area of commerce occupied entirely by people whose profession is to repair tyres. Both sides of the street bustle with activity, commerce is brisk. Every day, punctured tyres, worn out tyres and deflated tyres of all sizes are brought to these skilled craftsmen and "mechanics". The tyres are not transported to and from the repairmen, but physically rolled down the street. At any point during opening hours, any one of the men can be seen rolling 7-10 tyres at the same time. Tyre rolling is a skill that they have perfected over years of practice. Rolling even a single tyre along a path is quite challenging; a tyre is not that easily controlled, and their various widths, sizes, and weights make them roll differently. These folks regularly and nonchalantly roll tyres of different sizes simultaneously down the road, controlling the direction of their 'herd' with a flick of a stick or a light touch of their hands. The action of rolling a tyre opens up a performative space for me. The precept is that by form and function a tyre rolls, and can be manipulated by people.

TYRE is part of an evolving series of performative works, including *Name and Form, Past in Present* and *SET/ DREHORTE* that take place within urban and rural settings. With *TYRE* I (re)introduced the Bangalorean tyre-roll-ing practice to Tanzania, using it to investigate urban neighbourhoods

and public spaces, exploring the cultural and spatial environment. On another level, through a form of street theatre, or even childlike play, the seemingly universal act of rolling a tyre was made specific through the topographies and actors that took part in the performance. Walking through often unfamiliar places, the performers were confronted with the surrounding physical environment, the nature of their task, and themselves.

The 45-minute film shown in the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition cuts together footage from different locations in Tanzania and India: a workshop in Karnataka with students of the Mysore School of Arts that took a three-day tyre-rolling journey from Yellapura to Kelase in Karnataka, India; individual explorations of neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam; a collective walk through the centre of Dar es Salaam as part of the *Impose/Expose* art festival; and various routes through Bagamoyo, the former slave-trading port and capital of German East Africa.

Come Home Meal's Ready

At Nafasi Art Space in Dar es Salaam and at ZK/U in Berlin I also performed *Come Home Meal's Ready*, which I first performed in Bangalore in 2009. By preparing, cooking and serving a festive "family" meal for up to 100 people from the local creative community I hope to generate an immersive space for discussion and exchange that is mediated through the experience rather than any imposed order.

Photos taken during the filming of *TYRE*, Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo, 2015 (left)

photo credits: Rachel Lee

Come Home Meal's Ready performance at Nafasi Art Space, Dar es Salaam, 2015 (this page and overleaf)

photo credits: Nicholas Calvin

HERITAGE IS MOVING

Hannah le Roux

Being moved by heritage suggests that the experience of heritage, whether ephemeral or material, impacts on one's consciousness in an emotional way. Given the formative ideologies behind post-colonial contexts, we need to consider what forms of encounter with urban heritage will be moving to all. While the physical traces of cultural agents who have since moved on are significant for their descendants, for others, those same forms might call for a transcendental and critical action in the present to imbue meaning.

A window into the emotional conditions of post-colonial subjects is offered in the work of Frantz Fanon, a significant contributor to black consciousness scholarship. He worked as a psychiatrist in Algiers at the time of the War of Independence where he spoke to patients who had been hospitalized with trauma. His books *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) are replete with images of trauma, which he diagnosed as a condition with a double-sided quality. There was the trauma born of being physically involved in warfare, feeling compelled to take arms against the colonizing state, as well as the trauma that reflected a disconnect from the authentic self, a person in touch with cultural heritage. In Fanon's patients, both traumas produced a subconscious reaction with an embodied dimension that spoke where words and reason had reached their limits.

This theme of pain and reaction, and their relation to heritages, has recently been brought back to discussions in South Africa. Fanon's work is being read in South Africa at this time perhaps because we are, despite having been nominally democratic and free for twenty years, only now entering our post-colonial moment. This cultural condition was made visible by the removal in 2015 of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, the colonial builder, from the steps of the University of Cape Town, spurring other symbolic appropriations and actions that attempted to erase the colonial past through the removal of statues and the appropriation of spaces that were seen as colonially owned, particularly ceremonial spaces of congregation[1]. This act of re-moving things is

Removal of Cecil John Rhodes Statue,
University of Cape Town, 2015
photo credit: Michael Hammond/UCT

negative in terms of physical loss, but it is also constructive in conceptual and hence, emotional consequences. Putting artefacts back into circulation renders their provisional nature visible. Such actions expose that they were never fixed, and that they were rather things that had been introduced from elsewhere. The Rhodes statue was made in South Africa, but modelled on a genre devised in the metropolis of England and placed in a space which became marked as a colonial space. Its removal, and the retention of its empty base, was a powerful re-signification of this space as a provisional frame for new identity formation.

To further examine heritage as moving or re-moved, I want to discuss ways I have reconsidered my own work, despite my training as an architect in a discipline centered on producing buildings. As architects well know, in the first year of study one learns about how foundations are designed and how to build a solid brick wall. The notion of immobility is so inherent in the last six thousand years of architectural discourse that it is really hard to think of spatial formations beyond it. But through my own work, in bridging between heritage though the historical analysis of certain city sites and the design of interventions, I have found myself reconsidering architecture as only the physical act of building. Rather, the space in which the mobile object rests or departs from, and the network of movement which this engenders and is part of, is as much or more of a concern. Such assemblages seem to be the more authentic space of operation at the moment. Returning to Fanon, he says this about mobility:

> "The first thing which the native learns is to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits. This is why the dreams of the native are always of muscular prowess; his dreams are of action and of aggression. I dream I am jumping, swimming, running, climbing; I dream that I burst out laughing, that I span a river in one stride, or that I am followed by a flood of motor cars which never catch up with me"[2].

Behind the desires that Fanon observes is the well documented involvement of colonial technocrats in attempts to control movement through design and infrastructure as well as regulation[3]. This control operated by abstracting the medium of movement, as represented in a map of the roads that had been developed by the colonial powers in Africa[4]. Such trunk roads may initially have followed the trade routes but substantially increased in size in the post-war period. Their network ends primarily at ports, creating thresholds between the continent and the rest of the world, and the colonial nations in particular. The possibilities of movement were amplified for all subjects and goods, but this movement was highly controlled by the colonial system.

There is a contrast in the speeds of movement of colonizer and the colonized. The movement is always slower for the local person, unless they are being transported through the network. Fanon's work suggests that the colonial world, which is the world that is fixed and which fixes people in their places – in their nation, in their cities, in their ethnic neighbourhood and in their rural homeland – is in a binary and oppositional relationship with the local consciousness of space. The latter is imaginary, but not inactive; a spatial awareness which is mobile and tactical, where people manage to find ways to move despite and within systems not designed for their own desire for mobility.
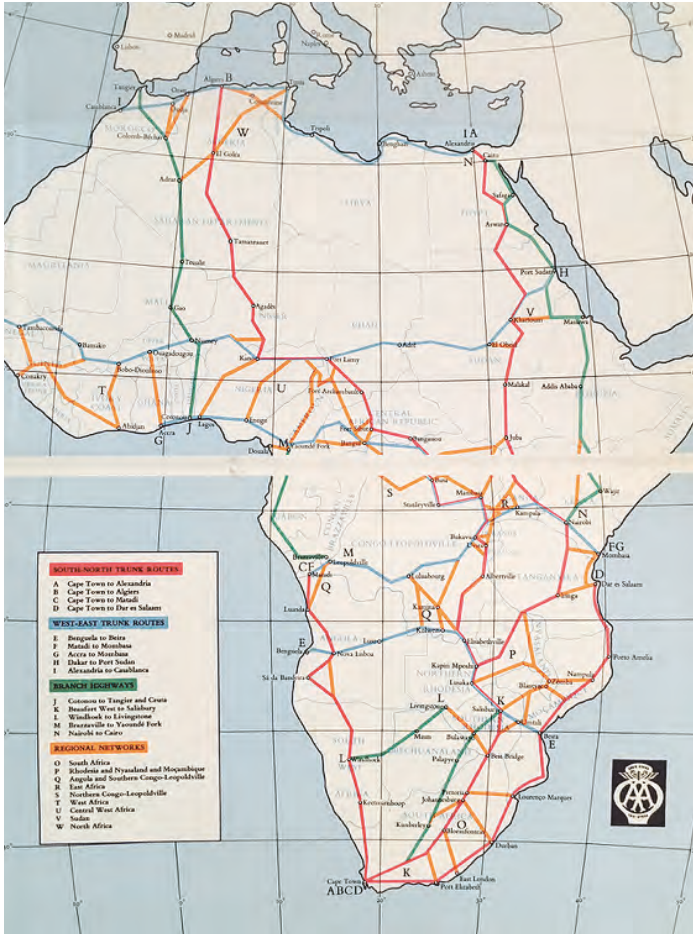
Map of trunk roads in Africa
image credit: AASA, 1963

The first project documented here regards the township of KwaThema, which was built in the 1950s to re-accommodate black workers who were working in the mines and industry and living in slum-like conditions near to the town of Springs, east of Johannesburg. KwaThema was designed as a model township, right at the end of the British-dominated period in South African rule just before the start of apartheid, and its construction spans the two regimes. It was designed as a town planner's vision of a perfect welfare state township for black community. It was hugely influential and it was extensively copied, becoming the archetypal black township in South Africa.

KwaThema has a significant formal archive, principally the drawings produced at the National Building Research Institute,[5] which complements the local consciousness that we have accessed over a relatively long period of time. The Calderwood method is steeped in engineering thinking, and aimed to model demographics, economics of the township, construction and spatial geometry in rational ways. In some contrast, there are ways of operating by the residents that reflect actions centered on social and immediately viable actions. Their spatial strategies are reactive, ad hoc and involve re-use.

We have tried to approach the local cultures of transformation through different methods: housing surveys that asked people how they expanded the houses they inherited, co-design[6], my own design project, PITCH (2009) and an ongoing project to locate some more material in the local library.

The KwaThema houses were the prototypes for most South African township houses, and the surveys consider the deformation, or acceptance of these models in use. In the co-designed KwaThema Project (2007), students worked within the framework of an old beer hall that had been demolished by the community over a period of time. Such buildings were initially attacked in 1976 in the protest against the institutionalization of alcohol sales in the township[7]. In 1976, following the student uprisings, this particular building, along with other such sites, was torched, and no longer continued to run as an institution. Over time, people slowly removed the brickwork, using it for additions and garden walls. Our students were asked in this project to take the skeleton of the building and to repurpose it as a free space for youth within the community. The mural in the stairwell symbolizes the 1976 student uprising, while the beer crates and tyres supporting a playful openness alluded to these artefacts' darker histories. The project suggested that the inversion of the building, achieved through the removal of its enclosure, had emancipated a space of embodied possibilities.

The notion of movement was more directly brought into the concluding event of this project through performances and a procession between the beer hall and six other concomitant ones. People willing to participate as dancers and actors joined in, co-scripting it with some sort of lesson or performance related to the values that the project asserted. For example, one performance was a lesson in civic good behaviour in which people were encouraged to pick up their rubbish, while another celebrated people who build their own shops.

In my own work, I have studied soccer spaces in KwaThema, which are similar to those in Dar es Salaam, in that earthen soccer fields are cleared and maintained by communities[8]. Such soccer fields are made through the most minimal means, and survive

KwaThema in the early 1950s

photo credit: Calderwood, 1950s
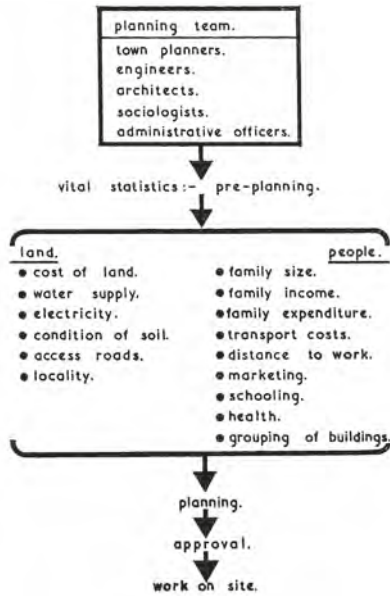
Planning schema for KwaThema

image credit: Calderwood, 1960s

The KwaThema Project,
alterations to house, 2012
photo credit: Le Roux

The KwaThema Project,
beer hall reuse
photo credit: Le Roux

CHESS PARK

LAUNCH ROUTE AND MINOR PROJECTS

BEER HALL

The KwaThema Project,
processional route, 2014
image credit: Le Roux

through their informality. I observed a case where the state-supported soccer body, SAFA, upgraded a field by seeding, irrigating and fencing it, in the process creating closed systems that undermined the social and local economic value of the field before failing altogether. I proposed a counter project where intervention was limited to a kit of white line markers, goal markers and a gazebo for the people involved in setting up and spectating. This project was amplified into a larger scale tent. This infrastructure would fit on a trolley that would carry the tent between soccer spaces across the township, to accommodate and promote tournaments so that each field could be used by multiple teams. Some minimal elements – signs, tyres and anchors – would remain. It is conceivable that over time the movable infrastructure would start to mesh together a whole number of leagues outside of the SAFA network that are self-managed and so begin to re-establish civic life in KwaThema.

To return to Fanon's emphasis on fixity and the defiance enacted against it in colonial contexts, the creation of architecture during colonization – or its variant, apartheid – can be seen as a technology of fixing. Conversely, the actions of ordinary native subjects must be seen as ways of reasserting human agency through actions, which might take the form of demolition, addition, abandonment or transgression in relation to such spaces. Heritage needs to encompass all these positions and re-enact their interrelationship if it is to remain meaningful.

In closing, the recent use of an emblematic post-apartheid restoration project seems relevant. The Number Four prison in Johannesburg Fort was kept and repurposed in the late 1990s as a physical symbol, not of a glorious past but of the traumatic period when black South Africans were imprisoned there for not carrying their passbooks in the city. It was redeveloped after apartheid ended into an exhibition space of this history of oppression and narratives of how it was overcome[9]. The Constitutional Court was built alongside the former prison. The institution runs a public program, which recently sent out a flyer for a commemorative event. The form that the curators chose is that of a collective walk, drawing on a very powerful form of post-colonial (and global) protest. This walk intended to affirm constitutionalism, which has been threatened by corrupt acts of enrichment. In the event, even children will be taught to walk. In this context, heritage is indeed moving.

Soccer tent, KwaThema, 2012

photo credit: Le Roux
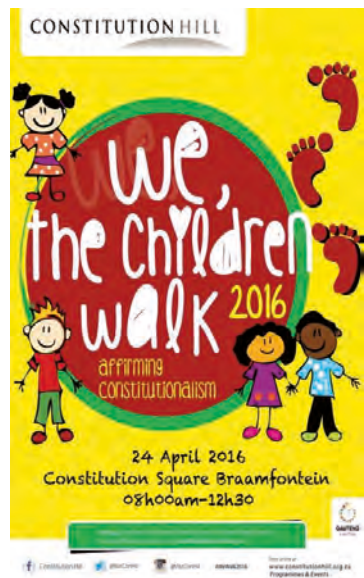
Constitution Hill, brochure for Children's Walk, 2016

image credit: Le Roux

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1 *https://www.uct.ac.za/daily-news/?id=9098*, *http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2015/04/cecil-rhodes-mahatma-gandhi-why-south-africa-tearing-its-statues-down*

2 Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*: Pref. by Jean-Paul Sartre. Transl. by Constance Farrington. (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

3 See for instance, as earlier studies, Soja, Edward W. The *Geography of Modernization in Kenya: A Spatial Analysis of Social, Economic, and Political Change*. Syracuse University Press, 1968. Ferguson, James. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. University of California Press, 1999. and King, Anthony D. Colonial *Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976

4 Automobile Association of South Africa, Trans-African Highways: *A Route Book of the Main Trunk Roads in Africa* (Automobile Association of South Africa, 1963).

5 D. M. Calderwood, *Native Housing in South Africa* (C.P., 1955).

6 See Trangos, da Souza, Arnot et all 2007. Beerhall intervention for the KwaThema Project on *http://kwathema.blogspot.co.za*

7 For some brief context on similar beer halls and their destruction in the 1976 uprising, see *http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/beerhalls-soweto-soweto-heritage-survey-final-report-compiled-steven-lebelo-and-elsabe-brink*

8 Hannah le Roux, 'Lived Modernism: When Architecture Transforms' (PhD in Architecture, KU Leuven, 2014).

9 *https://www.constitutionhill.org.za*, Segal, Lauren, K Martin, and S Kort, eds. *Number Four: The Making of Constitution Hill*. Penguin (South Africa), 2006.

NAVIGATING "OFF RADAR"

The heritage of liminal spaces in the city center of
colonial/postcolonial Lubumbashi, DR Congo

Johan Lagae, Sofie Boonen and Sam Lanckriet

Decoding an urban landscape of walls and roofs

Lubumbashi, or Elisabethville as it was called during colonial times, is the second urban center of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Commonly described as a "garden city" in colonial sources, the city, according to the 2007 edition of the popular guide book series *le Petit Futé*, still transmits a "kind of colonial luxury for its architecture and urban design, as much as its gardens and the numerous trees planted in most of the avenues of the city center"[1]. Since 2005, a number of initiatives to document and create awareness for Lubumbashi's built heritage have been initiated by the French Ministry of Culture, one of its experts even describing the city as an "open air architectural museum".[2] Today, the open and inviting nature of the streetscape in the historical city center, clearly depicted in historical photographs, has almost completely vanished. Since the 1980s, a period of great insecurity in Congo, almost all parcels in the city center, and especially those in the residential zones, have been enclosed by high walls, thus blocking, much to the frustration of *afficionados* of the city's architecture, views of colonial villas in regionalist, modernist or art deco style. This image of a city of walls and roofs has extended towards the newly-built neighborhoods. Lubumbashi now appears as a *ville bunkerisée* [bunkerized city].

Yet, as landscape architect Thomas Oles points out in his cultural study of walls, we should not be "blind to the potential of the wall as a place of truck – of interaction and exchange".[3] Should we thus not understand this seemingly opaque and protective urban landscape of walls and roofs differently? Having studied Lubumbashi's architecture and urban form for over 15 years, and having had the privilege of discovering this city by walking it with different local friends and informants, we argue that these walls delineate and even constitute intriguing liminal spaces in the city.[4] Being initiated in the often subtle codes of Lubumbashi's urban landscape, the city's inhabitants, or *Lushois* as they are commonly referred to, indeed have the ability to negotiate access to the (semi) public spaces lying behind these walls, which most often remain invisible to the outsider.

The residential zone in Lubumbashi's city center. A 1929
colonial villa hidden from view by high enclosing walls

photo credit: Johan Lagae

A so-called "haunted house" along the Avenue Kapenda,
in Lubumbashi's city center

photo credit: Georges Senga/Johan Lagae
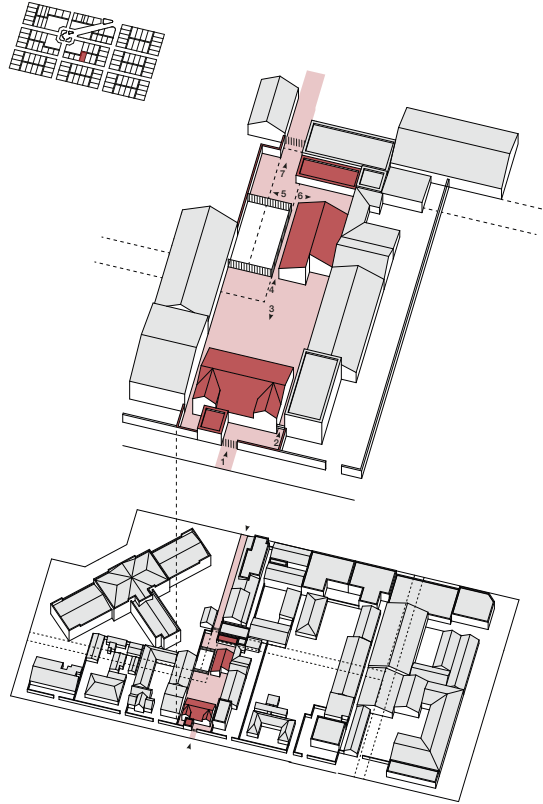
The Rosamina bar, allowing a shortcut between two avenues in Lubumbashi's city center and providing a place to discuss a situation "off radar"

image credit: Sam Lanckriet

photo credits: Georges Senga/Johan Lagae

Easily overlooked signs act as invitations for those informed passers-by to establish encounters that, deliberately or not, escape the gaze from the street. The morphology of Lubumbashi's city center, moreover, provides ample opportunities for taking shortcuts between these walls, or, as it is called in local parlance, *katricher*. By tracing this practice back to the early phases in the spatial development of the city's center, we want to make a plea to see this network of walls as an intrinsic part of Lubumbashi's heritage.

Blurred boundaries between public and private

In contrast with Kinshasa's city center, the skyline of which is dotted with high-rise buildings, the built fabric in Lubumbashi's historical core still is almost exclusively low rise, rarely going above three floors. The introduction of the enclosing walls during the 1980s thus heavily affected the urban landscape. Yet, these opaque walls, only punctuated by metal doors and gates, hide very different realities. Sometimes, they constitute an absolute, protective boundary between the public space of the street and the private space of the parcel. The main seat of the Monusco, or the *United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo*, hidden behind walls protected by double rows of barbed wire is a case in point. The widespread practice of having a "sentinel" or guard, commonly living in a shack next to the entrance gate, indicates the extent to which the wall is part of larger strategies in a city – and in a country – pervaded by various forms of violence and insecurity. Such opaque walls enclosing parcels can, however, demarcate the boundary between private and public in a much more ambivalent way. Former colonial villas standing on these parcels, once conceived as single-family houses, nowadays often house extended families composed of different households whose relations are defined by complex hierarchies and modes of living together. In some gardens one can even find shacks attached to the outer walls accommodating shops that open up to the public domain of the street via a window punched in the enclosure and that are sublet to persons external to the extended family. Many private parcels also house informal bars, or *ngandas* as they are called in local parlance, most of which do not publicly advertise their existence, or do so via signs that can easily be overlooked, such as an empty beer bottle deliberately left on the garden wall as an *objet trouvé* [found object]. On many occasions our local informants led us into the backyards of private houses that we would never have detected as being bars or even small restaurants.

The absence of a wall does not necessarily mean, however, that access to the parcel is evident, as Albert Kapepa, a local writer, pointed out during a walk in October 2013. Guiding us along the Avenue Kapenda, the streetscape of which reflects the "garden city" photographs of colonial Lubumbashi, he explicitly pointed out one parcel where the continuous surface of enclosing walls was suddenly interrupted. Ever since its white owner was violently killed during the turbulent Katangese secession of the early 1960s, so Albert informed us, this villa was perceived as a "haunted house". Sharing with us a frightening experience of his uncle in the house, Albert stressed that he was telling "*la vérité vraie*" [the real truth]. While it is tempting to dismiss his account as mere superstition, several scholars have convincingly argued that rumors resonating strongly with fears and fantasies play a crucial role in the Central African way of understanding the world.[5]

Navigating "off radar" in Lubumbashi's urban grid, present and past

In the preface of the catalogue documenting the 2010 edition of the biennale *Picha Rencontres*, Patrick Mudekereza and Sammy Baloji provide an account of how the

artists' association *Picha* was born out of a dialogue while having a beer in Rosamina, a bar in the commercial center of Lubumbashi.[6] Located in the middle of an urban block and invisible from the outside, Rosamina forms a kind of oasis in a quite hectic area of the city. It has all the classic features of a good *nganda*: one can sit under *paillotes*, or straw huts, protected from rain and sun, on the plastic garden chairs that constitute the most widespread piece of furniture all over Africa. But what makes this bar remarkable is that one can actually reach it from the two avenues that demarcate the urban block in which it is situated. On the Avenue Mama Yemo, no sign indicates the bar's existence.[7] One needs to go through a metal grille, then follow a sinuous passage before arriving onto the central open terrace of the bar in the middle of the block. One can also reach Rosamina by taking an alley adjacent to the Palace of Justice, situated on the Avenue Lomami, where its existence is suggested via an advert for Primus, a local brand of beer. As such, Rosamina is one of those places in the city that allows visitors to take a shortcut, a practice that locally is called *katricher*. This characteristic turns Rosamina into a space of encounter providing an opportunity for navigating "off radar". It indeed constitutes a privileged site for *palabres* or informal oral negotiations between *Lushois* and administrators from the Palace of Justice, in order to fix a *dossier*.

To trace the genealogy of such alternative routes, we need to return to the first historical urban maps of the city. These indicate that the former *ville européenne* [European town] was planned from its foundation in 1910 according to a grid constituted by two sets of perpendicular avenues, resulting in urban blocks of about 250 by 120 meters, each containing up to 16 individual parcels.[8] Within each block, there existed a secondary, H-shaped structure of back alleys or so-called *ruelles sanitaires* [sanitary corridors]. In the early days of the city, these were used by the African domestic servants to transport, out-of-sight, the waste of the master's household. Servants lived in a small, modest shack, the so-called *boyerie*, situated at the back of the parcel close to a small door which opened up to the back alley.[9] Marking the distinction between front and back of the parcel, the *ruelles sanitaires* testify to the importance of hygienic considerations pervading colonial urban planning practices in sub-Saharan Africa. However, these *ruelles sanitaires* also form an interesting, yet often overlooked example of liminal spaces in the colonial city. If these alleys facilitated the visual and mental elimination of filth from the urban landscape, creating a sense of tidiness and order, they simultaneously provided opportunities for domestic servants to navigate "off radar", especially after dusk.[10] Several oral accounts as well as traces in archival sources from the 1920s suggest that the *ruelles sanitaires* in Lubumbashi served as potential zones of contact allowing servants to escape the controlling gaze of the colonizer.[11] By the early 1930s, the colonial administration sought to eliminate them, not only due to the efforts made to install a sewage system in the city center, but also because they provided Africans with a means to develop spatial tactics countering the normative nature of colonial urban space. In other words, the *ruelles sanitaires* constituted a *problème policier* [police problem][12].

Taking Lubumbashi's walls seriously
By walking the avenues of Lubumbashi's city center with a trained eye or zooming in on the city via Google Earth, one can still discern traces of this secondary network of *ruelles sanitaires* which the colonial administration was unable to erase completely. Nowadays, they are often used as alleys to park one's car, and sometimes they provide

Fragment of the "Plan Parcellaire d'Elisabethville", 22 November 1910,
showing the main grid as well as the secondary H-structure of the *ruelles sanitaires* [sanitary corridors]
image credit: Africa Archives, Brussels, cartography collection, Cartes (295) Eville 19102015
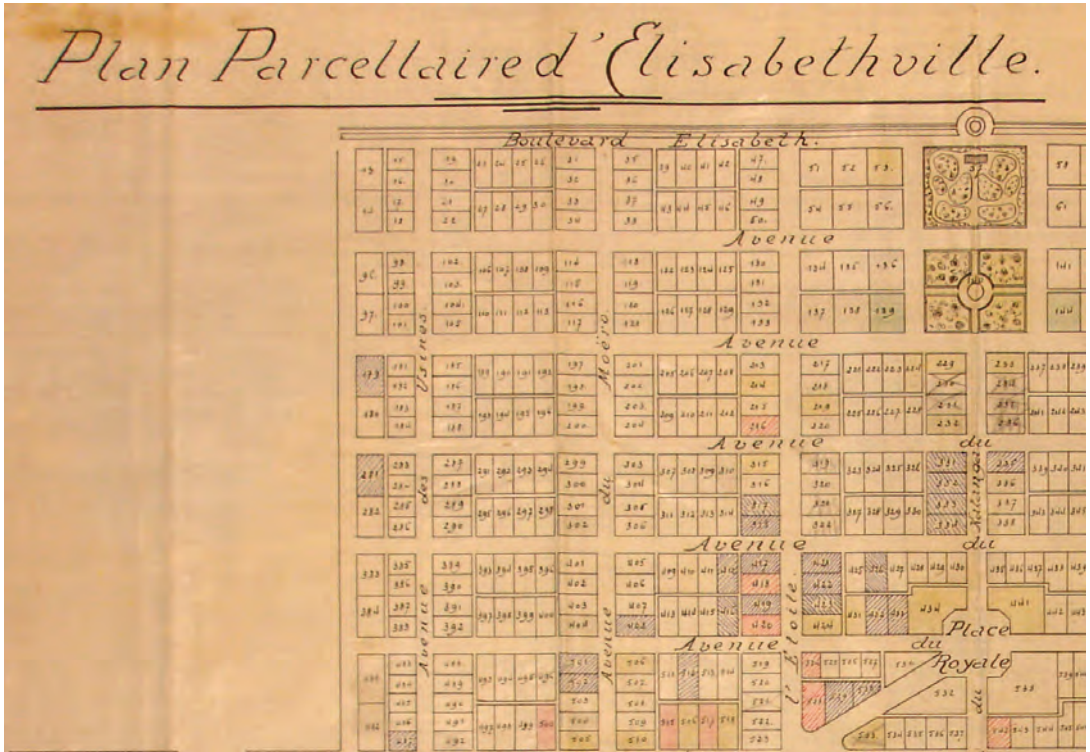
Traces of remaining fragments of sanitary corridors
or *ruelles sanitaires* along the Avenue Adoula
photo credit: Georges Senga/Johan Lagae

access to new parcels situated deep inside a lot without any of its borders touching the main avenues. In some areas, remaining fragments of this network allow pedestrians to take shortcuts. Mapping the spatial evolution of the morphology of Lubumbashi's city center and of the network of *ruelles sanitaires* in particular, might thus help us to gain a better understanding of the genealogy of the art of *katricher*. But most of all, these traces of the *ruelles sanitaires* form a forceful reminder that the old as well as new walls of Lubumbashi should not be taken at face value. If colonial and postcolonial governments continuously devised spatial strategies to install order and discipline via a strict lay-out of urban form, and if the emerging situation of insecurity since the 1980s resulted in a "bunkerisation" of the city's landscape, there always existed liminal spaces that opened up opportunities for everyday tactics allowing the city's inhabitants to renegotiate and counter precisely those strategies. These walls, then, are an intrinsic and important part of the built heritage of this "open air architectural museum".

1   Original text in French: "certain luxe colonial tant dans son architecture et son urbanisme que grâce à ses jardins et ses nombreux arbres qui ont été plantés dans la plupart des avenues du centre-ville"

2   See Marc Pabois and Hubert Maheux (eds), *République Démocratique du Congo. Lubumbashi. Capitale minière du Katanga 1910-2010. L'Architecture*, Lubumbashi: Espace Culturel Francophone de Lubumbashi, 2008.

3   Thomas Oles, *Walls. Enclosure & Ethics in the Modern Landscape*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2015, p. xx.

4   In our use of the term "liminal spaces", we are referring to discussions on the issue of liminality in relation to architecture and space that were triggered by the work of Homi Bhabha and Edward Soja.

5   Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires. Rumor and History in colonial Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Gewald, Jan-Bart, *Fears and fantasies in Northern Rhodesia, 1950-1960,* in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds) *Living the end of empire : politics and society in late colonial Zambia*, Leiden : Brill, 2011, 207-228.

6   Simon Njami (ed), *Rencontres Picha. Biennale de Lubumbashi du 13 au 17 octobre 2010*, Paris: Filigraines, 2012, pp. 7-10.

7   This observation dates from October 2013. During our most recent visit to Lubumbashi in April 2015, we noticed that an advert for Rosamina had been painted on the outer wall along this avenue, making the bar now very present in the public domain.

8   For a brief sketch of the evolution of Lubumbashi's urban form, see the mapping presented by Johan Lagae et. al. in Simon Njami (ed), *Rencontres Picha,* op. cit., pp. 19-53.

9   See Johan Lagae and Sofie Boonen, "Un regard africain sur le paysage urbain d'une ville colonial belge. Architecture et urbanisme dans le 'Vocabulaire de ville de Elisabethville' d'André Yav", in Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu and Rosario Giordano (eds), *Lubumbashi 1910-1920. Mémoire d'une ville industrielle*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010, pp. 107-124.

10   On the importance for African domestic servants of being able to circulate after sun down, see also Rebecca Ginsburg, *At Home with Apartheid. The Hidden Landscapes of Domestic Service in Johannesburg*, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 2011.

11   Information was found in several files from the fund GG in the Africa Archives, Brussels.

12   Translating *problème policier* into English removes some of the meanings of the expression in French, as a problem for the police to deal with, a problem to be legislated upon (with a policy), a problem of public order (what the police enforce).

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Nadin Reschke

During my residency in Dar es Salaam, I collaborated with 21 local inhabitants reacting to the rapidly changing urban structure of this booming city – Dar es Salaam is one of the fastest growing cities worldwide. The surge in demolitions and the influx of foreign private investment have changed the city dramatically over the past ten years, causing it to lose some of the features and characteristics that gave it its identity. Historical buildings, that bear witness to the development of the country from pre-colonial, through colonial, to post-independence times, are vanishing.

Looking at Dar es Salaam's changing cityscapes, I documented the transitions with my camera. But I did not leave the images frozen in the photographic moment; I wanted to subject them to change, as a reflection of the urban processes at work in the streets of Dar es Salaam. I invited artists, craftsmen, urbanists and other local residents to react to these photographs, to intervene on the physical objects, based on their visions of the future of the city. Each photograph was altered by one participant using embroidery, painting, collage and a number of other techniques. Together, the 20 mixed-media pieces show a multi-layered perspective of the cityscape of Dar es Salaam.

In collaboration with:
Masoud Kibwana,
Kelvin Chando,
Lutengano Mwakisopile,
Cloud Chatanda,
Gertrude Mtalo and Victoria Peters,
Florah Chalya,
Meddy Jumanne,
Local,
Shaziri Movani,
John Seleman,
Mwegelo Kapinga,
Miguel Costales,
Asia Sultan,
David Kyando,
Ramadhani Kakente,
Paul Njihia,
Amani Abeid,
Jan van Esch,
Mark Philipo and Selma Stambuli
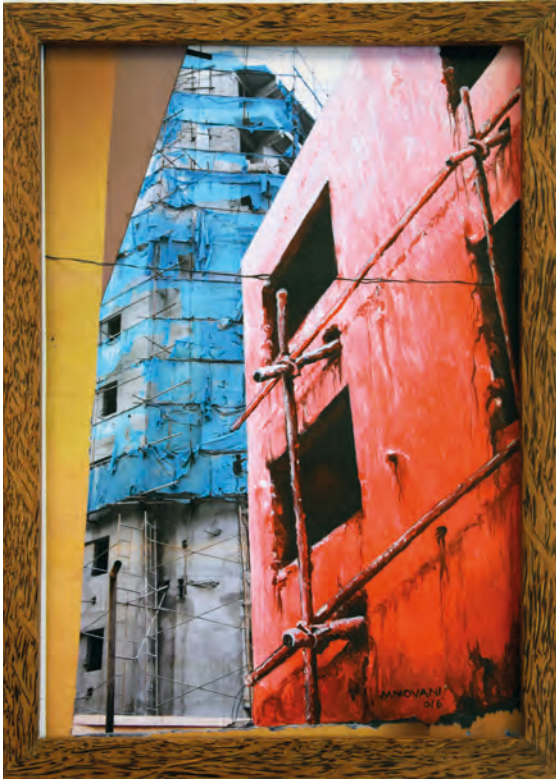
Parallel Encounters exhibited at Nafasi Art Space,
Dar es Salaam, 2016 (all images)
photo credits: Nadin Reschke

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DANTE'S WALK

Markers of place in an informal settlement
The *Nai Ni Who* festival in Nairobi

Joy Mboya and Judy Ogana

Dante is a youthful resident of a Nairobi neighbourhood called Mathare. He led a walking tour through his neighbourhood, as an activity within the *Nai Ni Who* festival, an annual citywide experience catalysed through the GoDown Arts Centre.[1] *Nai Ni Who* [Who is Nairobi] is framed in *sheng,* which is an amalgamated urban language that draws on the diversity of tongues typical in such a cosmopolitan environment. The walk represented one of the many ways through which the festival enabled residents to turn their attention on their neighbourhoods, as a reflection process on what ties them to the city – the identification with, and sense of ownership of the city.

Before it transformed into a city festival, the process that emerged as *Nai Ni Who* was initially an iterative interrogation of the issue of identity and belonging (or not belonging) in Nairobi. The GoDown placed itself as a citizen of the city that occupies a territory and has a certain proprietorship within the city. This was significant, as this came with responsibilities and possibilities, especially to actively engage in issues concerning the development of Nairobi. Therefore, to begin with, the GoDown convened discussions with artists, city officials and residents to deliberate on how the city was perceived by various stakeholders: Just what does "the city" mean to residents? How do they relate to the city? How to connect with the city?

On a socio-political level, the issue of African urban identity in Nairobi is one with historical resonance, arising from a British colonial heritage that did not plan for African residents to be domiciled in urban centres. This segregation laid the pattern for settlement in the present day city, where communities – on an ethnic or socio-economic basis – experience marginalisation. The Nubian community, perhaps the oldest African group to be officially settled in Nairobi after World War I, upon the return of decommissioned Nubian soldiers who had fought on the side of the British, suffered such a fate. Nubians were denied recognition by the British as a tribe native to Kenya, and were not given rights to land. Their status has never been regularised, forcing them to live in a

Steep steps at the Thayo Bridge, Mathere, Nairobi

photo credits: GoDown Arts Centre

Walking through the neighbourhood (above) and watching
a soccer match at Austin Grounds, Mathere, Nairobi

photo credits: GoDown Arts Centre

condition of permanent asylum on the outskirts of Nairobi, in what has now become the largest slum in Africa: Kibera. Greg Constantine's book and photo exhibition, *Nubians: Then and Now,* inspired in part the organising principle of the festival:

> "All are considered squatters, including Yusuf and thousands of other Nubians. Yet the cabinet of dishware, the couches, the clean rugs and the family photos on the wall, along with the sense of generosity and peace in Yusuf's family dwelling, show they have made a home there for generations"[2].

It also came through a sentiment attributed to a Nubian elder, who said: "A community becomes confident when it is recognised." The GoDown's *Nai Ni Who* festival endeavours to apply this maxim across all the diverse communities and the neighbourhoods of Nairobi. Thus *Nai Ni Who* is a celebration, a recognition of all Nairobi residents and their neighbourhoods.

What came across clearly from the discussions first convened by the GoDown was that, after being cut off "on the periphery" for such a long time, many Africans in the post-colonial city expressed ambivalence at being "Nairobian". Many present in these meetings viewed the city functionally – a space they come to for school or university, a space that provided opportunities of employment. But there was also a sense of belonging conveyed by the younger generations, born and bred in Nairobi, who clearly viewed the city as their space, as home, unwelcoming and difficult as the actual lived experience might be.

The question for the GoDown was how to operationalise this insight, how to interrogate the very deep and difficult question of belonging in a way that would not only make sense, but also bear minimum influence from the GoDown itself. How do we enter the space without leading the conversation? How can the GoDown enable the city's residents to lead and drive that interrogation of urban identity, belonging and ownership?

The GoDown's approach was to share the concept of the festival (celebration) with city residents, in their various neighbourhoods, and to consult with them on ways in which this could be done. This included taking stock of the assets that defined neighbourhood identities, and unearthing and sharing urban histories that could be packaged and presented as experiences. We had a first meeting with artists and community organisations, where we presented this idea of a city and asked how they could perhaps begin to find events or symbols or processes of celebration, which could be shared with other residents within the city.

Dante's walking tour takes us through Mathare, a neighbourhood variously described as: a slum by city officials, an informal or unauthorised settlement by UN-Habitat officers; the *kijiji* or village by older Mathare residents; and the hood or ghetto by Dante himself. It was interesting to see how even in such disadvantaged and peripheral areas, residents are *creating* meaning – identifying a meaning for specific places. The walk begins at Austin's Grounds, an open area by the main road, which later served as the hub of the festival. Here the community usually holds soccer matches and concerts. Proceeding down into the river valley – *Bondeni* – one encounters makeshift structures: some homes, some small enterprises selling food and alcohol. Dante's tour then leads one across the river, over the Daraja Mbili bridge, that links across to slightly

higher ground: a "more salubrious" part called Area 4, which features more permanent structures. The walk winds through Gumba market, past a small school, the Why-Not Academy. Further, Dante explains they sometimes show movies and concerts for the benefit of the community, in this section called Mashimoni [the caves], because of the natural features of the area, where the lower part is easily used for performances. Before leading out back onto the main road, one comes across a tin structure by the name of Upendo [love], where baby care services are on offer for mothers who must go to work and leave their children. To leave the valley, one climbs up a steep set of concrete stairs, the Thayo Bridge [Peace Bridge], which has really eased residents' access to the main road since it was built. Once up at the main road, the walk heads back to Austin's Grounds, back to the beginning.

This is an example of how one neighbourhood created its own activity for the *Nai Ni Who* festival, which eventually became a big festival of festivals. All of the neighbourhood mini-festivals were for the most part designed and driven by the residents, based on their spaces and how they use them. The content of the festival is selected and created by residents themselves, providing an opportunity for the histories of neighbourhoods to be shared through their eyes. Even in spaces that are "on the periphery", not deemed worthy of a typical walking tour, we are reminded of a certain architectural past, and of the way people are creating meaning and associating meaning to these particular spaces. As a result, *Nai Ni Who* is quite diverse, a true recognition and acceptance of the city's narratives.

1   A longer version of this essay has been published as: Joy Mboya and Garnette Oluoch-Olunya. 'Nai Ni Who?: Exploring Urban Identity, Place, and Social (Re)construction in Nairobi'. Critical Interventions 11, no. 1 (2 January 2017): 58–72.

2   Greg Constantine, *Kenya's Nubians: Then & Now*, self-published, 2011. The photography exhibition of the same title was shown both in Nairobi at the GoDown Arts Centre and later at the FOTO8 gallery in London in 2010. It was the first part of an ongoing series of works by the photographer called *Nowhere People*. For more, see http://www.nowherepeople.org/kenya/

INTRODUCTION

CONFIDENCE AND HARMONY WITHIN A CITY IS BUILT THROUGH RECOGNITION AND RESPECT FOR ITS DIVERSE COMMUNITIES.

Baby care services at Upendo in Mathere, Nairobi
image credits: GoDown Arts Centre

URITHI MIJINI

A conversation about activism, preservation policies
and demolished buildings in Dar es Salaam

Walter Bgoya, Rachel Lee and Diane Barbé

Air view of the central area Dar es Salaam Tanzania, 1967
photo credit: Photographer Unknown. Retrieved from the Aerial Photography and Satellite
Imagery Office, Department of Surveys and Mapping, Ministry of Lands, Tanzanian Government.

Walter Bgoya is the managing director of Mkuki na Nyota, an independent publishing company in Dar es Salaam, and chairman of the international African Books Collective. From 1972 to 1990 he directed the Tanzania Publishing House, which played a major role in making Dar es Salaam a centre for progressive intellectuals from around the world. He has been involved as a preservation activist in Dar es Salaam for decades, and is now a board member of DARCH – the Dar es Salaam Centre for Architectural Heritage, an institution dedicated to raising awareness about and preserving the city's manifold histories.

Rachel Lee: We would like to hear your personal experiences of heritage and heritage activism in Dar es Salaam, and what you've experienced here over the past 20 or 30 years. What activism has been going on? What have been the different policies behind the approach to urban heritage here? What has been demolished?

Walter Bgoya: I came to live in Dar es Salaam in 1966 from the US where I had been a student. At the time the population of the city was less than 300,000 people and the New Africa Hotel was central to the civic and social life of Dar es Salaam's elite class. The New Africa used to be the Kaiserhof Hotel, built by the Germans in 1906 at the height of German colonialism. It was a beautiful building, with a square courtyard in the centre in which stood a single tall coconut tree. The courtyard extended to the outside in a large veranda where food, drinks, coffee and tea were served throughout the day. It was a meeting

place for people from all over the world and people used to give each other appointments like, "Let us meet at the New Africa Hotel next year in June". One of my most memorable meetings there was when Bill Sutherland, a well known African-American who lived in Dar es Salaam, and I met and talked for a long time with the famous African-American poet Langston Hughes. The New Africa was later demolished to give way to a new building.

RL: Why was it demolished?

WB: I presume to build the new New Africa Hotel and to increase the number of rooms to accommodate more visitors who were increasingly coming to Dar es Salaam. I thought and I still think that the old New Africa Hotel was a very important historic building that should have been preserved. It is said that there were once plans for the German Kaiser to come to Dar es Salaam, and that he was to be lodged in that hotel. He didn't

visit, because the First World War came and Germany lost Tanganyika as its colony. As it was the most prestigious hotel in Dar at that time, most entertainment activities were held there and in a few other hotels around the city centre. That was before the city expanded to the suburbs and many of the African elite moved from the city centre to the periphery. Since then many old buildings in Dar have been demolished, and every time this happens it is a great loss to Dar's architectural heritage. Most of the time we didn't know which building was earmarked for demolition and even if we had known would have had no power to mobilise people to fight it as there were only two newspapers and one radio station, all owned by the government and the TANU party. The first real efforts I put into saving a building was for the Old Boma, at the corner of Morogoro Road and Sokoine Drive.

RL: Did this trigger an activist movement? When did that begin?

WB: This happened in 1979. The Old Boma – the oldest building in Dar, built in 1867 – was going to be demolished. There were two other buildings next to the Boma which were demolished, ostensibly to make way for a cultural centre. The Tanzania Publishing House, of which I was general manager, had applied and been permitted to renovate the Old Boma and to move our offices there. An architectural company, Klaus Bremmer Associates, had completed all the drawings for the work, and then we heard that it was going to be demolished. I tried to engage senior government officials to support my efforts and, when that failed, decided in the end to appeal to the late Mwalimu Nyerere, the President. I went to the State House and, after explaining why I wanted to see Mwalimu, his private secretary,

an English lady by the name of Joan Wicken, told me that there was no point in asking the President because the decision had already been taken to demolish it. I was very disappointed. On my way to my office I met a friend and lawyer Mrs. Ester Chikawe, then a state attorney and asked her if the High Court could intervene to stop this demolition. She was sympathetic. As we were just opposite the High Court she decided to take me to one of the High Court judges, to request an injunction against the building's demolition. Meanwhile, demolition was already in progress at the Old Boma. There used to be a section of the Old Boma which was the German prison, and one of its walls was knocked down. I arrived at the site in time to stop any further demolition work. The remaining wall from the German prison still stands.

RL: Did that have an impact on government policy at all?

WB: There was extensive coverage of the case in the newspapers, and it did work up some people to act.

Diane Barbé: How long was the story covered in the media?

WB: Several days, I don't remember exactly how many. The Antiquities Department helped strengthen our case with a long article about the building and the case for its preservation, although it came after I had obtained the injunction against demolition. After that of course I became more and more aware and interested in the preservation of old Dar es Salaam. We were very happy with the Antiquities Declaration of Conservation Areas Notice No. 2006, which proclaimed that any building built around 1863 should automatically be protected. But for some of us the question was not

Tanganyika. Dar-es-Salem. Air view. Closer view of sea front, 1936

photo credit: Matson Photo Service. Retrieved from the Library of Congress,
https://www.loc.gov/item/mpc2010003179/PP/

Tanganyika. Dar-es-Salem. The New Africa Hotel, 1936

photo credit: Retrieved from the Library of Congress,
https://www.loc.gov/item/mpc2004000149/PP/

solved. You can't simply say, "This date or before." History doesn't stop, especially not in Dar es Salaam. We held the view that all the buildings that are representative of a certain historical period and architectural and artistic value should be preserved.

RL: Did you succeed?

WB: We didn't succeed, I am afraid, and several very beautiful buildings were demolished. Still, it hadn't reached the manic scale of what has happened in last 10 to 15 years. The pressure from real estate developers is intense and it appeals to a section of government officials who imagine Dar es Salaam with a high skyline like that of Nairobi or Johannesburg. This concept of modernity of the city centre is responsible for the destruction of most of the buildings. In 2007, under the then Minister for Natural Resources, Prof. Jumanne Maghembe, the Declaration of Conservation No. 2006 was revoked. Prior to this decision his predecessor Mr. Anthony Diallo, had drawn up a list of 300 buildings which were to be protected. Prof. Maghembe reduced the number drastically to less than 50 buildings.

DB: And how has it evolved in the past few years?

WB: One hears that the National Housing Corporation, which owns most of the buildings, and which hitherto went into partnership with most of the developers, no longer plans to demolish any other building. But we are not sure. In fact, the President said something recently which didn't seem to be mindful of preservation. He said that when the administrative departments move to Dodoma, all these buildings will be turned into hotels. One of the buildings we think is in danger is the High Court. It was ear-

marked for demolition but many people who were interested in its preservation came together and lobbied the government to spare it. I, personally, wouldn't mind if it was turned into a hotel without changing its features. At one time it served as a hotel training college and that was fine.

RL: It seems that many people don't see the value of how those buildings function within the urban fabric. They created urban density in a way that worked well with the climate, encouraged street life and all sorts of things that the new buildings just don't.

WB: You are right, and most of the new buildings are half empty anyway, because the rents they charge are too high – how can you charge between $27 and $35 per square metre in Dar es Salaam? There isn't enough investment in businesses in the Central Business District to support all this construction.

RL: And what do you think could be done to raise people's awareness?

WB: We are trying to do so through discussions, but we don't yet have a strong lobby in parliament. This is perhaps because of lack of good education in history; what it means, its manifestations and evidences; the importance of records about the past. It doesn't seem to be important today and, sadly, when in the future this consciousness grows, most of the visual evidence of the city's history will have been obliterated.

BALANCING CELEBRATION AND CRITIQUE IN COMMUNITY HISTORY

A case study from Canada

Laura J. Murray

Kingston, Ontario, is a city of 130,000 people halfway between Montreal and Toronto, known for its nineteenth-century buildings and for its association with Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister. The official slogan of the city is "Where History and Innovation Thrive." However, the presentation of history in Kingston is not terribly innovative. Heritage advocates, who are mostly retired and upper-middle-class, tend to be very concerned with keeping things as they are – or as they wish they had been. Andrew Hurley has observed that:

> "the embrace of the past in historic districts almost always betray[s] a bias toward a particular era and a particular function … As preservation proceed[s] according to this logic, neighborhoods fr[ee]ze in time…"[1]

The heritage neighbourhoods of Kingston fit this description. They are beautiful, but although the housing stock may have been preserved, their industrial activity and lively street life are long gone. There is change afoot. A report to City Council introducing a new Cultural Heritage and Cultural Tourism strategy declared that "Developing quality experiences and ensuring they are market ready are the two core priorities ... cultural heritage and cultural tourism together have the potential to benefit the City of Kingston and its stakeholders"[2]. The "heritage products" arising from this approach tend towards touristic spectacle. For example, this winter the city invested in a winter wonderland digital extravaganza in a nineteenth-century fort where the fort, "tangible heritage," was really just used as a nicely textured set of walls. But the City sees possibilities in "intangible heritage" too. "Perhaps Kingston's most compelling cultural asset is its powerful historical narrative," the Culture Plan says:

> "Kingston's many stories need to be developed in compelling ways and told through a variety of means and opportunities. By valuing both the tangible and the intangible, Kingston can develop strategies that allow … residents … to share their compelling and distinctive stories with each other."[3]

These policy documents claim stories in the name of the City. They purport to value them, but in fact may reduce them to tokens, "things" that it feels good to share, stripping them of content, of context, and of the possibility to disrupt or conflict[4].

Of course as an oral and community historian, I trade in stories too. I benefit from this recent policy trend in that the City is funding my research. But that has not stopped me from resisting uncritical tourist discourses and outcomes[5].

I started the Swamp Ward and Inner Harbour History Project, or SWIHHP, in 2015. SWIHHP uses oral and archival history to document and share a history that features immigration, women, labour, environment and (perhaps just as notably in this 19th-century-centric city) the experience of living people. The neighbourhood known as the Swamp Ward is just north of the immaculate Sydenham Ward heritage district. Home to indigenous people for millennia, it is where the French first established a fort in the 1670s and where the British settled Loyalists from the American Revolution in the 1780s. The Swamp Ward is next to the Inner Harbour, which was a railway yard and industrial hub. In the 19th and 20th centuries the Swamp Ward was a working class area, a place where immigrants settled. Since the factories closed in the 1960s and 70s it has been through some hard times. Now, it is gentrifying.

My project has been proceeding by a wide range of public outreach practices, seeking to create a loop of information sharing and information gathering. We have interviewed 60 people so far and are preparing a series of audio podcasts drawing from this material. I lead walking tours and have developed an app tour of the Inner Harbour. We have volunteers and students working with us in the archives and have run free community oral history trainings. Our website swampwardhistory.com contains short write-ups about interviews and discoveries, and through Facebook it reaches thousands of people, some of whom then choose to participate in the project. We are definitely intervening in the heritage discourses of Kingston.

So that is the good news. And yet, two years into the project, I am having a couple of areas of difficulty. The first thing that is weighing on me is an awareness that the work may be taken (and appreciated, I might add) as fodder for nostalgia. In being so appreciated, it can become fuel for gentrification in the area and contribute to the destruction of the social fabric it documents. The second challenge for me lies in the fairly strong strain of nostalgia among those I interview – that is, we could say, in the data itself. As a historian and activist, I have both political and personal discomfort with turning rosy glasses on the past. As a generalised marketable phenomenon, nostalgia can foreclose radical or resistant or idiosyncratic futures. As personal experience, as affect, nostalgia can be a barrier to self-awareness or awareness of power structures and historical forces[6]. My impulse is to push back against these nostalgias, but I am also committed to sharing knowledge without strings attached, and respecting and representing the perspectives of those who share their experiences with me. This puts me in a bit of a tight spot.

First, the nostalgia/gentrification/commodification nexus. People move to this area now because it is a "walkable," "friendly," "family" area – a place to live an old-fashioned life in a "real community." Whereas the term "Inner Harbour" would have been the kiss of

Laura J. Murray leading Jane's Walk
tour, May 2016

photo credit: J. Allen.

Volunteer Nancy Jones inputting
data from city directories

photo credit: J. Allen.

Evelyn Mitchell and her "burler"
from the woollen mill

photo credit: J. Allen.

death for real estate ads only a few years ago, and the term "Swamp Ward" was either an insider term or a term of derision, now both terms have cachet. House prices are rising. I ask myself if my use of these terms is part of this.

In this context, and also given the desire for history as a tourist product, I am trying to keep SWIHHP stories from being neutralised. I am seeking to *disarticulate* my project outputs from commodification and homogenising depoliticising representations of community – and I am seeking to *articulate* my project outputs to other more forward-looking or complex views of community.

On the disarticulation front, this is partly about being present and specific in every interaction in the moment. An example is the "street swihhps" we have done, where we flyer a street, and then visit each house to share and solicit information. I used to think of this as a process towards a goal. Now I think of it as the goal itself. Conversations on the porch or through the screen door allow me to locate, encounter, adapt, in a way that mediated communications do not do so well. When I tell somebody about the widow with the five kids and three boarders who once lived there, I can ask them how many people live in the house now, and get them to reflect. Or if immigrants once lived in the house, I ask them what brought *them* to Kingston. I also draw attention to things we do not know.

For example, we'll say, I do not know if this person survived the war. I feel very emphatic about insisting on the limits of our knowledge, letting those resonate, cultivating humility rather than command in our relation to the past. Another thing we have been doing is making up signs that say, "XX was here. Were you?" The signs give out a little information, but also ask for information back. This is not just a handout.

Similarly, I am more and more inclined to value interview opportunities that do not pan out. We sometimes spend hours and hours over weeks and months courting people to go on tape, and they slip away. But I am now more accepting of that: they did not feel comfortable. I am well aware that my methodology does not allow me to protect what happens to their words. I am happy to say that we enjoyed our interaction as long as it lasted, as it was. I do not need to be acquisitive or hide the fact that trust is always an issue between strangers or even between friendly neighbours … and me being a professor does not always help either.

In terms of *rearticulation* to future-oriented politics, well, although I am in fact a dedicated political activist in the city, I had been keeping my political views under my hat in the work for SWIHHP. But the project does offer an unusual opportunity to talk intimately and build trust with people whose views I may not know or share. While my oral history training taught me to be silent and noninvasive, to grant narrators control by backing off, I am getting a little more conversational in my interviewing style, and certainly in the pre- and post-interviewing stages. I find myself nudging a little more, triangulating, mobilising. If somebody is talking about their experience as a non-English-speaking child, I might ask them if they think the situation is similar for immigrants today. Or, I might ask, "What do you think we should do with the tannery lands now?" And I might offer some of my thoughts. While it might be argued that this intervention contaminates the evidence, my presence is what in a sense creates the evidence in any case, however hard

I may pretend to not be there. If we think of the conversation as the achievement, not the record of the conversation, what matters is that we listen to each other, and connect to present-day events and issues.

The second challenge I mentioned earlier is the nostalgia that I find in a lot of the interviews I do. People say, "Oh, it was so safe in those days…" "People had so much time for each other…" "Everybody knew everybody…" "We all just played together…" "Everybody worked so hard." On the one hand, I acknowledge that every person has the right to remember their past in as positive a way as possible. And I am even more sympathetic when times were hard. "I only like to remember the happy things," one woman kept saying, even as she repeatedly indicated hardship. But on the other hand, people often downplay or deny, for example, the racism of the past, the income disparities, the rent-gouging, the drinking, the sense of limitation and social divides. Many people say, evasively but suggestively, "It was pretty rough." Others do tell stories that demonstrate the presence of what we could call the "dark side." But then they deny it. While I find these patterns frustrating, I can listen to and for them, like a refrain in music, and notice them, and be present to them. I guess here is where my training as a literary scholar comes in: I listen to the stories themselves, their loops and curves and swerves, their form, not just the "moral" that ties them up in a bow. I am working on a series of podcasts right now, and our current mode is to juxtapose moments of contrast or difference. One person might say, "Oh, it was so safe, we never had to worry," and then another moment in the same interview might pop up, "Oh, you were always being beaten up." Or, we leave in the silences as people think. I want to respect the way people make sense of their own lives, but I also really want to work against premature closure and allow listeners to reflect not just on "what happened" in this place, but how people manage memories. My interviews hint at the contradictions, often *necessary* contradictions, in how humans manage complex and constrained social and personal experience. In re-presenting them I hope to draw those hints to the attention of listeners, and perhaps to the attention of the speakers themselves.

1   Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 2010), 22; See also Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

2   City of Kingston and Cynthia Beach, "Report to Arts, Recreation And Community Policies Committee, Re: An Integrated Cultural Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy for the City of Kingston" (Kingston, 24 April 2014), 2.

3   City of Kingston, "Culture Plan", 2010, 29.

4   See: Alexander Freund, "Under Storytelling's Spell? Oral History in a Neoliberal Age", *The Oral History Review* 42, no. 1 (1 April 2015): 96–132.

5   Laura J. Murray and Paul Carl, "Beyond Sir John: Unsettling Public Memory in Kingston, Ontario", *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry* 3, no. 1 (2016): 61–86.

6   See: Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Steven High, "Beyond Aesthetics: Visibility and Invisibility in the Aftermath of Deindustrialization", *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (October 2013): 140–53.

DAR
STOOL

Alexander Römer

Alexander Römer's projects, often carried out through the collective constructlab, are committed to building and reinforcing public spaces for and with local communities. He began his residency at Nafasi Art Space by doing something very typical for Dar es Salaam – he sat under a tree with a group of people, to chat and enjoy the shade. This inspired him to build more seating in a series of collaborative workshops hosted at local art centres in Dar es Salaam. Some 30 stools were produced, based on a design by constructlab colleague Johanna Dehio. Through the workshops, many passers-by, residents and artists learned how to build the stool, and can now replicate it, or modify it.

Some participants participated in several workshops and became specialists who could show others how to construct the stools. The kids from Baba Watoto for example explained the stool-making process to the curators and technicians at the cultural centre. This had a strongly transgressive social effect. Built from cheap, local wooden board, the stool is sustainable and easy to repair. This questions the omnipresent industrially manufactured plastic chairs that were probably initially produced in China.

The seats made during the residency can be moved around very easily from one place to another. At the level of the city, they mark the spaces that are truly public, where anyone can come, sit and share a story. This exploration of 'spaces where people gather' resonates with constructlab's «Mon(s) Invisible» project in Belgium (2015), where they built a circular public site, the *Agora*, to open up new possibilities for community discussion and exchange. In Dar es Salaam, the stools brought a dual inquiry with them – firstly, what stories do people tell each other, how do they tell them and to whom? And then, what trajectories will the stools (and the stories) take around Dar es Salaam? Now, months after the stool-building workshops, they could be anywhere in the city. Perhaps you will find them at Nafasi Art Space, at Baba Watoto, at the National Museum, where they first started... But certainly, you will find them where people like to sit.

Stool building workshops at Nafasi Art Space, the National Museum (left)
and Baba Watoto (overleaf) in Dar es Salaam

photo credits: Philipp Misselwitz (left) Alexander Römer (others)

POLITICS OF HERITAGE

Ethnic minorities and the politics of heritage in northern Nigeria

Samaila Suleiman

Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world with a population of about 170 million people and over 250 ethnicities, the major ones being the Hausa and Fulani in the north, Yoruba in the west and the Igbo in the east. In addition to these major ethnicities, there are multiple ethnic, mainly Christian, minorities in the Middle Belt and Niger Delta regions in the north and the south respectively.

Arising from its complex history of geo-ethnic formation, Nigeria suffers from a poverty of national narrative, animated by four competing sub-national narratives, which have frequently threatened the corporate existence of the country. There is the narrative of marginalization among ethnic minorities; the narrative of genocide and war trauma among the Igbo in the southeast; the discourse of ethnicity among the Yoruba in the southwest; and the narrative of Jihad and Islam among the Hausa-Fulani in the north.[1] In an attempt to construct bridges across ethnic and religious divides, the federal government created a complex knowledge-production regime, which I describe elsewhere as the "Nigerian history machine",[2] through which the discursive parameters of the nation are defined and regulated. To this effect, various cultural programs and institutions such as the National Universities Commission, National Archives, and National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) were created and saddled with the mandate of creating a national historical narrative through the collection, management and regulation of diverse documents and heritage properties.

This essay examines the dynamics of heritage making in Nigeria and the politics and power struggle involved in the transformation of cultural relics into symbolic capital/heritage. It sets out two cases of heritage politics from northern Nigeria. The first case deals with a contest over the ownership of Nok antiquities while the second case involves the politics of curatorial visibility in the Museum of Traditional Nigerian Architecture (MOTNA), National Museum Jos. The study is based on my interviews with curators and an analysis of visitors' registers from 1986 to 1989.

Rebuilt walls at MOTNA
photo credit: László Herald. Private archive of László Herald, Budapest

Nok terracotta sculptures
image credit: http://www.pinterest.com/pin/530298924847133529/

Policing heritage

The major impetus to the institutionalization of heritage in Nigeria came from the growing concerns among colonial officials with regards to the alarming rate at which antiquities were plundered by missionaries, adventurers, traders and colonial officials. Between 1954 and 1979 the Nigerian government gradually took over the responsibility of managing heritage resources in the country, using draconian policy instruments. On 28 July 1943, the Nigerian Antiquities Service was launched with Kenneth Murray as the Surveyor of Antiquities. In 1954 the Antiquities Ordinance No 17 was promulgated, establishing the Antiquities Department and Antiquities Commission. In order to centralize the control of antiquities the commission immediately recommended the removal of antiquities from the residual list of the Nigerian constitution. The idea was to protect Nigerian bonds of unity, as it was thought that regional museums would prevent the development of National Museums by making additions from the regions to its collections difficult.[3]

As a strategy for regulating illegal excavations and evacuation of heritage properties, Decree 99, otherwise known as the Antiquities Prohibited Transfer, was enacted, banning the buying and selling of antiquities except through an accredited agent. The policy conferred on the police and custom services the power to search without warrants, the power of seizure, compulsory purchase of antiquities and the imposition of stringent penalties on offenders.[4] In 1979, the Antiquities Ordinance No 17, Decree No. 77 of 1979 (which became an Act of Parliament since the return to civilian rule in 1999) created the NCMM and empowered it to acquire any land and property considered worthy of being declared a heritage site or national monument. The enactment of these regulatory frameworks over docile cultural objects involves an elaborate process of decontextualization, which excludes, as much as it includes, cultural specimens from different parts of the country, portending a vicious politics over heritage titles and interpretations.

Triple transgression: Nok antiquities and the politics of appropriation

The first major sphere of heritage friction is around the patrimony of Nok antiquities, discovered in 1929 during tin mining operations in Nok village, an area populated by ethnic minorities. The institutional process of appropriating the Nok antiquities was marked by a subtle repression of local agency. The official narrative is that the present inhabitants of the Nok region are not the direct descendants of the original makers of Nok objects, and that the makers of the Nok terracottas vanished mysteriously around 500 AD.[5]

Nok heritage is subjected to three kinds of transgressions: national appropriation by the Federal Government of Nigeria; its rendering as the cultural patrimony of ethnic minorities; and its appropriation by European archaeologists and cultural institutions. In the light of Nigeria's cultural policy, the Nok terracottas are typified as national heritage. According to the oral traditions of the ethnic minorities, however, the Nok heritage represents precious cultural vestiges of their forebears. In the same vein, historians and archaeologists of the Middle Belt region consider it as the "cultural pride of ethnic minorities",[7] and the ontological validation of the historicity of minority ethnicities in northern Nigeria.[8] On top of these national and regional regimes of appropriation, other members of the local communities, for religious, cultural and economic reasons, have added another strand of transgression by disrupting archaeological excavations and sometimes destroying antiquities.[9]

The third transgression involves the activities of foreign heritage scholars and institutions. Stories of Nok sculptures sent to Europe and America for exhibition, which were never returned abound. The 2013 Frankfurt exhibition of the Nok heritage, titled "Nok: Origin of African Sculpture", attracted strong criticisms from the Nigerian Archaeological Association. They accused the German archaeological team of undertaking "unethical" investigations of the Nok sites, and exporting excavated materials without proper memorandum with the National Commission for Museums and Monuments.[10] The Archaeological Association also suspected the project of excluding the local communities of the Nok valley. During a stakeholders meeting in Nok, the traditional chiefs of the Nok community requested that Nok objects sent for analysis or exhibition in Germany should be returned.[11] In reaction to these allegations, the head of the German archaeological team in Nigeria, Peter Breunig from Goethe University, contested that his team had operated professionally on the Nok sites for twenty years and that many people misunderstood the job they were doing.

Islamic monuments and dissident museumgoers: the politics of visibility
The other case of heritage politics concerns the competition for visibility in the Museum of Traditional Nigerian Architecture (MOTNA), an exhibitionary complex where exact replicas of some of the finest traditional buildings of select ethnicities in Nigeria are recreated.[12] Naturally, several ethnicities in the immediate community and beyond did not find their way into the MOTNA exhibition, thereby causing anxieties and grievances over the presence or absence of vernacular architectures of particular communities. The implication of this representational politics is that, rather than being a space for national dialogue, the MOTNA has turned into a podium for discursive wars between different ethnic groups.[13]

My reading of this visual politics in MOTNA is based on the notion that museum exhibitions and narratives frame cultural antiquities in ways that would inculcate certain ways of seeing in visitors about the meanings of symbols and histories told through the galleries. In the selection of certain materials for exhibition, "expressions of non-dominant players may be excluded and 'othered' or appropriated and encompassed by this system, and through public exhibits made digestible to the dominant culture."[14]

While the attitudes and expectations of museum visitors are usually taken for granted by museum officials, it is pertinent to note that visitors' behaviour and reactions to displays forms a critical component of the exhibition process because museum-goers bring their own biases and make choices concerning what they view and how they interpret them.[15] Their knowledge bases (preconceived ideas and historical imaginations) often clash with the official narratives that museums seek to impose. When they find that their memories of the past or their expectations for museum experiences are not being met, a kind of "distortion" occurs.[16]

In the context of northern Nigeria, narratives of marginalization and domination of ethnic minorities by the Hausa-Fulani Muslims are transposed in to MOTNA, clashing with the museum's official discourse of "unity in diversity". The location of MOTNA in Jos, with its deep-rooted ethnic and religious divides between Hausa "settlers" and local "autochthonous" communities, complicates the visual politics in MOTNA, where a number of dissident visitors rebelled against what they perceived as the "dominance" of Islamic

architectural monuments such as the replicas of Kano City Wall, Katsina Palace and Zaria and Ilorin Mosques represent. This is evident in the visitors' comments between 1986 and 1989. The most obvious opposition is around the visibility of replicas of the ancient Zaria and Ilorin mosques. In 1985 three visitors from the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), Jos branch, succinctly wrote "spread of Islam", "Fulanis" and "Jihad" respectively on the remark column. These three adjectives evoke deep-seated symbolic meanings, which animate memories of the 19th century Sokoto Jihad in the Middle Belt.[17] Another visitor from Jos alleged that the museum is propagating Islam. In a similar parlance, some visitors from the Apostolic Church in Jos posed some questions thus: Is Christianity not a religion? Is this an attempt to justify Nigeria's admission into the OIC (Organisation of the Islamic Conference)? Why is it that there are only mosque replicas? How about churches? Other visitors suggested that, "Christianity should not be left out" of the exhibition. Another visitor remarked "the best show of Islamic power".[18]

In contrast, most visitors who seem to agree with the display content and style of exhibition in MOTNA were Muslims. The registers are replete with instances of Muslim visitors flaunting euphoric appreciation on seeing the ancient mosques of Zaria and Ilorin, Katsina Palace and Kano city wall – the same monuments interpreted by the non-Muslims visitors as a visual re-enactment and commemoration of Islam and Hausa-Fulani politico-cultural practices.

However, the politics of visibility is not exclusive to Christian-Muslim cleavages in northern Nigeria. It is sometimes a reflection of wider regional and ethnic cleavages. For example, one visitor from Borno was apparently disappointed over the inadequate attention paid to "the rich cultural and Islamic heritage of Borno".

Conclusion

Although national museums were founded with the epistemological mandate of producing a national narrative, this chapter has demonstrated that the process of collecting, ordering and exhibiting discrete cultural symbols, as a microcosm of Nigerian heritage, is deeply problematic and contested as evident in competing appropriations and interpretations of cultural heritage. As a by-product of colonialism and a reflection of the crisis of postcolonial nationhood, practices of cultural appropriation and museum exhibition in their essentialist and artistic premises do not translate into an ontological bridge to a mass-mediated cultural spectacle of Nigeria. It is virtually impossible to project the inconsistent and pluralistic construct of Nigeria in a straightforward exhibitionary space. Whose heritage and narrative among the over 250 separate ethnic nationalities should feature in the national galleries as the basis for a collective curatorial story?

1   Toyin Falola and Saheed Ade-rinto, *Nigeria, Nationalism and Writing History*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010). 251-260.

2   Samaila Suleiman, "The Nigerian History and the production of Middle Belt historiography", 2015, PhD. Historical Studies, University of Cape Town.

3   M.O. Akanbiemu, "The Development of Museums in Nigeria," *Nigerian Heritage* 4, (1995), 127-128.

4   NCMM, *Newsletter* I, no. 2, (1993), 16.

5   Kwame Anthony Appia, "Whose Culture is it?" *New York Review of Books*, 53, no. 2, (2006) Available at: http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2006/feb/09/whose-culture-is-it/

6   This image is available at: http://www.pinterest.com/pin/530298924847133529/

7   Interview with Professor Sati Fwatshak, Jos 2013.

8   Interview with Professor Joseph Jemkur, Jos 2013. For Jemkur, the atomistic nature of Middle Belt historiography is associated with the failures of archaeological research on Nok culture.

9   For example, the local people of Dan Baure, a village west of Zaria city, informed Patrick Darling of their "exemplary" destruction of terracottas, typically regarded as fetishes in 1983. See Patrick J. Darling, "The Rape of Nok and Kwatartkwashi: the Crisis in Nigerian Antiquities," Culture without Context, 26, (2000). Available at: http://www2.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/projects/iarc/culturewithoutcontext/issue6/darling.htm

10   Zacharys Anger Gundu, "The Nok Frankfurt Exhibition: Matters Arising"; see also "Nigerian Archaeologists Protest German Exhibition of Looted Arts", 2013. Available at: http://allafrica.com/stories/201311181614.html

11   NCMM, *Newsletter* 3 no. 42, 2012.

12   The MOTNA project was conceived in 1978 by professor Z.R. Dmochowski, a Polish architect and a specialist in tropical architecture from the University of Gdansk. Among other goals, the project was intended to preserve the great achievements of Nigerian builders; provide research opportunities for researchers; offer inspiration to Nigerian students of architecture by letting them know how extremely rich and glorious is their national heritage; and to liberate them from any inferiority complex regarding foreign monumental architectures.

13   Mary Bouquet, *Museums: a Visual Anthropology*, (London: Berg, 2012), 121.

14   Susan Ashley, "Heritage, Resistance and Praxis," in *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31,no.3,(2006).Available at:http://www.cjconline.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/1746/1860

15   Stephenie Moser, "The Devil is in the Detail: Museum Displays and the Creation of Knowledge," *Museum Anthropology* 33, 1, (2010), 28.

16   Susan Crane, "Memory, Distortion and History in the Museum," *History and Theory*, 36, no. 4, 44.

17   The Middle Belt is usually understood *vis-à-vis* its main (real or imaginary) adversary, i.e. the so-called Muslim "Hausa-Fulani" culture which allegedly constitutes the main hegemonic culture of northern Nigeria, and the latter's corresponding pre-colonial political institution, i.e. the Sokoto Caliphate.

18   National Museum Jos, "Visitors Guestbook", 1985-2012.

BEYOND "PRESERVATION"

Tanzania's heritage music

John Kitime and Rebecca Corey

John Kitime and Rebecca Corey in conversation
photo credit: Nicholas Calvin

In 2012, Rebecca Corey co-founded an organisation called the Tanzania Heritage Project *(www.tanzaniaheritageproject.org) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, dedicated to the preservation of Tanzanian heritage music, through digitalisation, archiving, and promotion. In the early years of the initiative, she was introduced to John Kitime (b. 1964), a musician, activist, radio DJ, and much more, who has devoted his life to keeping Tanzania's heritage music alive.*

In 2015, Corey and Kitime began work on Wahenga *[The Ancestors], a project to revive the sound of Tanzanian popular music from the 1960s–80s. The project consisted of various activities, including a studio recording, a documentary film, live concert performances, and seminars that brought together young music students with veteran Tanzanian musicians. The project continues today.*

On a wet and overcast day during the rainy season, John and Rebecca met in the Sinza neighbourhood of Dar es Salaam, where they both live.

Rebecca Corey: John, you are probably one of the busiest people I know, and the most committed to preserving Tanzania's music. You're like a one-man *Tanzania Heritage Project*. But it doesn't seem accurate, actually, to use that word "preserving" when talking about what you do, because it seems at odds with the energy and forward-pushing nature of your work and life. Preservation makes me think of keeping something that is dead in good condition so it can still be seen or understood. What you do is much more similar to caring for something that's alive – nurturing it, feeding and encouraging it, not only keeping it alive right now but helping it grow stronger for the future so that it will continue to survive. Is there a better way to think about cultural heritage preservation?

John Kitime: It's really not preservation per se, but it's trying to get this music to go on living. For example, I've got some young musicians I'm working with. I bring old songs that they don't know at all, and they're very surprised to hear this old music! I have to teach them not just how to play those songs but how to really listen to them, and know what it is they are hearing. Once they learn what was done at that time, they can then come up with new songs. How would they compose an old song in a new way, with their experiences they've had in their own lives? But they hear the songs and think they would never have been able to come up with those arrangements. We think if we can start playing music like this, we can convince

people to take another look. So no, it's not really preservation, I don't think so.

RC: Do you think you could give me an overview of your approach?

JK: Well, I could outline my weekly timetable, and that might be the best illustration of what I do, how I do it.

RC: Yes, that sounds great.

JK: My week really starts on Saturday morning. I have a deadline for two articles for the newspaper by 10am. One is 1000 words and can be about any topic, related through my life as a musician and lover of music. So sometimes I do research and tell the biography or certain stories about old famous musicians. Other times, it's about one of my own experiences, like the one I was telling you about earlier after Sokoine died. I also have a column where I transcribe the lyrics of old songs. The other article is just 300 words and it's a humour piece. So for that one I just get to tell funny jokes.

RC: So that is your Saturday morning. Then what do you do?

JK: From there, I start preparing my three-hour radio programme that I do on Sunday nights. I read through all the sms messages from people who have sent requests for songs throughout the week and see if I can find those songs if I don't already have them. I try to come up with a theme for the programme. For example, last week's theme was a remembrance of Moshi William, a musician who had died. I do a segment where I talk about the musician's life and music, based on the research I do.

RC: How do you do your research? Can you find information about these musicians online or in books?

JK: There is very very little information online or in books. I have to meet people, to talk to them. At this point, some of the people come to me with information. For example, there was an old man who listens to my radio programme. He contacted me and invited me to his home. He's 75 years old, he's living all alone. He loves music, has lots of it in his house. He showed me where he sits when he listens to my programme. Some people, I have to go to them, to find them.

RC: You've gotten information on some of Tanzania's top musicians like Mbaraka Mwinshehe and Marijani Rajabu, that no one in the public knows.

JK: I managed to interview Marijani in 1994, before he died. So I got a lot of information straight from him. I also managed to meet some people who knew these musicians, like their childhood friends, and they also gave me this special information that very few people know. I have to get pieces here and pieces there.

RC: What else do you play on the radio show? And what is it called?

JK: The show is called *Zama Zile*, which basically translates to "those oldies". Every week I have what I think of as "my own choice" where I just play the songs from the 1960s and 70s that I really liked.

RC: How long do you work on the radio programme?

Urafiki Jazz Band...wana chakachua
photo credit: archival photos courtesy of John Kitime

Western Jazz Band
photo credit: archival photos courtesy of John Kitime

JK: Usually until 4pm. Then I go to sleep until 8:30 or 9. After that I wake up and go to the band.

RC: Which band?

JK: I play guitar and sing for the Kilimanjaro Band at Selander Pub every Saturday night. I've played with them since 1999. Before that, I played with Vijana Jazz, Tancut Almasi Orchestra, Orchestra Mambo Bado… those were the big ones.

RC: What kind of music do you play?

JK: It's hard to describe. It's music from the experience of playing in hotels, and then we've come up with our own type of music, music that has its roots in the coastal area of Tanzania.

RC: How late does the show go?

JK: We perform until 4:30am. After that, I go home, sleep, wake up at 9am, and then spend another 4-5 hours working on the radio programme. I'll sleep a few hours again in the afternoon, until 6pm, then start my journey to the radio station, EFM. The programme is on from 8 to 11pm, and I go home by midnight.

RC: And then here comes Monday…

JK: On Monday, I start with so many things. It could be following up on my big project to get national health insurance for musicians. I follow up who has paid, and get their cards from the NSSF [National Social Security Fund] offices. Sometimes I'll go to the National Arts Council [Basata] for the arts forum. I'll also spend some time online, look on YouTube at the latest crazy thing [Donald] Trump has done. (Laughs.) I will look for old songs, watch some of those talent shows like *X Factor* or *Britain's Got Talent*, and I read many of the blogs on old African music.

RC: What do you do the rest of the week?

JK: Starting on Tuesday, we have rehearsals. The standard timetable is 9am – 4pm for rehearsals, Tuesday through Thursday. On Friday, I teach a guitar lesson to a small girl who is learning. Then it's Saturday again. I begin again.

RC: What about your blogs?

JK: Oh yes, I do those at night. I have two music blogs, as well as a humour blog and another new one about my home town, Iringa. In one of the music blogs, I share the research and documentation I have on old music and musicians, including biographies, death announcements and remembrances, interviews with old musicians, and posts of archival photos and videos.

RC: Where do you get the archival materials?

JK: Mostly, I get them from the musicians' personal collections. I've also been granted access to the archive of Uhuru newspaper. The agreement I have with them is that I have permission to go to the library, scan pictures, and use them, and in return I try to get information about the photos to give back to them.

RC: What else do you do in terms of archiving?

JK: I have an office at Nafasi Art Space where I have my collection of hundreds of cassette tapes, CDs, VHS tapes, vinyl records, and reel-to-reel tapes, as well as photographs and books. I want to open this up to the public as a small reference library and archive for people who want

to come and learn more about the old music.

RC: Is there anything else you want to do to raise awareness about this content and information?

JK: Yes, I want to put up an exhibition that tells the history of Tanzanian music, exhibits photos and videos, and showcases the music. I hope to do that sometime this year.

RC: You're very busy!

JK: Yes, I'm also trying to write a book about Frank Humplick. He was the son of a Swiss engineer who built a railway from Arusha to Tanzania and married a Chagga woman. They had one son and two daughters, all of whom became very famous musicians. One of Frank's songs became a song played at every wedding. Last week would have been his 90th birthday. He died in 2007. I'm also writing my autobiography, and a simple book on copyright.

RC: And what about your own music collection – how have you built it up to the hundreds and thousands of records, cds, tapes, and mp3s that you have now?

JK: I collect music from a lot of people. Just the other day, I spoke to a man who has 4 TB of Tanzanian music on a flash disk – 4 TB! – and he said "I want to give it to you. I know I'm going to die before you, so some day I want you to say I gave you all of this music". He was very emotional when he was talking to me because his girlfriend had just passed away.

RC: That seems to be the thread that runs through most of our conversations about this old music – how many

people are gone, the brevity of life and our chance to do something with it. But the past, and these people who helped shape it, don't really have to be gone if we can remember them and hold on to what they created while they were here.

JK: Yes, like you say, so many people have nostalgia about this old music. I think that has something to do with remembering your youth. But there is a younger generation of people thinking that the old days of music had something special, too. So we are not just preserving old music, we're trying to make something that is alive. And I guess you could say that is what I am trying to do now.

RC: Well, thank you for doing what you do.

JK: (Laughs) Well, now I'm going to work on my blog…

ACTIVATING GERMAN COLONIAL HERITAGE

Berlin's *Afrikanisches Viertel*

Susanne Förster, Georg Krajewsky and Jona Schwerer

The so-called *Afrikanisches Viertel* [African Quarter] is a predominantly residential neighbourhood located in Berlin's northern inner city district of Wedding. Its name is a colloquial designation used since the beginning of the 20th century[1], which derives from the names of 22 streets forming the neighbourhood. These names refer to the German colonial rule in Africa as they bear titles of African territories that were colonised by the German Empire, geographical regions in Africa and German colonial protagonists. Together, these streets form Germany's biggest colonial quarter[2].

Formal German colonial rule in Africa began in 1884, when the German Empire declared Togo, Cameroon and German South-West Africa (today's Namibia) as its "protectorates". One year later, the German Empire also proclaimed German East Africa, spreading across territories of today's Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi, as another "protectorate". Formal German colonial rule lasted until 1919, when the German Empire was ordered to cede all its colonies in compliance with the Versailles Treaty signed after World War I.

The formation of the *Afrikanisches Viertel* began with the naming of Togostraße and Kameruner Straße in 1899. This marked the starting point of a process of inscribing the German colonisation of Africa in Berlin's public space. Out of the total of 22 streets, twelve were named during the German formal colonial rule, while ten were named afterwards, during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) and the National Socialist regime (1933-1945)[3]. Since then, the names of the quarter's streets have hardly changed and, accordingly, are still staging the German colonial expansion in Berlin's public space. Since 2004, a number of postcolonial NGOs and colonial-critical activists have sought to make history and memory of German colonialism and its traces in urban space a topic of public discussion. In relation to the *Afrikanisches Viertel,* several activists and NGOs have demanded that three streets bearing the names of German colonial protagonists be renamed. These are Lüderitzstraße named after Adolf Lüderitz, a German

merchant and colonial protagonist, Nachtigalplatz named after Gustav Nachtigal, a German explorer, Imperial Commissioner and founder of the German protectorates in Togo, Cameroon and German South-West Africa, and Petersallee, originally dedicated to Carl Peters, a brutal Imperial Commissioner in German East Africa, which nowadays refers to Hans Peters, a co-author of Berlin's post-war constitution. The activists argued that these street names represent a public tribute to the three German colonial protagonists and, as such, should be removed and replaced with the names of protagonists of the African anticolonial resistance[4]. Not only did these claims provoke protests by residents and politicians opposing the renaming, but they also produced an ongoing and controversial debate about whether and how the colonial heritage should be represented in urban space.

The issue of renaming was taken up by local politicians and discussed during the elections of the deputy chamber of Berlin's borough Mitte in 2011. As part of their coalition agreement, the victorious Christian Democrats and Social Democrats agreed not to change the names of any streets in the *Afrikanisches Viertel* in the legislative period between 2011 and 2016. Although the renaming was thus temporarily suspended, the claims have remained and the activists have successfully established a link between the *Afrikanisches Viertel* and its colonial origins. The elections in 2016 changed the distribution of political power in Berlin-Mitte. Since then, a majority of the elected politicians have supported the renaming of Lüderitzstraße and Nachtigalplatz and made public calls for proposals for their alternative names.

The debate revolving around Berlin's *Afrikanisches Viertel* is not merely about its street names. Through their efforts the activists (re-)signified the street names as symbols referring to German colonialism. As a consequence, the dispute firstly concerns the definition of German colonialism. Different interpretations of colonialism concretely manifest in distinct valuations of Lüderitz, Peters and Nachtigal and the streets dedicated to them. Secondly, the conflict also concerns the appropriate form of remembrance and therewith the central question as to whether this necessitates a change of the symbol: Do those three streets need to be renamed? While there is a general agreement about establishing the *Afrikanisches Viertel* as a place of remembering and critically discussing German colonialism, ideas about achieving a critical remembrance are highly divergent.

One crucial aspect affecting interpretations of German colonialism is what we call "temporality", which refers to the way in which the time and duration of the colonial rule is understood. Colonialism can be conceived either as a phenomenon belonging entirely to the past or as a "present-past" phenomenon – that is, a process which began in the past but has contemporary effects. The notion of colonialism as past frames the phenomenon as a closed historical episode, as a short period of the formal rule that lasted for "only" 30 years. This reading stands in sharp contrast to the postcolonial perspective in which colonialism is seen as a still-meaningful part of the present, whereby its various discriminating mechanisms still affect contemporary beliefs, actions, and social relationships. From this point of view, street names symbolise heroisation of the colonisers and uphold the colonialist ideology to this day. The dispute about the *Afrikanisches Viertel* is also manifested in a mutual incomprehension of positions held by the "others". Whereas the postcolonial activists have been accused of rewriting history

Carl Peters (seated)
photo credit: licensed under Public Domain, Bildarchiv der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft

Street sign at Petersallee with plate indicating Hans Peters as eponym
photo credit: Georg Krajewsky

by changing the street names, the activists see the preservation of these names as an offence against the victims of colonialism and their descendants.

Theoretically, we understand heritage as a contemporary contested process of past-based meaning making[5]. From this perspective, heritage cannot be considered as stable, but rather as a phenomenon that is in a permanent state of negotiation and flux[6]. From an analytical perspective, it is misleading to presume "colonial heritage" as a pre-given feature of the *Afrikanisches Viertel*. Instead, the Berlin debate is analysed as a social process of heritage-making, focusing on the active production and negotiation of its meaning.

The term heritage-making also reflects the marginal position of the colonial past in the memory landscape of the Federal Republic of Germany. Historians often describe German colonialism with terms such as absence, blind spot or collective amnesia[7]. To some extent this can be explained by the specific circumstances of the German colonial past: A majority of the population sets the German colonialism in relation to other colonial empires. Thereby the period of its formal rule appears short (1884-1919) and is framed as a minor historical episode. However, these characteristics cannot sufficiently explain the marginalisation of German colonialism and the dynamics of heritage-making in the *Afrikanisches Viertel*.

Heritage as a theoretical concept allows an investigation of colonialism's marginal position in the German memory landscape, which locates its sources not so much in the structure of the past, but in the present. German colonialism can firstly be interpreted as a so-called "dark" or "difficult heritage"[8]. That means that the relations between the colonisers and the colonised are often charged with guilt and marked by victims demanding the recognition of atrocities. The downplay or denial of the relevance of the German colonial past is a typical reaction to dark heritage by former colonisers. Additionally, the perpetration is commonly attributed to past regimes, in this case, to the German Empire. All these strategies actively disconnect the past from the present and deny the German colonial past the status of a living heritage. Second, the absence of colonialism in the German memory landscape must be seen as one specific version of colonial heritage. Laurajane Smith[9] established the term "Authoritative Heritage Discourse" to describe an institutionally secured version of the past which attributes a legitimate speaking position to some actors, while delegitimising the experiences of other groups. The debate in the *Afrikanisches Viertel* involves several complex mechanisms of ascribing insider or outsider positions,[10] such as the mentioned notions of temporality, pointing at questions concerning the duration of colonialism.

The case presented here also shows that the marginalisation of the colonial past is not "set in stone", as there are different ways of activating colonial heritage. First, there has been an active framing and agenda setting by the postcolonial activist groups over a long period of time. The agenda setting includes the discussed demands of the street renaming, participation in historical committees and provision of information about colonialism as a means of forcing actors to take a stand on German colonialism while discussing the *Afrikanisches Viertel.* This form of heritage activism contested the nationally institutionalised (non)version of the colonial past. A second way of activating colonial heritage refers to street signs as part of public space and its accessibility to

various actors. This openness of public space enables a wide participation in the process of meaning-production of heritage. The diversity of potential groups with different interpretations of the past provokes dissonance[11] and therefore undermines the established heritage discourse. The street names thus opened a public arena[12] in which the meaning of German colonialism is (re)negotiated. Activists have claimed these public spaces by organising guided tours through the quarter, for instance.

Finally, we observe a considerable rise in interest in colonial entanglements in German society (e.g. "German Colonialism. Fragments Past and Present" exhibition, Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016-2017). More and more debates about colonial continuities (e.g. Humboldt-Forum) are raising the level of awareness of (post)colonial social relations. Although addressing the colonial past is still only incipient, the shifting status of colonialism in the German memory landscape has contributed to the success of the demands to rename the streets of the *Afrikanisches Viertel* and activated further debates.

1   This paper is a considerably shortened and updated version of an article published elsewhere. Förster, S., Frank, S., Krajewsky, G. und Schwerer, J. (2016): *Negotiating German Colonial Heritage in Berlin's Afrikanisches Viertel, in: International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Special Issue: Heritage-Outside-In 22 (7): 515-529.

2   Christian Kopp and Marius Krohn, "Blues in Schwarz-Weiß: Die Black Community im Widerstand gegen kolonialrassistische Straßennamen," *in Black Berlin: Die deutsche Metropole und ihre afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Oumar Diallo and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Metropol, 2013), 225.

3   Ibid., 228.

4   Ibid., 223–228.

5   Joshua Kwesi Aikins and Christian Kopp, "Dossier: Straßennamen mit Bezügen zum Kolonialismus in Berlin," *Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag* BER, 2008, accessed April 23, 2017, 20–25. http://www.africavenir.org/fileadmin/downloads/occasional_papers/Dossier_kolonialistische_strassennamen.pdf

6   Sybille Frank, *Wall Memorials and Heritage: The Heritage Industry of Berlin's Checkpoint Charlie* (London: Routledge, 2016), 100.

7   Stuart Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-Settling 'the Heritage': Re-Imagining the Post-Nation," *Third Text 13* (1999), 4.

8   Jürgen Zimmerer, "Kolonialismus und kollektive Identität: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte," in Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013), 22.

9   Gregory Ashworth and Rudi Hartmann, "The Management of Horror and Human Tragedy," in *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocity for Tourism*, ed. Gregory Ashworth and Rudi Hartmann (New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, 2005); Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London: Routledge, 2013).

11   Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006).

12   Ibid., 192.

13   John E. Turnbridge and Gregory Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Ressource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 24.

14   Derek H. Aldermann, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 197.

PARK
LIFE

Cloud Chatanda

When I travelled from Dar es Salaam to Berlin, I wanted to see how communities in Berlin use their public spaces. So I decided to focus on public parks, places where you can find families barbecuing, eating, resting, playing and even sunbathing. I visited several different parks, and expressed my feelings about how I saw city life in this different environment via a series of paintings. These were not just a record of what I had seen, but also a way of illustrating how good open spaces are. Many African countries, Tanzania included, do not have public parks. So my work carried the very clear message that public parks in cities must be protected and maintained.

The artworks I created are not about showing the beauty of the parks but about portraying minor happenings that we normally don't pay much attention to. For instance, how are public toilets used in parks and what happens when there is a big event in the park and the public toilets are overused? How is the park used then? So, I was fascinated to see how public spaces are used in Berlin. I also found it interesting that many of these public facilities are owned and managed by the local government. In Dar es Salaam, parks are usually managed by private businesses. This completely changes how people in the city use the facilities and how they feel about parks: even though they are in the public space, they are not necessarily free for everyone to use.

To me, parks like those in Berlin are an important part of our universal urban heritage. They deserve to be protected for the betterment of our future. Public spaces enable communities to meet, talk and share freely. I think this is very important for the future planning and development of our cities. African cities should adopt Berlin's city planning now, so that communities can better enjoy their environment.

Titles of the Pieces
Portable BBQ everyone can have
Valued garbage always gone first
I go to city parks to have peace of mind
Who says no toilet in the park?
Looking for toilet!
Coat hangers in the public toilet
Internet sharing in the parks
The actual size of the gate that you see in the photos
Everything on its track and what we are used to
Sun battling
Dog toilet

Titles of the pieces:
Coat hangers in the public toilet
The actual size of the gate you always see in the photos
Sun battling

Titles of the pieces:
Who says no toilet in the park?
Portable BBQ everyone can have
Valuable garbage always gone first
Internet sharing in the park

Title of the piece (overleaf):
I go to city parks to have peace of mind
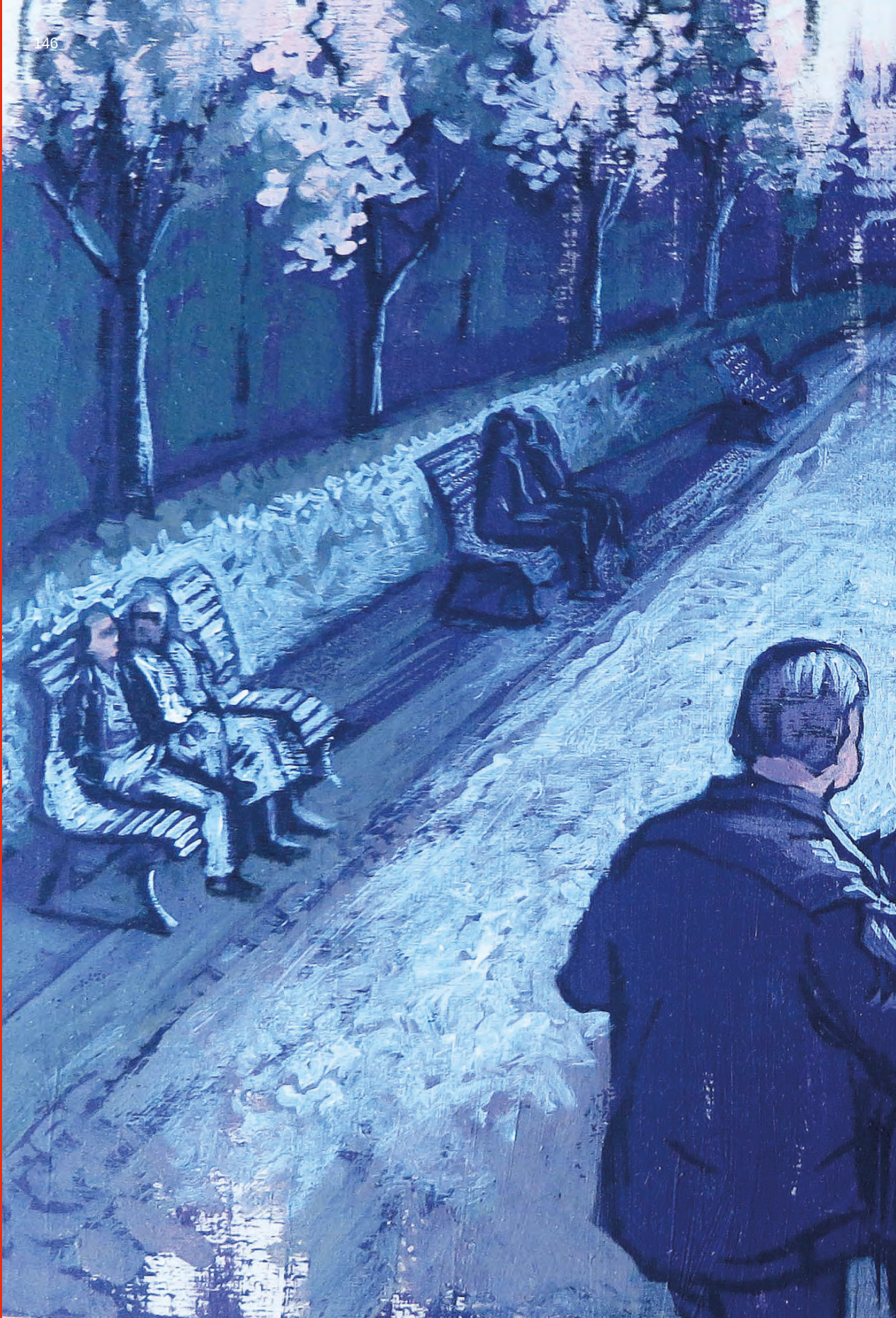
A SHADOW HERITAGE OF THE HUMANITARIAN COLONY

Dadaab's foreclosure of the urban historical

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi

This essay concerns the problem of heritage within contexts that produce multiple crises – humanitarian, political, and environmental: crises of cultural and social value, and of meaning and heritage in the built environment. I wish to attend to the provocation of "urban narratives" raised elsewhere by the editors, and indeed to push against it to suggest that the reflexive location of "heritage" in something that is understood to be "urban" is deeply problematic. It privileges certain built forms over others as holding history or bearing meaning: for example, ancient architecture over modern, or authored or stylistically legible architectural interventions into the built environment over anonymous or illegible ones. I would like to attend to this problem through a set of forms that might be understood neither as urban, nor architectural, nor as heritage sites: those of humanitarian crisis, of forced migration. I argue that they reproduce themselves as urgent elements of our collective cultural inheritance, proffering meaning not only in social and political registers, but – perhaps unexpectedly – in cultural and aesthetic ones as well.

In such landscapes, architecture and territory may form the residue of colonial pasts. This essay will focus on a history of territory that preceded the establishment of refugee settlements at Dadaab, Kenya, the largest transitional complex in the world, administered by the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees. The ephemerality of Dadaab's constructed environment as a transitional settlement for the displaced may be understood as seeded in a long colonial history; in it, settlement and nomadism each provided the figuration and terms for modernity, particularly through the construction of the "frontier." As a discursive construction, the concept of the frontier situates Dadaab beyond its representations as a marginal political space, and instead, as an object lesson through which to rethink aesthetic and historical registers, challenging conventional notions of architectural or historical value – or, in other words, of heritage.

Dagaheley Camp, aerial view, 2009
photo credit: Courtesy of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
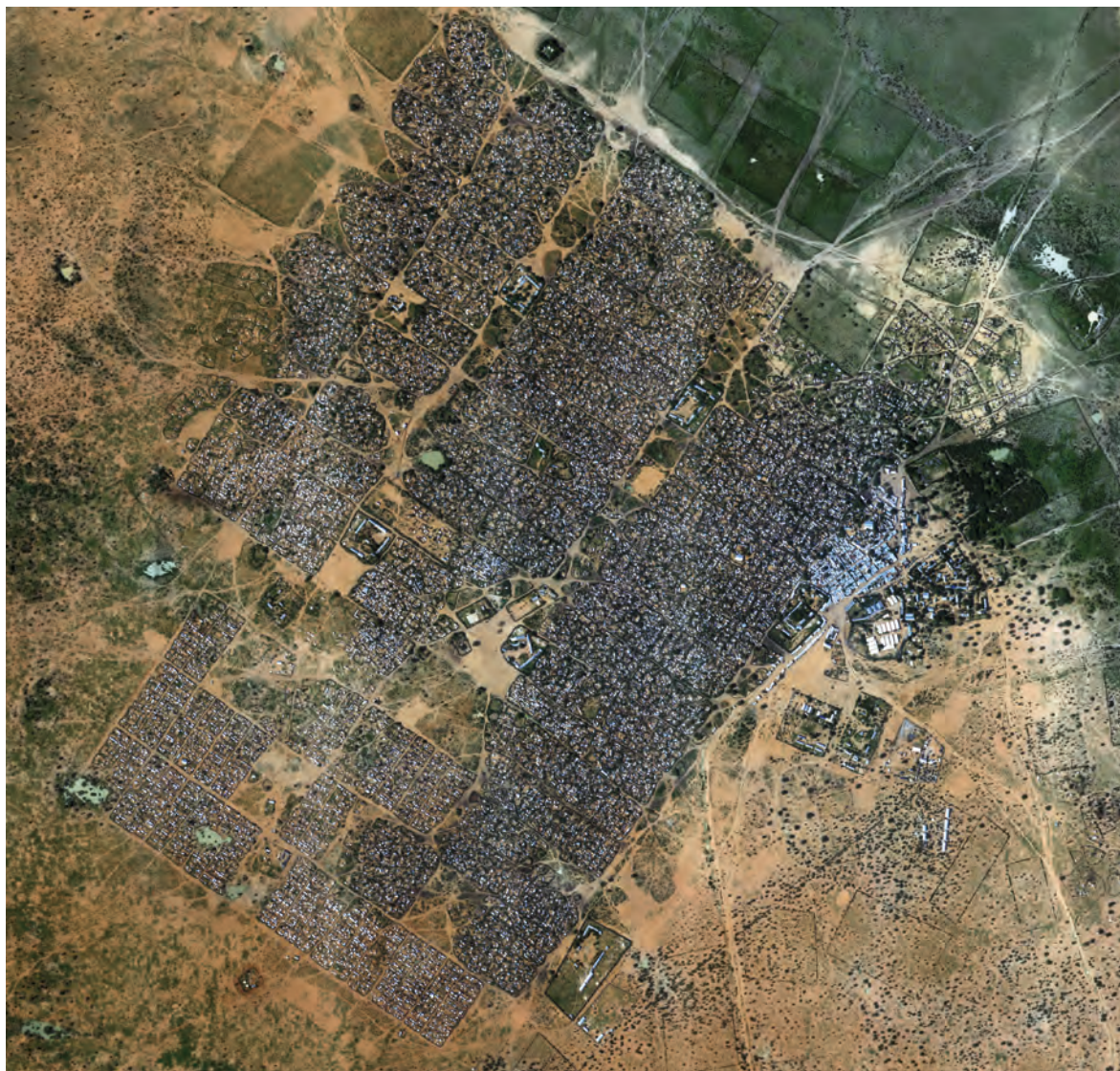
In 1991, 1.5 million Somalis fled persecution during a civil war, and four hundred thousand asylum seekers crossed the international border as the crisis was compounded by drought and famine. The Kenyan government offered to host the refugees, with major assistance from the United Nations. It did so through the establishment of encampments – producing shelter through confinement. The government provided a site for a transitional settlement just north of Dadaab, a village of five thousand on the unpaved highway between Mogadishu and Nairobi. The construction of Ifo camp, for thirty thousand inhabitants, began north of Dadaab in October 1991. The field office and refugee camp at Ifo transformed radically in the following decades, expanding into a complex housing approximately half a million people within five settlements by its twentieth year.

The Dadaab settlements do not constitute a city in formal terms. Nevertheless, the robust informal economy, emergent body politic, cosmopolitan sociability, collective administration, and the architecture of the camps together mimic an aesthetic and socio-cultural urban complexity, particularly as found in the informal peripheries and interstices of African megacities: for example, Nairobi and the Eastleigh and Kibera neighborhoods that abut it. These conditions cast the Dadaab settlements as an emergent urbanity, lacking the provisionality or affect of a camp. Yet, again, this space is not a city proper. Rather than any actual fences, a totalizing architecture and infrastructure enact an abortive ghosting, reproducing the refugee complex as a parallel space, a shadow, which forecloses the urban and the historical together.

They further manufacture a restricted, policed space of confinement – in other words, an apartheid – which refracts a history of the British colonization of East Africa and the figuration of the "Northern Frontier." Its Northeastern borderland was partitioned and divided, with Great Britain granting a portion to Italy in return for its assistance during World War I (raising the question of the value of this territory to the empire). This history, in turn, offers a logic for the location of refugee settlements in the North Eastern Province, the latter-day incarnation of this fungible frontier. Agro-pastoral ethnic Somalis inhabited these semi-arid lands, and continue to do so – many from the same clans and families as the refugees in the camps. Their nomadic relationship to the land opposed the colonizing processes of cultivation and settlement – processes that, in turn, tied into a long history of humanitarianism related to the slave trade and its abolition in the Indian Ocean arena.

The Church Missionary Society's establishment of Freretown – a settlement for freed slaves – offers a model of a humanitarian colony that equated settlement with liberation, and, as Bronwen Everill has noted, produced a logic for forms of colonial land capitalization in East Africa.[1] There, slaves newly liberated from Arab dhows during the first years of Indian Ocean abolition, cultivated the land as well as the habits the missionaries associated with a Christian life. Robert Strayer has described Freretown as "a well-planned settlement complete with church, schools, cricket field, prison, cemetery and mission *shambas* (farm plots) as well as individual gardens for married couples."[2] It served as an important setting for the encounter between Africans and Europeans for a quarter century, during a period of radical territorial transformation that followed the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway.

The ensuing production of the Northern Frontier accompanied the application of the apartheid system in British East Africa, which built upon South African models. In 1902, as the highlands were opened to white settlers for land capitalization, imperial territories were designated through ordinances that delineated "Crown Lands" and "Outlying Districts." These territories restricted the mobility of people through the use of *kipande* passes between designated areas, a practice still in use for refugees in Kenya. The Northern Frontier lay outside the arable lands, and covered much of the north and east of present-day Kenya. The area where the refugee camps are presently located lay outside the designated territories – external even to Outlying Districts. That is, the area was legally and spatially figured as a margin.

This process of territorial construction drew in Africans, directly and indirectly. In the early twentieth century, the imperial government implemented a homesteading process to contain traditional pastoralist communities, using the village settlement form of the *manyatta* in the implementation of Native Reserves. This Maasai term for "homestead," also translated as "village," would be perverted in the 1950s during the suppression and coerced villageization of people fighting in the Land and Freedom struggle – known as the Mau Mau uprising – for example, in forced labor camps across the Kenya colony. The new state government reproduced this architectural model in the late 1960s, sedentarizing nomads in fortified villages in what was then the Northern Frontier District, as a technique of war against unsettled pastoralists categorized as *shifta*, or bandits. The *shifta* conflict built upon mistrust of a local population that had voted in an informal plebiscite to join Somalia following independence, rather than Kenya. As reported on the front page of the *Daily Nation*, only one year after independence, the new Kenyan government declared a state of emergency in the district where Dadaab is presently located.[3] These events further fueled a Cold War tension between between Kenya and Somalia under Siad Barre's communist rule (1969-1991). I argue these translated into a spatial strategy in the 1990s involving the encampment of Somali refugees in what had become the North Eastern Province.

While these acts of bordering and architectures of sedentarization suggest the calcification of the frontier in the colony and postcolony, I would like to use the tensions it produced to end with the question of thinking about heritage outside of considerations of the urban. Namely, although it is possible to understand refugee camps within the often-cited terms of "bare life," for which we expect essential architectures of food and water, Dadaab has provided a backdrop for far fuller lifeworlds and histories. I argue that the humanitarian project at Dadaab approaches an unexpected form of monumentality: a technology of aid, perhaps, but also an affective cultural utterance through its emergent form and the historical narratives it recalls in the East African borderland.

This interpretation speaks to the historiographical role that an inquiry into the spatial past might play in what has primarily been an operative, policy-oriented discourse, rather than a humanistic one. If Dadaab fixed in space the conduits for multiple global human and material mobilities, it was also confined in certain ways within exclusively African spheres and geographies that have produced cultural heritage from monoliths. One of these monoliths is Africa, but another is the city as an artifact of Africana.

Impressions of the Dagaheley market, 2011

photo credits: Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi

The historical peculiarities of the Dadaab site locate it in East Africa, although it might more correctly be understood as an artifact of a humanitarianism that belongs to the world *through* Africa. I argue that the stakes in this understanding are high, and they demand work – involving moving beyond representations of the banality of emergency and recuperating other constructions of Africa and urbanism. I propose doing so through anxious architectures, aesthetics, and histories of land, which underwrite a self-knowledge and access to discourse and which each contribute to the cultural inheritance.

1   Everill, Bronwen. "Freetown, Frere Town and the Kat River Settlement: Nineteenth-Century Humanitarian Intervention and Precursors to Modern Refugee Camps." *In The History and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention and Aid in Africa*, Bronwen Everill and Josiah Kaplan, eds., 23-42 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

2   Strayer, Robert W. *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya*, 1875-1935 (London: Heinemann, 1978): 15.

3   "Re-vote on NFD Emergency: Crisis Is Averted." *Daily Nation*, 1 January 1964.

THE SKY DREW SOME NEW LINES

Awami Art Collective: Sehr Jalil and Naira Mushtaq

Green and white tiredness, Lahore's piercing July heat circles around in our bodies like the drone camera that captures the magnitude of this art or misery, cemetery or memorial, walkway or ode, documentary or poetry? We the Awami Art Collective (AAC) have installed our first major project *Hum jo tareeq rahoun mein maray gaye* [Those who were slain in the dark alleys]. It is situated in the historic Lawrence Garden in Lahore, also known as the Bagh e Jinnah. The old Lahore Gymkhana, now the Quaid e Azam library, an academic sanctuary for upcoming bureaucrats and civil servants, stands order to order in a classic argument. The pristine white of triangular bunting that incomprehensibly overlap and infinitely replicate each other, serving those who left us for being who they were, in belief, ideals, origin or all. The installation is a circular labyrinth which makes one walk through decades of loss in Pakistan. We have generated a holistic dataset of these misfortunes, including the most recent Peshawar incident where hundreds of children were gunned down by politically motivated militants. In Lahore's summer breeze, the aroma of traditional *ager-batis* [incense sticks] flutter the bunting of December 16th, along with all the rest. Amina, a human resource officer in a gaming company, walks through and says: "I didn't know so many had died". The bunting is hung chronologically, along with a blueprint of the press releases that appeared in Urdu newspapers upon such atrocities, precisely; name, number, occupation and origin of the assassinated is divulged.

The aim of this paper is to take the response of public art in our region as a case study in the context of Awami Art Collective projects. Does public art educate, does it play the role of bringing society closer to art? Can it be used as a strategy and tool to restore history and heritage, and can it bring change? This in itself is a question that beholds a promise of magnanimous derivations. A renowned art critic gives us his last word during a talk where we are invited to reflect upon the project, in a respected yet reasonably new bookshop that facilitates all the needs of a post-colonial Lahore and English-speaking elite. He says and also writes later that a message-centered,

Those who were slain in the dark alleys
installation at Lawrence Gardens
photo credit: Awami Art Collective

Black Spring, 2016
photo credit: Awami Art Collective

politically-charged public artwork is a compromise on aesthetics and high art. It will go unnoticed as we descend to the level of the public. Public art cannot exist in our region, as we are not the ones who visit art museums on Sundays. He also states that when critiquing public art, "Not only are you perceived to be against the public, but against art, democracy and citizens' participation".[1]

Enthusiasm and curiosity are married to fear and grief; we – in this project – have somehow blurred the fool's paradise of the individual comfort zone. Timing is pivotal, there is national mourning and the state sympathizes. These fatal and fragile reminders disturb some students during a lecture at the National College of Arts. They declare that there is enough pain already, why walk through it? Apart from this, the garden's gardener tells us how many people sit in the circle, how many children play there and how many walk, sing and talk through it. Mothers, daughters, sisters, sons and brothers, husbands and wives read the clippings and silently print their own names, the losses in their hearts. In solace and tragedy, we walk together. Academics, students, poets, politicians, performers, activists, laborers, thinkers and all dwellers of the city, sit there between dusks and dawns, drawing their own stories. This inevitable, participatory sharingness of the AAC projects is the core of our trajectory. It is the instrument that will allow us to reflect upon the question of public art.

From the heat of Lawrence Garden we move to the blight and cold utopia of Taxali, in old Lahore. *Surkh gulaban de mausam wich phulan de rung kalay* [Black Spring] is launched on February 13th, 2016. Intangible and tangible heritage are in conversation from the spaced-out rooftops seeking a colorful *basant* [kite flying sky] that echoes a wearingly glorious past, to the sheer dichotomy of this community, in person, architecture and history. We search for a skyline to weave a web of orange light across homes and buildings. Taxali chooses us, as we walk through the city over and over. In between what are now recollections of *Pakistan Talkies* [first cinema in Lahore], Lahore's bygone *Taxali Gate* [Royal Mint], abodes of poets and philosophers like Hali and Iqbal, intricate Mughal-carved windows and hallucinating, surreal shadows of the *Alam* [sacred Shiite palm symbol] – the once glorious academia of classical etiquette, dance and music, all falls down and 'poise' crumbles in the cracks of history.

The *Heera Mandi* [diamond market] is said to be named after Heera Singh who was the son of a minister of Ranjit Singh's royal court and also a minister of Sher Singh's court during the Sikh period. Yet the popular myth surrounding the name lingers so that the market of "diamonds" is a metaphor for beautiful faces. Being a specimen of irony, a dweller and one of our core supporters in the project, Shirazi voices out:

> "We are the connoisseurs, we invented Lahori cuisine, but we have been separated by a gigantic gate that keeps us in oblivion for the pseudo orientalist, superficial facade of Lahore's 'food–street', right next to us. They buy food and take the recipes from us and sell them on at much higher prices in the fancy-ornate, rooftops and restaurants."

Two faces of heritage collide: the one that generates income and the one that is a taboo. While Taxali's diversity is its heartbeat and all dwell here as one – it is still notorious for this one identity and hence teases the national ideology.

The architecture exhales loss yet its people have a way of maneuvering around it. There is integrity of work. We are told that everyone here is known not just by name but that their work is their identity and so, work occupies the spaces. The *chai wala* [tea maker] is known for his tea and the *khussa* [shoe] maker for his shoes. From the leather and rubber workshops to where all musical instruments are made or sold, from exclusive and delicious cuisine like *phajay ke paey* and the sublime chili greens of *tawa chicken,* to a place where all screen printing and posters are crafted, Taxali is here, and also in the multi storied, narrow, kitsch and flamboyant *Imam bargahs* [Shiite religious havens]. There is isolation of space; many have moved to newer localities. It is an eruptive fusion of colonial, *haveli* (Mughal/Sikh), art deco and unidentifiable 80's architecture. A sense of vertigo and an affair with walls persists. One has to walk and climb through the narrowest and most dungeon-like alleys in hope of a grandiose city sky that always allures. The golden-ratio of Lahore Fort and Bashahi mosque makes up for all previous visionary loss back there on the ground. We are constantly climbing between the pinks, blues, ochres and carvings; no matter how cold it gets, it seems that these rooftops are waiting for their 'piece' of light.

A few days and weeks after the project's manifestation, stretches and strands of light are seen in the streets, hanging decoratively on facades of shops and homes. On the day of the opening the Taxalians clean the streets; it is a time of celebration. Neeli, the transgender head and our activist supporter from the area, says gleamingly after the musical night at the *Fazl e haq* restaurant (follow-up of the project) "Congratulations on the first festival". The masters of their art*, dhol* [drum] *walas* and all classical instruments and artisans await to mesmerize the audience into transcendent silence, within a web of orange skyline. Intelligentsia and commoner from all over Lahore are entertained by the spirit of this lost or unattended art. This familiarity, fervor and warmth are the life force of Lahore; the Lahoris are known for their hospitable hearts. Yet, back in the initial days of this installation, we were as aliens who landed from a "planet-outside-the gate". Why would anyone let us enter their homes, spend days with hammers and lights on their rooftops? One of the interrogations by a resident, while going upstairs on to her rooftop, is a light-hearted chuckle that denotes the concern: "We thought you were going to go on the rooftops, install something and launch drones out here". Between cups of *chai*, shared tools, climbs and sunsets on the rooftops, playing games with the hearty population of all numbers and sizes, and with the children who are the most curious audience, these strands of orange lights are just a mere excuse for knowing that things can work.

As we walk across these luminous dark alleys and look at the web that we've weaved in this sky, two video projections are installed with interview clips of Taxali residents, the process and voices altogether play through two points, opposite a church and *Pakistan Talkies*. Everyone watches and talks through the story of these lights, communal fervor and pride are evoked where on another side of the city there is now a carcass of concrete debris in the name of development for the promise of a new and modern Lahore.

The central tea hub at Attock Hotel where we had *chai* every day during the project has been closed recently for some unknown reason. I remember walking alone through the paved lights and web on the day of the opening, the city had embraced us and even the darkest areas had found light. Working between shoe skins, lost rhythms and cracks

of beauty, we lit these lights, but only the residents can answer our questions on public art. Culminating and construing from the shared experiences, the symbolic and aesthetic values of this continuous, sublime web of lights on one side of the periphery while heritage laughs within these rooftops on the other side.

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COLD
FEET

Paul Ndunguru

Cold Feet is an installation that uses second-hand socks from Tanzania, picked out of European clothing donations. I brought them back to Germany, stiffened them and displayed them as if they were walking somewhere. The work deals with the unpredictable and challenging, yet beautiful and rewarding, character of migration. This image started when I was applying for my visa to Germany, as I faced difficulties that delayed my residency for two weeks. I noticed the different definitions of migration, depending on the side you come from – European migrants to Africa are called 'expats', but an African coming to Europe will never be an 'expat', just an immigrant. The word has been getting an even harder perception in Europe now, as the use is gradually changing from immigrant to 'refugee'.

After attending some meetings in Berlin about the challenges of immigration, I started to understand how badly people perceive you if you are a 'refugee': even worse than a migrant. The socks represent this hidden personality, or status, that we have to dissimulate with shoes and trousers. The installation, because of all the room it takes, points to how we are all fighting for space and ownership in cities. Maybe it doesn't belong in a nice art gallery either, like our old socks. I think it is high time that we see the potential in immigrants rather than getting cold feet. Xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants in Tanzania, for example, are caused by a fear of the unknown and a lack of understanding of others' personalities. Yet it is a fact that each one of us comes from generations of ancestors who have migrated from one place to another, to find a better place or a better life – moving from a village to the big city, or from one country to another. Migration is our nature. It becomes clear that what we need are narratives that will bring a common language of understanding for humanity.

Cold Feet, process. Installation at ZK/U Open House, Berlin 2016
(above, top of next page, overleaf)
photo credit: Paul Ndunguru

Cold Feet installed at the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition
at the ZK/U in Berlin, 2017 (above)

photo credit: Rachel Lee

MOBILIZING HERITAGE MOVEMENTS FOR URBAN COMMONS

The case of Istanbul's vegetable gardens

Gözde Şarlak

In the last decade, motivated by deregulated capitalism and neoliberal politics, the number of common spaces in cities across the globe has dramatically decreased[1]. These developments have brought public urban spaces back into the focus of debate, reheating discussions around the 'right to the city' from the 1960s. In this context, Harvey discusses how public urban spaces carry the potential of becoming "urban commons"[2]. He sees them as offering a social relation that is both collective and non-commodified. Following examples such as Syntagma Square in Athens, Tahrir Square in Cairo, and the Plaça de Catalunya in Barcelona, he argues that, "where people assembled to express their political views and make demands, civic actions turned those public spaces into urban commons"[3]. At the very core of this argument lies the conviction that self-organization and protest are the only possible ways for people to make their commons [4].

Meanwhile, in Turkey the state's role in transforming urban space has entered a new phase. The inner city has become the main source of capital accumulation, and new laws and policy changes have enabled "arbitrary interventions" in the historical urban areas, leading to loss of common heritage and cultural capital[5]. In turn, those developments have been accompanied by the rise of citizen movements, loosely assembled around the issue of heritage protection. The most famous example is the resistance to the destruction of Gezi Park in İstanbul in 2013. The movement was particular because it combined the right to the city, feminist activism and ecology, and it initiated a new dynamic of civic disobedience around cultural heritage. Even though the ruling government or local authorities have become more determined to define what is recognized as common heritage and how it should be handled, their approach has proved inadequate to offer an inclusive definition for urban heritage. At this point, a bottom up approach that puts civic action at its center is becoming more crucial.

Another example of struggles around heritage protection unfolded in an agriculturally productive green space, in the 1500-year-old market gardens known as the *Bostans.*

Yedikule *Bostans* abut the city's
ancient landwall system, 2014
photo credit: Gözde Şarlak

They are located in the Yedikule neighborhood on the historical peninsula of İstanbul, alongside its ancient city walls. Even today, the gardens serve as one of the remaining green spaces in İstanbul to cherish a local agricultural tradition. However, in 2013, the pro-government Fatih Municipality proposed a renewal project that would transform part of the *Bostans* into an urban park, claiming that the "land had neither historical nor cultural value"[6]. This project proposal mobilized a strong opposition movement formed by citizens, historians, architects and archaeologists in solidarity with the gardeners to protect the gardens from destruction.

Using the case of the Yedikule *Bostans* as an example, this paper aims to investigate the strategies of citizen movements that mobilize communities around heritage protection for urban commons in a metropolitan area.

The Yedikule *Bostans* and their heritage

There are many different *Bostans* in İstanbul, located on both sides of the Bosporus and the historical peninsula. Together they have provided food for the city's residents over centuries[7]. The oldest *Bostan* dates back 1500 years and was first mentioned in an early farming manual, which documented the diversity of harvested crops in the city[8]. Some of the gardens grew particular types of crops for which they had become famous, such as the small cucumbers from Çengelköy and Langa, the aromatic strawberries from Arnavutköy and the oily lettuce from Yedikule's *Bostans*. The agricultural activity at the *Bostans* continued from the Ottoman Empire until the first decades of Turkey's republican era. However, in the 1980s they became endangered when massive population growth was accompanied by speculative investment in housing and large-scale development projects[9].

The Yedikule *Bostans* are located at the southernmost edge of the Land Wall system of Istanbul built in the 5th century. It marked the city's boundaries at the time and gave birth to a cultural landscape that developed alongside it over the following centuries. Offering a multiple defense system, the Theodosian Walls provided a suitable environment for cultivation. In other words, two cultural layers were mutually integrated in this case from the beginning: the city's defense architecture on the one hand, and a specific agricultural practice on the other.

As far as the social specificity of this agricultural activity is concerned, one can see how it is deeply entangled with migration movements to and from the city of İstanbul. Kömürcüyan noted for the 17th century that İstanbul's early masters of vegetable production were Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians[10]. Migrants from Cide/Kastamonu from the Black Sea arrived in Yedikule in the 1950s and were hired to work in the *Bostans*[11]. Today, the Yedikule *Bostans'* gardeners are the second and third generations of those migrant families.

The Yedikule *Bostans'* most famous produce was the Yedikule lettuce, which is a variety of Romaine lettuce that can grow up to one meter in height and weigh up to eight kilos. It was the centerpiece of spring tables, seasoned with salt and eaten at the end of meals. Its harvest was celebrated with religious and non-religious spring festivals[12].

As mentioned above, two layers of overlapping heritage can be distinguished in the Yedikule *Bostans*. The first layer is the tangible one, including the defense architecture of the Land Wall system. The second layer is the intangible one, defined by the agricultural know-how of the gardeners [*bostancı*] carried down the centuries. However, of the two layers of heritage that coexist in the Yedikule *Bostans*, only the architecture was granted a protection status. In 1985 the 6.65 km wall system was listed as World Heritage by UNESCO[13]. The unprotected status of the gardens left them vulnerable for development, which was made possible by a number of policy changes.

Policy changes and the gardens

On a Sunday morning in July 2013, agricultural activity at the Yedikule *Bostans* was partially disrupted for the construction of the "Recreation and Implementation Project for Yedikule"[14]. The project was initiated by the local municipality of Fatih, where the Yedikule *Bostans* are located. The renewal project proposes the construction of a recreational park by removing 85 acres of land of which three-quarters are currently farmed[15]. This proposal stands in opposition to the *Historical Peninsula Conservation Plan* that was approved in 2005 by İstanbul's Metropolitan Municipality and which clearly stated that *Bostan* areas should be protected with their agricultural character*[16]*.

Another policy change that was introduced during this period was the declaration of "renewal areas"[17]. This law granted the government and local municipalities the power to declare renewal areas within the boundaries of conservation sites and to expropriate private property and sell it to third parties[18]. Yedikule was among one of several neighborhoods such as Sulukule and Tarlabasi to be declared a "renewal area" in September 2006[19]. This eventually paved the way for the construction of the Yedikule Villas[20] in 2010, which is a gated housing estate neighboring the Yedikule *Bostans*.

Strategies for reclaiming heritage for the Yedikule *Bostans*

The planned and partially realized destruction of the gardens mobilized a strong opposition movement by some of the residents, archaeologists, historians, architects, artists, and environmental activists in solidarity with the gardeners. The community later established a preservation group called Historical Yedikule *Bostans* Preservation Initiative [*Tarihi Yedikule bostanları Koruma Girişimi*] to begin a dialogue with the municipality about a collective planning process.

The initiative made tremendous efforts to create a wider community around the issue through online and offline platforms. However, this did not happen simply by successively enlarging a group of participants. Rather I argue that their strategies developed in three phases, in which the geographical and institutional range of members and of addressees dynamically shifted. The first phase could be described as "building resistance". This period is marked by the initiative's efforts to register *Bostans*' tangible and intangible heritage value at local, national and supranational levels. Following that, the second phase, which we can call "mobilization of the movement"**,** is marked by practices used to generate empowerment at a local level with place-based happenings. The final phase could be described as "counter acting"**,** in which the initiative again addresses supranational bodies but changes to more confrontational practices.

The Yedikule *Bostans* undergoing redevelopment

photo credit: Initiative for Preserving the Historical Yedikule Gardens, digital archive 2013

The Theodosian Walls with Yedikule *Bostans*, 2014

photo credit: Gözde Şarlak

In the first phase, the members of the initiative had two addressees, UNESCO and the local authorities. Their main goals were to "try to sit at a table" with the local authorities to be able to discuss the proposed project and get protective status for the site [21]. For that, they documented the gardens' tangible heritage as well as collecting narratives from the gardeners and the neighborhood. Additionally, they wrote a report to underline conservation issues. Moreover, a signature campaign was initiated. These documents were later presented to local authorities as well as to UNESCO. In addition, the foundation of a School of Yedikule Historical Gardens made it possible to bring together researchers from abroad for several workshops and seminars[22].

This first phase of action was successful in that the initiative managed to temporarily halt construction in the gardens after the developers were found to be in violation of the law. However, even though they established a round table with the municipality, the initiative's organizers felt that they could not achieve a proper recognition of the gardeners, who were still left out of further discussions. Additionally, UNESCO did not recognize the intangible heritage status of the agricultural practice of the Yedikule *Bostans*.

In the second phase of mobilization, the initiative followed practices of community empowerment to regenerate attachment to the historical site as well as the neighborhood of Yedikule. Performative happenings like theater plays or archaeobotany walks were arranged. Neighborhood kids were invited for scarecrow making, planting, painting and building workshops. Aslihan Demirtas, one of the members of the initiative describes one of the workshops thus:

> "The physical outcomes of this workshop pale in comparison to the connections and exchanges that have happened within the time span of a day. We are interconnected now: *bostancı* [gardeners/farmers], children, families, harvest, municipality, the initiative, dogs and others all under the sheltering sky."[23]

Furthermore, one of the long-forgotten celebrations, the so-called "Lettuce Feast" [*Marul Bayramı*], was recently reclaimed with the help of the Slow Food Turkey group[24]. One other important development during this time was the foundation of the Association of Gardeners in Yedikule in 2015.

In a nutshell, we can say that the initiative's network was expanded during this phase. By connecting with different solidarity groups (St Pauli), alternative food movements (Slow Food network) and environmental activists (Vanda Shiva) a new synergy was established. At the same time, all those efforts were concentrating on a local level and establishing ties with the neighborhood residents. As a gain, the initiative was invited to the municipality meetings as experts. However, the *bostancı* were still not engaged in the conversation.

Finally the last phase is defined by what I call practices of "counter acting". Alongside 66 other solidarity groups, NGOs and the Chamber of Architects and Urban Planners, the initiative was part of an event called The Counter Forum. The event was organized in summer 2016 around the same time that UNESCO held its 40th annual meeting in İstanbul. The group collectively created a manifesto that argued that:

> "the cultural essence of [our] habitats cannot be protected by governments and institutions formed by them. It can be protected only in solidarity with local inhabitants personally so as to be conveyed to future generations as heritage."[25]

Concluding remarks

All mentioned strategies of the Historical Yedikule *Bostans* Preservation Initiative could be called "practices of urban commoning", yet with different geographical and institutional ranges. At the beginning, they engaged official national and supranational heritage protection entities, calling for what was recognized as "common" at the level of expert opinion. In the second phase, they turned towards local actors and aimed to generate a community around the gardens at the local level. In contrast to the general trend towards heritage protection in the country, which follows a centralized approach to heritage conception and preservation, the initiative attempted to connect past and present local knowledge and know-how. Instead of calling upon expert knowledge, the recognition of what is to be considered common was channeled through an attachment to the physical place. The final phase is marked by a similar approach to the first phase – engaging with international actors – but the initiative radically shifted to an antagonistic approach towards UNESCO. Rather than trying to fit the *Bostans* into an existing scheme of what could be recognized as "common" heritage, the legitimacy of the recognition processes itself was called into question.

The practices of commoning described in the second phase are unique in terms of provoking a community to relate to new political imaginaries through heritage activism. At this point, it is important not to forget the contextual background created by other heritage movements at the time, including Gezi Park, Northern Forests and Hevsel Gardens. All of those movements were feeding into a more general search for spatial justice, and transformed enclosed spaces and questions of ownership through mundane everyday practices like social encounters and collective acting. The latter gave birth to self-organized civic action, which makes us imagine governance in new ways.

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DARCH!

Conflicted heritage and civil activism in Dar es Salaam

Annika Seifert and Comfort Badaru

"We should write our own history books to prove that we did have a past, and that it was a past that was just as worth writing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul."

In 1970, Seretse Khama, Botswana's first president, famously pointed out the importance of recognising and naming cultural heritage, both in his and other African nations. If the past and history of modern Tanzania can be traced in its physical environment, it is nowhere more tangible than in the city of Dar es Salaam. It is alive in the diverse everyday cultures which have shaped these streets and it is inscribed in the buildings and spaces that reflect Bantu African, Omani, European colonial and Indian influence.

State of affairs
Tanzania's post-socialist economic development of the late 1990s first materialised in cities and towns, leading to a constantly accelerated urbanisation process. Dar es Salaam is estimated to be one of the ten fastest growing cities in the world, an expansion, which translates both horizontally and vertically. As densification and modernisation have been strongly focused on the historical city centre, the unchecked urban development happens to the detriment of Dar es Salaam's architectural heritage and widely relies on overstrained infrastructure which dates back to the colonial period. Historically significant buildings, coherent streetscapes and public spaces have been disappearing at a dizzying pace, while the general public is only beginning to understand their cultural, social and economic value. The introduction of air conditioning and mechanical cooling, together with an ever growing national and international investment capacity has enabled a completely new style and scale of buildings – a type of architecture which draws inspiration from flashy skyscrapers found in middle-Eastern and Asian metropolises. These often show no sense of context and are realised with a dramatic lack of execution quality. While an estimated 75% of Dar es Salaam's population inhabits

Demolition of old buildings in Dar es Salaam
photo credit: Annika Seifert

informally developed neighbourhoods in the suburbs, luxury apartments and high-tech office buildings change the urban skyline, while remaining entirely inaccessible for the vast majority of the population.

The city's formal planning has been largely neglected over the past decades. Despite repeated efforts to develop a new master plan, Dar's current development is not based on integrated guidelines or a general strategy. The most recent master plan for Dar es Salaam dates back to 1978, when the city had just below 800,000 inhabitants – compared to today's estimated 5 to 6 million. The management structures, inherited from colonial governments and a formative period of socialism, cannot effectively or democratically administer infrastructure networks. Most of the property management in the city centre, for instance, remains under the custody of the National Housing Corporation (NHC), a formerly socialist public institution. Since private properties were nationalised in the 1970s it has been the largest real estate owner in the country but shows little transparency in its actions. The legislation around urban heritage and its conservation is also far from comprehensive. At the current moment, the Tanzanian Antiquities Division lists only 25 buildings in Dar es Salaam as protected structures. Recently, the waterfront building hosting the Court of Appeals (a German colonial structure formerly known as the Forodhani Hotel) was removed from the already rather exclusive list to be sold to an individual investor. Another vivid example is the Light Corner building, which was built in 1905 as a wholesale and retail outlet with residences on the floors above. It was nationalised in the early 1970s along with the neighbouring buildings on the same plot and became part of the NHC portfolio. The National Housing Corporation had plans for a 33-storey development on the plot, which were successfully blocked by the tenants who took the corporation to court. However, an unexpected court ruling in August 2014, just hours before a long weekend, allowed the authorities to bulldoze the entire block that same Saturday. The eviction notice caught most inhabitants – many of whom were absent – entirely by surprise and with no time to evacuate their belongings.

International recognition, local action
Given the speed of ongoing demolitions, and the rich history embedded in those urban areas under threat, the World Monuments Fund added Dar's City Centre to its prestigious Watch List 2014/15, along with prominent sites like Damascus and Venice. In that same year, the *New York Times* named Dar es Salaam as one of 52 must-visit places, urging readers to experience the mixture of Bantu, European and Indian cultures before their physical structures disappeared. Such considerations come at a time of transformation in the city: although Dar es Salaam was always *de facto* the main city of Tanzania, it was Dodoma, in the centre of the country, which was designated as the capital in 1973. Progress on reseating government power has been slow. However in 2016, president John Magufuli declared that by 2020, the entirety of the national government would effectively be moved to Dodoma. Entire departments have already started to relocate, such as the Surveys and Mapping Department of the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements, which used one of the old German buildings on the waterfront. Most of the offices, archives, embassies, and the associated housing and services are located in the oldest parts of Dar es Salaam: a stock of historically valuable buildings. More than ever, there is a tension between corporate speculation and conservation, which will necessitate engagement and interventions from civil society.

Old Boma, historical photograph, date unknown
photo credit: DARCH Dar es Salaam

Old Boma in 2016
photo credit: DARCH Dar es Salaam

Indeed, local civil society is increasingly growing aware of what is at stake: unlike renewable natural resources, built heritage is an asset that does not regrow. Several challenges can be identified regarding the struggle for conservation: a lack of political will, as officials declare old buildings incompatible with a modern city; issues with the regulatory structures that fail to enforce the few existing conservation regulations; and finally, insufficient public awareness. Nevertheless, in recent years action has slowly taken shape, with DARCH, the Dar Centre for Architectural Heritage, as the most tangible example, building on a community of architects, planners, cultural influencers and supporters. DARCH is a joint initiative by the Architects Association of Tanzania, TU Berlin and Ardhi University Dar es Salaam. It advocates for the city's heterogeneous built heritage as a catalyst for more participatory approaches to urban development. It seeks to demonstrate strategies and approaches towards built heritage that are integrated, socially inclusive and developmental at the same time. While the current destruction of Dar es Salaam's historical fabric derives above all from a misconception that "heritage preservation" stands in contradiction to economic and societal development, the founders of DARCH believe "urban heritage" should be conceived as a living and constantly transforming asset and potential driver for economic, social, cultural and political innovation and reinvention.

The Old Boma
DARCH has received major financial support from the European Development Fund and the German Foreign Ministry to establish its facilities in one of Dar es Salaam's oldest remaining structures, the Old Boma. The building on Sokoine Drive serves as an interesting case study of urban heritage in Dar es Salaam, as a reflection of both the city's past and the conflicted questions of ownership, memory and power in a post-colonial society. The Old Boma dates back to the mid 19th century, when Sultan Majid from nearby Zanzibar recognised the potential of a vast natural harbour and founded the city as a new mainland port. With its thick coral stone walls, high mangrove beam ceilings and austere lime-washed façade, it is a typical example of an Arab architectural style introduced by the Omani sultans who ruled Zanzibar before the European colonialists arrived and dominated the slave trade along the Swahili coast. After the sultans abandoned the newly established town, the building was the first property to be bought and restored by the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (the German East Africa Society) which arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1887. With a defensive surrounding wall, which then included a second corner building and several smaller structures, the ensemble earned its name "Boma" (a Bantu term widely adopted by Germans in East Africa meaning "fortress"). After the German colonial administration moved into the new and more representative City Hall in 1903, the Old Boma ensemble served as a police station, embodying the colonial principle of racial segregation with three neatly separated prisons: one for Africans, one for Indians and Arabs and one for Europeans. This use continued under British colonial rule. In 1961, the new government of independent Tanzania placed various government institutions in the historical structure, among them the Antiquities Division, implying a recognition of the building's historical significance. However, the Old Boma and other historical structures were perceived by many as a painful reminder of colonialism. Consequently, large parts of the ensemble fell victim to an early series of demolitions in Dar es Salaam in the 1970s. Only one building remains, along with a free standing coral stone wall at the back of the compound. These were saved at the last minute thanks to a civil society intervention in 1979.

Concerned activists appealed to authorities to acknowledge the building as an important reminder of the past. The Old Boma has since been listed under Tanzania's Antiquities Act, among very few other structures countrywide. It took another 40 years (during which the Old Boma was used rather pragmatically by various government offices and NGOs) until the City Council agreed to a cooperation with DARCH to open the building to the public as a witness to Tanzania's history – the good, the bad and the ugly. Guided by a team of Tanzanian and German experts, with experienced Zanzibari craftsmen and Indo-Tanzanian woodworkers, the entire structure underwent extensive rehabilitation work.

In 2017, DARCH launched its facilities inside the Old Boma as a centre for urban heritage and city history, open to all visitors. It is complete with a permanent exhibition of the city's history and a space for temporary exhibits, where Simulizi Mijini / Urban Narratives collected popular visions of heritage in the form of oral and written histories. A particular focus of DARCH lies in awareness building and education: the organisation hosts forums and public events to create space for discussion, and offers walking tours featuring different facets of Dar es Salaam's history. The Old Boma houses a visitors desk where information material and other publications are available. The building also boasts a rooftop cafe and a small curio shop, as well as office and workshop facilities, showing how such an old building can host a variety of modern functions. Reaching out to all inhabitants, visitors and friends of Dar es Salaam, the DARCH team of architects, cultural activists and researchers hope to share their knowledge of the city's heritage and its importance for Tanzania's future.

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INTANGIBILITY IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Prospects of Kolkata's Chinatown

Rishika Mukhopadhyay

"…replete with traditional Chinese temples, dragon-architecture, gaily-painted signboards and festoons in their bold and picturesque language with the rustle of red silks and the aroma of Chinese food so temptingly around. 'China-towns' are or were so typical of the emigrant Chinese that visitors strolling around in the Bentinck Street-Lower Chitpur Road-Phearas Lane area of central Calcutta would find it difficult to believe, at least till the Indo-China war in 1962, that they were not in some part of China." [1]

Kolkata's Old Chinatown: between imagination and oblivion

Kolkata's Old Chinatown, which is locally known as *Chinapara*, is located in the north-central part of the town, around lower Chitpur Road, Bow Bazar Street and Bentinck Street. Similarly to other "outsider" communities[2] that were established in the presidency town of Calcutta (Kolkata's name until 2001) during British colonial rule, Old Chinatown is at the intersection of the erstwhile "native town" and administrative "white town". Approximately two-thirds of Kolkata's Chinese-Indian population stayed in this area while others settled in New Chinatown around Elliot Road and Topsia-Tangra in marshy lowlands on the eastern fringe of the city[3]. Old Chinatown's population peaked at around 20,000 and has since dwindled to 2000.

When planning my visit to Old Chinatown I imagined a vibrant place: houses painted in bright red and yellow, flags with Chinese characters, and delicious aromas of unfamiliar dishes: something akin to the Chinatowns of San Francisco, London or Melbourne that have long been able to maintain their identity and distinctiveness within diverse cityscapes. I was shocked when I first stepped into Chattawala Gali near Poddar Court and witnessed a very different Chinatown – a crumbling and dilapidated neighbourhood marked by immense poverty and struggles. The footpaths were covered with makeshift plastic housing and peopled by daily labourers who work as loaders in the nearby business district or in the various Road Carriers Pvt. Ltd. that line the road. Daily vendors

had set up their temporary stalls on the pavements or roads. Huge garbage dumps and public urinals created a pungent smell throughout the neighbourhood. Tall commercial buildings dwarfed the rundown, two-storeyed Chinese temples.

In Kolkata, where the Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) only identifies buildings as heritage, what happens when a community has only very few tangible relics to commemorate as heritage? In the absence of any formal conservation initiative by KMC, in what forms and ways does a community struggle to maintain its own heritage? Can these practices, which are still neglected in heritage studies in India and especially in Kolkata, be considered as intangible aspects of cultural heritage? Through the lens of traditional Chinese occupations, cuisine and cultural practices, this paper will explore a heritage that is lived and dynamic, and also look into the urban revival prospects of Chinatown.

Stages of migration: from China to India
The first recorded Chinese settler in India was Yang Daijang, popularly known as Achi from Guandong, who came to Calcutta in 1778. Warren Hastings, Governor General of British controlled Bengal, rented Achi land just south of Calcutta to start a sugar plantation and a sugar mill, which he ran with the support of 110 Chinese workers[4]. Aside from the pioneering Achi, three stages of migration through which a large number of Chinese made India their home have been identified[5], beginning in the 19th century and continuing during the concomitant turmoil and conflict[6] in China in the 1930s and 1940s[7]. The first stage of migration started with skilled labourers in the 19th century. Most came from Guangdong province in Southern China: Cantonese from the Pearl Delta areas, Toi-san from Sai-yup Country, and Hakka from Moi-Yan Country. A small number came from Hupei and Shanghai as well[8]. The second wave of migration was triggered by the First World War, the Japanese invasion and a transitory phase in China's political scenario. Although the skilled labourers started to bring their families with them during this era, they were planning to return to their homeland after the political turmoil had subsided. The last wave of migration came as the violent civil war between Communists and Guomindang broke out in 1946 and the Communists came into power. As a consequence, private properties were confiscated and many migrants who had worked in Calcutta for generations decided not to return to China and began to think of India as their permanent home. It is worth noting that Calcutta's Chinatown was largely neglected by the larger domain of Chinese diaspora studies in the realm of academia until the 1960s[9]. It is also important to point out that most Chinese left Kolkata and India following continuous discrimination and marginalisation by the State and the people as an aftermath of the Sino-Indian War of 1962.

Inheriting crafts: occupations of the Indo-Chinese community
The four main migrant communities mentioned above took up specific occupations. These "niche specialisations" are still maintained in spite of daily economic struggles[10]. People of Hakka origin are involved in shoemaking and later got involved in the leather tanning business, while Cantonese migrants are famous for their carpentry skills and engineering work. They used to work in the shipbuilding docks. Immigrants from Shanghai opened up laundries, while Hupei people practise dentistry and sell paper flowers and other paper decorations. Some Hakkas received training in shoemaking in Thailand and other places in Southeast Asia before they reached India[11]. They made Bentinck

Tiretta Bazaar Chinatown
perishes in negligence and laxity
photo credit: Rishika Mukhopadhyay

Ancestor worship inside a shoe shop
on Lower Chitpur Road
photo credit: Rishika Mukhopadhyay

Street the Shoe Road of Kolkata with more than 100 shoe shops. They specialised in handcrafted shoes where the techniques and crafts of shoemaking were passed on from father to son. Some enterprising shoemakers of the old *Chinapara* of Tiretta Bazaar moved to Tangra near Dhapa in search of an alternative occupation.

After the Second World War there were 82 Chinese-run tanneries and about 300 businesses trading in leather – all produced in Dhapa. This helped the shoe business on Bentinck Street immensely[12]. But those days are long gone. Due to government regulation of tanneries (one of the most polluting industries within the city), the tannery business witnessed a rapid decline in the 1980s. From that time onwards the shoemakers also faced a steady decline. Mr. Lee, a shoe shop owner from 84 Bentinck Street, blames the violent labour movement and the labour unions during the leftist regime as the reason behind their present situation[13]. The languishing state of the shoe business is illustrated by the fact that there are only seven shoe shops left on lower Chitpur Road. In Kolkata only 30 Chinese shoe shops remain, and 75% of the shoes are mass-produced in factories, not handmade[14]. While similar situations can be observed for Cantonese carpenters, Hupei dentists, who were traditional teeth setters in Chinese society, have been more successful in sustaining their practices by gaining qualifications as professional dentists. Although fewer than 50 Hubeinese families survive in Kolkata now, all practice dentistry as a symbol of maintaining their traditional occupation[15].

Chinese-Indian shoemakers, carpenters and dentists have maintained their professions across borders and despite the changing socio-economic condition of the city, larger political crises and the resultant state atrocities that they have endured[16]. But, for those Kolkata Chinese who are still maintaining the trade, as in the case of Hong Kong Chinese[17], the biological and social heritage of family and lineage play an important role. The accountability they feel towards their ancestors, their trade, the initial days of struggle, the tradition, inspires them to continue the businesses.

Culinary tradition and festivities as heritage practice
The morning breakfast at Tiretta Bazaar has been a major attraction not only for the Chinese population but for a certain section of people in Kolkata who are ready to try fish-ball soup, pork, chicken, shrimp *momos*, and sausages. Rangan Dutta in his extensive blog posts on Chinatown gave a mouth-watering description of the food served here:

> "Dimsums and momos are always the most sought-after items. Spring rolls and pork sausages are not far behind. Pau, the ball shaped over-sized dumpling, which comes with all sorts of pork, chicken, and fish filling is definitely on the must have list."[18]

Breakfast in this market starts at dawn and ends by eight in the morning. Due to the dwindling Chinese population on weekdays one will hardly find any Chinese makeshift stalls. Standard Indian breakfast like *puri* and samosas have started to take their place along with a vegetable market. Only on Sundays is the authentic Chinese breakfast served in all its glory.

Kung Hai Fatchoi: It's Chinese New Year!
Every year, the declining Chinese population in Kolkata gears up for Chinese New Year, transforming the narrow Chattawala Gulee completely from its daily nature of hustle and bustle to a space of celebration. A huge stage is set up, and dazzling lights, music and the aroma of various foods like sausages, shrimp dimsums, pork buns, fish ball soup, *momos*, noodles and prawn wafers fill the air. The cultural programme is organised by the Indian Chinese Association for Culture, Welfare and Development. Here the celebration starts a week before New Year's Day and continues till the Sunday after, when the celebrations move to Achipur where people pay homage to their ancestor Achi who first came to India. The whole atmosphere becomes so engaging that it is hard to believe there are only approximately 4000 Chinese families left in Kolkata.

On New Year's Day, various Lion Dance groups pay homage to the god in each Chinese Temple. In 2017, groups like Ka Fook, Young Youth, Friends Warrior, and Legend Warrior performed with enthusiasm. After the performance they visited the homes of all Chinese-Indians and wished them good fortune for the upcoming year. This act is believed to usher wealth and prosperity into the house. Members of each household tie pieces of lettuce and some money in red envelopes with long sticks and hang them from balconies and windows. The lion then tries to skilfully approach them, reaching for the reward no matter how high it is. Some households even offer beer or cold drinks. Chinese-Indians who were born in Kolkata but have moved to other cities as well as abroad, return to Kolkata to celebrate New Year. John, who is currently a resident of Delhi, explained:

> "You won't find this kind of celebration or familiarity in Mumbai or Delhi. So we have to come back home on this particular day."[19]

Renewal: *cha* project
In Kolkata's Old Chinatown, a Singapore-based company has shown interest in rejuvenating the area and the West Bengal government has agreed to support the project. Indeed, the "*cha* project" instigated by some Kolkata-born Chinese is a ray of hope. The detailed project plan includes the discussed intangible heritage in its objectives of restoration and heritage conservation, business revival, makeover of streetscapes, and preservation of history. Reviving traditional Chinese cuisine through a street food lane, reinventing festivity through the celebration of Ancestors' Day, the Moon Festival and Chinese New Year and an economic revival through traditional crafts and occupations constitute the major planning initiatives. However, the project has not progressed significantly over the past four years. This affirms that the conservation of Chinatown is not a priority for the State, on whom all implementation is dependent.

Conclusion
I have tried to deconstruct the general notion of heritage in India only as physical relics, sites, monuments and artifacts and give a more nuanced approach to the term where it has a direct bearing on a community's way of life. My research shows that a domain of heritage practice exists outside the official discourse in Kolkata, where the municipality only identifies buildings as heritage. Particularly in the case of a community that has been severely discriminated against by State agency but has contributed immensely to the economic and cultural landscape of Kolkata, these dissonant spaces of heritage

need to be acknowledged. Although the changing global economic scenario has caused most of the traditional Chinese-Indian occupations to decline and brought increased poverty, the community's struggle to preserve its ancestral heritage provokes us to interpret the meanings and manifestations of heritage in everyday life anew.

1   Jawhar Sircar, "The Chinese in Calcutta", in *Calcutta: The Living City*, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri, vol. II (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, n.d.), 64–64.

2   Chinese, Armenians, Jews, Anglo-Indians and Muslims from northern states of India

3   Liang, J. "Migration patterns and occupational specialisations of the Kolkata, Chinese: an insider's story". *China Report* 43, no. 4 (2007): 397-410; *Ali, Hasan. "The Chinese in Calcutta."* In., *Aspects of Society and Culture in Calcutta.* Edited by M.K.A. Siddigui, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, 1982.; Dasgupta, Keya. "Mapping the Spaces of Minorities: Calcutta through the Last Century." In *Calcutta Mosaic: essays and interviews on the minority communities of Calcutta,* edited by Himadri Banerjee, Nilanjana Gupta, Shipra Mukherjee, 22-69. New Delhi: Anthem Press, 2009.

4   Jayani Jeanne Bonnerjee, "Neighbourhood, City, Diaspora : Identity and Belonging for Calcutta's Anglo-Indian and Chinese Communities" (Ph.D., Queen Mary, University of London, 2010); Jennifer Liang, "Migration Patterns and Occupational Specialisations of Kolkata Chinese: An Insider's History", *China Report* 43, no. 4 (1 December 2007): 397–410; Kwai-Yun Li, *The Palm Leaf Fan and Other Stories* (Toronto: TSAR Publications, 2006).

5   Julien Berjeaut, *Chinois à Calcutta: les tigres du Bengale* (Harmattan, 1999); Liang, "Migration Patterns and Occupational Specialisations of Kolkata Chinese".

6   The Opium Wars (1840, 1856), the Taiping Tianguo Uprising (1850-1860), the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901), and the series of movements and uprisings that overthrew the Qing (Chhing) dynasty.

7   Haraprasad Roy, "Chinese", accessed 23 January, 2015, http://www.bangla-pedia.org/HT/C_0221.htm.

8   Kwai-Yun Li, "Deoli Camp: An Oral History of Chinese Indians from 1962 to 1966" (Master's, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 2011).

9   Bonnerjee, "Neighbourhood, City, Diaspora".

10   Das, Samantak. Book review. *China Report 43, no 4 (2007)*: 531–538.

11   Liang, "Migration Patterns and Occupational Specialisations of Kolkata Chinese".

12   Ibid.

13   Interview with Mr. Lee, 14 October, 2014.

14   http://www.thechaproject.com/our-vision/ Last accessed on 17 April, 2016.

15   Ibid.

16   Following the Sino-Indian war, the Chinese community in India experienced state-sanctioned violence, harassment and marginalisation in the form of physical violence, economic displacement and ostracism from mainstream Indian society. There were arrests, detention, internment, repatriation and forced deportations. As a result, the families of thousands of Chinese were violently broken apart. A series of laws and ordinances were passed and the laws barred Chinese living in India from holding Indian government jobs and corralled Chinese within the cities they lived in. Persons of Chinese descent were required to report to the Indian authorities for "registration and classification".

17   Elizabeth Kenworthy Teather and Chun Shing Chow, "Identity and Place: The Testament of Designated Heritage in Hong Kong", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 2 (1 January 2003): 93–115.

18   Dutta, Rangan. *Chinese Breakfast Tiretta Bazaar Chinatown* 12 January, 2013 https://rangandatta.wordpress.com/2013/06/12/chinese-breakfast-old-chinatown-tiretta-bazar-calcutta-kolkata/#more-4607 (accessed on 1 February, 2015).

19   Interview with John, 19 February 2015.

RUE DE LA
RÉSISTANCE

Patrick Mudekereza

Rue de la Résistance [Resistance Street] explores how the idea of "spectres" in the public space induces a space of resistance. I visited the *Afrikanisches Viertel,* the African neighbourhood in Berlin, with Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, an activist and researcher from the Berlin Postkolonial group. Their work aims to rename the streets that endorse colonialism to memorialise the names of African resistance instead. I wanted to put this conflict in dialogue with the work we carried out in Lubumbashi in 2013 with Congolese writer Albert Kapepa and Belgian architectural historian Johan Lagae, from the University of Ghent.

The idea was to create an imagined city which could merge this previous research on African resistance with the *Afrikanisches Viertel* in Berlin. The main place of tension for me was Nachtigalplatz, named after Gustav Nachtigal, who is considered the "discoverer" of Cameroon. Mboro is working towards changing the name of the square to commemorate a resistance fighter against colonisation, like Rudolf Manga Bell. In the same way, I wanted to create a city where Simon Kimbangu, the Congolese prophet, can appear in the public space, a city where people like Lubumba, Rosa Parks and the men and women involved in the idea of decolonisation can be given a tribute.

I created a map and recorded three different voices to provide that narrative. One voice is Albert Kapepa, explaining how Kimbangu and the haunted houses of Lubumbashi are manifestations in the public space of the ghosts who are not resting – people who were killed, and whose ghosts are still coming into the public space to help us remember that the struggle for decolonisation needs to continue. Another voice is an explanation of the colonial power axis in the city, *l'axe du pouvoir*, by Johan Lagae. The last piece is a recording from my visit to the *Afrikanisches Viertel* with Mboro. At the Waza Art Centre in Lubumbashi I finalised the map. You can see the Kimambu Platz, which is my imagining of the new Nachtigalplatz, with the Lubumba Allee, which can replace Petersallee, and Rosa Parks Straße, which can replace another street: You can imagine Kimpa Vita here, the famous 17th century prophet and leader from Congo. And now, we see that all those colonial names, all those problematic names, can be invaded by the ghosts of the resistance.

Stills from a video interview with Patrick Mudekereza
at the Waza Art Centre,
Lubumbashi, 2017

Installation of *Rue de la Résistance*
at DARCH in Dar es Salaam, 2017 (right)
Hand-drawn map for the artwork
at ZK/U in Berlin, 2017 (overleaf)
photo credits: Anne-Katrin Fenk and Rachel Lee

UN/SHARED HERITAGE

The artwork *MONUMENT* in Dresden as a controversial subject

Benjamin Häger

On 7 February 2017 in the city of Dresden the opening of a temporary work of art in a public space triggered unusual turmoil and emotional discussions that lasted for weeks and attracted considerable attention internationally.

MONUMENT, the artwork by the German-Syrian artist Manaf Halbouni, was intended to be "a sign for peace, freedom and humanity".[1] Comprising three vertically erected buses that referred to current war hardship in the city of Aleppo,[2] the art installation was exhibited for two months in the centrally-located Neumarkt square, across from the baroque Frauenkirche church, which was destroyed in World War II and then reconstructed in 2005. As intended, *MONUMENT* was a controversial subject which ignited an emotional, complex public debate on, among other topics, heritage activism and politics. In order to understand this debate and its intensity, first, one has to look to the past.

History

On 13 and 14 February 1945, in the last months of World War II, Dresden was attacked by British and American Air Force bombardments, as many other German cities were before and after. In just two days, 25,000 civilians were killed in Dresden. Large parts of the city, including the historic centre with dozens of very valuable buildings and rich cultural treasures were destroyed.[3] Where the splendid baroque legacy and symbolic self-image of Dresden had once stood, only ruins and voids remained.[4] The bombing left a critical vacuum which many tried to fill. From the first day, the bombardment of Dresden was instrumentalised by different parties which, without exception, used the bombed Neumarkt Square with the Frauenkirche ruin as a stage for their messages. For instance:

> – Immediately, the Nazis stigmatised the Allies as barbaric; the propaganda machine spread rumours in order to relativise German war guilt and provoke furious resistance against the enemies.[5]

Bus barricade in Aleppo
photo credit: Nizam Najar; courtesy of Kunsthaus Dresden

– After the war and the division of Germany, representatives of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) used the British-American bombardments for a victimisation narrative and presented the East as peace defenders in opposition to the West.[6]

– In turn, members of the peaceful revolution in East Germany selected this place for commemorations and demonstrations, among others, against the GDR regime.[7]

– Finally, after German Reunification nationalist movements claimed the historic city of Dresden for their propaganda, in which the annual Remembrance Day of 13 February has played a central role.[8]

These narratives – though very different – have something in common: They tend towards overstatement and exceptionality. For example, some people speak of "total loss", of "unspeakable suffering" or of "pure sorrow".[9] This is very relevant, because these opinions can be followed right up to the present and collide in the *MONUMENT* debate, too.

In 1991, after a long public debate, intense lobbying and a huge international fundraising campaign, in which, among others, Britons and Americans donated vast sums,[10] the Saxony State Assembly decided to rebuild the Dresden Frauenkirche. They did it in spite of many critics who preferred to keep the church ruin as the war memorial – maybe Germany's best known – it had been for more than half a century.

The masonry of the reconstructed Frauenkirche is a patchwork of old and new stones, which indicates the destruction of the church, like a symbol for the wounds of war. But as almost the entire Neumarkt area has been rebuilt, authentic references to history are upstaged and not as present as they were before. Hence, the remembrance of the past, i.e. the bright and the dark side of history that had been the site's central topic until recently, has increasingly given way to synthetic history telling and aestheticism. The war legacy is no longer very visible in Dresden's "historic" centre.

In any case, the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche apparently expanded its potential to represent a further heritage narrative: The Frauenkirche is no longer only a memorial against war and destruction, but also a symbol for hope, reconciliation and overcoming crises, at least according to the proponents of the reconstruction.[11] And since the reconstruction was primarily a result of citizens' initiatives, one can imagine that initiators, donors and many other people strongly identify with this recent heritage layer.

Consequently, this place is very meaningful (not only for Dresden's inhabitants) and it is emotionally charged. Some people even call it "sacred".[12] The site is a projection screen for different heritage constructions.

That is the reason why the Neumarkt with the Frauenkirche are relevant for present politics, too. In 2014, a new Islamophobic, populist, right-wing movement called Pegida formed in Dresden and stages weekly demonstrations in the city centre.[13] Since the demonstrations began, divisions in Dresden's population have become deeper. Tensions and public disputes are omnipresent, especially during Remembrance Day.

Heritage

Against this background, the Dresden-based artist Manaf Halbouni exhibited *MONU-MENT*. The art installation was inspired by photos of the heavily war-damaged city of Aleppo, in Syria, where bus wrecks were used as barricades in order to protect civilians from lethal attacks.[14] The image of bus barricades has become a worldwide symbol of current war hardship and human suffering.

Halbouni's project was both an attempt to commemorate the Syrian victims and a warning, aimed at the young people of Dresden in particular, to be aware of the past and conscious of the effort needed to live in peace, freedom and prosperity again. Thereby, the artist established a symbolic connection between the two cities and their particular war experiences, between past and present, and between people of different cultural backgrounds who shared the same hope for peace and freedom. By contrasting the magnificent Frauenkirche in the costly rebuilt historic city centre with his irritating art installation, Halbouni wanted to provoke a dialogue. He and the responsible curator chose the place and time very consciously: The artwork was presented on the Neumarkt on 7 February 2017, one week before the annual Dresden war Remembrance Day took place there.[15]

Beyond the buses, the art project included several public talks, dialogues and an art education programme. Nearly every day Halbouni and art mediators were on site to explain *MONUMENT*, answering any questions and encouraging discussions. Through this civic engagement they hoped to demonstrate that the installation did not intend to offend anybody or criticise any particular identity, but to make people talk to each other and probably become aware of similarities, instead of repeatedly reinforcing oppositions.[16]

In this way, the project addressed central issues of shared heritage, such as: Who has the right and who has the obligation to remember? How to remember adequately? And, who defines what is adequate?

One phenomenon has profoundly surprised Manaf Halbouni:[17] Many people – proponents and opponents – interacted with the art installation as if it were a "real" memorial. They laid down flowers, lighted candles, and attached messages and posters. However, unlike "conventional" memorials, which are generally bound by historic facts, experts' assessments and particular preservation rules, as an artwork the Dresden *MONUMENT* was capable of opening a wide range of topics and interpretations. It could (re)activate several heritage layers and stimulate a debate that also takes political issues into account.

Debate

The reactions to *MONUMENT* varied considerably. There were people who reacted enthusiastically and praised its artistic value. Others only appreciated the public debate but did not like the installation's aesthetic. Still others were undecided. And finally, there were also many who did not agree with the installation at all. These people reacted very emotionally; they seemed to feel provoked, mocked or even insulted. In consequence, they acted destructively, rudely or even hatefully.

Opening of the artwork *MONUMENT* by Manaf Halbouni
across from the Frauenkirche church

photo credit: David Brandt; courtesy of Kunsthaus Dresden

Public talk with Manaf Halbouni at *MONUMENT*
on 4 March 2017

photo credit: Robert Thiele; courtesy of Kunsthaus Dresden

One reason for the emotional reaction to *MONUMENT* had to do with its politicisation. Because the controversial Mayor of Dresden supported and inaugurated the artwork, it was seen by some as merely a political tool representing specific interests. Accordingly, some of the art project's opponents acted politically and were very well organised: several nationalist groups, among others, members of Pegida, activists of the so-called Identitarian Movement, and supporters of the right-wing populist party Alternative for Germany (AfD) called for a boycott. They mobilised heritage communities against others and systematically tried to discredit *MONUMENT* and its makers. For instance, several opponents:

– Maintained the art project is a "shame", a "disgrace", an "insult" to both Dresden's war victims and the "sacred place" itself.[18]

– Insisted on the importance of their own heritage and argued that the artwork had nothing to do with Dresden's past or present.[19]

– Called the art installation "scrap", said it was "junk on the representation site of Dresden", and completely denied *MONUMENT*'s artistic value.[20]

– Complained that the art installation blocked the view of the Frauenkirche, although it was placed at a distance from the church, allowing more than just one unimpaired view.[21]

– Accused Halbouni and his colleagues of glorifying or at least playing down Islamist terrorism; as evidence they pointed to a photo taken in Aleppo in which the flag of a terror organisation had been raised on top of the bus barricades.[22]

– Used *MONUMENT* as a stage for their ideological, political or personal purposes and set up banners and posters.[23]

However, towards the end of the exhibition period the debate became more relaxed – among other things, thanks to the art mediation. The artist and curators clarified misunderstandings and rumours and tried to clear up a lot of confusion. Hence, the aggressive confrontation in the beginning slowly became a discussion, albeit still a very emotional one, about different interpretations, opinions and values, and later turned into a more and more peaceful and also factual debate. A few weeks after the opening of the installation, the group discussions were mainly characterised by goodwill and mutual understanding – although opinions still differed.

Theory

To sum up, *MONUMENT* intentionally provoked people in order to make identity and heritage a subject of discussion. While many people greatly appreciated that, others apparently do not want to deal with it. Instead, they insisted on protecting their own heritage and have made the coexistence of different understandings of heritage difficult. For some there is no shared heritage, for example between Dresden and Aleppo. They see this connection as alien, unwanted. In this regard, heritage can be extremely competitive, and the mobilisation of heritage movements is not necessarily good. It rather depends on how people are mobilised and how mobilised heritage can benefit people.

Why should we focus on shared heritage and conflict, on unshared or unwanted heritage? "Should we not keep conflict out of our own discourse on heritage because

it could spoil the positive impact we wish to create?" as Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper rhetorically asks.[24] The answer is no, because conflict around heritage and identity is already established throughout history, and unwanted history does not simply disappear. On the contrary: for particular heritage communities an unwanted heritage might constitute the most relevant or crucial heritage.

Both the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society from 2005,[25] and the Fribourg Declaration of Cultural Rights from 2007,[26] which declares that everyone has a personal right to heritage, open up new perspectives on social participation in heritage making or heritage sharing. Because more people will be encouraged to participate in negotiations, new lines of tension, opposition and debate may emerge. But above all, there will be the opportunity to discuss identity and heritage, and to encourage mutual understanding as well. This is exactly what Manaf Halbouni's art project tries to do.

Consequently, those who work with monuments, historical sites and narratives, have to be both accurate in interpreting heritage – for which they need experts' assessments – and sensitive to different interpretations of heritage – for which they should guarantee sustainable politics of recognition and expertise in the field of public participation.
In that manner, art projects like Halbouni's *MONUMENT* which include an associated education and mediation service can be a very valuable attempt to initiate public debates on history and heritage. But in my opinion one should not stop at that point, but consider how to establish urban heritage management or mediation in order to encourage, qualify and democratise heritage activism and politics.

1   www.kunsthausdresden.de/veranstaltungen/monument/

2   Cf. www.manaf-halbouni.com/work/monument/. Cf. also Halbouni, M., personal interview, 7 March 2017.

3   Because of its buildings, such as the Frauenkirche, the Semperoper, the Zwinger or the Residential Palace, and its picturesque location in landscape, Dresden was designated the "Florence of the Elbe" and "one of Europe's most beautiful cities" with an important art history (Löffler, F. (2012), Das alte Dresden: Geschichte seiner Bauten. Dresden).

4   Cf. Christmann, G. (2006), Architektur als Element der Stadtkultur, p. 3457-3458. In: Rehberg, K.-S. (ed.), Soziale Ungleichheit, kulturelle Unterschiede: Verhandlungen des 32. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in München. Frankfurt am Main, p. 3455-3462 ibid., p. 3458.

5   Cf. Widera, T. (2005), Gefangene Erinnerung. Die politische Instrumentalisierung der Bombardierung Dresdens, p. 116. In: Fritze, L./ Widera, T. (ed.), Alliierter Bombenkrieg. Das Beispiel Dresden. Göttingen, p. 109-134.

6   Cf. Neutzner, M. (2005), Vom Anklagen zum Erinnern. Die Erzählung vom 13. Februar, p. 135-147. In: Reinhard, O./ Neutzner, M./ Hesse, W. (ed.), *Das rote Leuchten. Dresden und der Bombenkrieg*. Dresden, p. 128-168.

7   Cf. Jerzak, C. (2012), Der 13. Februar in Dresden: Gedenkrituale, Wandel der Erinnerungskultur und ihre Demokratisierungspotenziale, p. 38-40. In: Weiterdenken – Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen e.V./ Kulturbüro Sachsen (ed.), *„Sachsens Demokratie"? Demokratische Kultur und Erinnerung, Medienlandschaft und Überwachungspolitik in Sachsen*. Extended conference publication. Dresden, p. 35-46.

8   Cf. ibid. p. 37-39.

9   Even critical approaches repeat these exaggerated notions, e.g. the mayor of Dresden in the commemoration ceremony on 13 February 2017 (cf. www.mdr.de/sachsen/dresden/vorschau-gedenk-tag-dreizehnter-februar-100.html).

10   Private donations amounted to € 102.8 million, equivalent to 56 % of the total reconstruction costs; a part of this amount has been contributed by the British "Dresden Trust" and the American "Friends of Dresden" (cf. www.frauen-kirche-dresden.de/wiederaufbauspenden/).

11   Cf. Marek, K. (2009), *Rekonstruktion und Kulturgesellschaft. Stadtbildreparatur in Dresden, Frankfurt am Main und Berlin als Ausdruck der zeitgenössischen Suche nach Identität.* Kassel, p. 48. Cf. also Pannewitz, A. (2006), *Die Symbolik der Dresdner Frauenkirche im öffentlichen Gedächtnis. Eine Analyse von Pressetexten zum Zeitpunkt der Weihe 2005*. Dresden, p. 54-55.

12   Heine, D. (Mayor's Office Dresden), personal interview, 8 March 2017.

13   In the beginning, the number of participants reached up to 25,000; since 2016 it has levelled off between 1000 and 4000 every week (cf. de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pegida/).

14   Cf. www.time.com/3760455/aleppo-busses-syria/. Cf. also www.manaf-halbouni.com/work/monument/.

15   Cf. Halbouni, M., personal interview, 7 March 2017.

16   Cf. Hoferer, D./ Thiele, R. (Projektteam *Am Fluss / Monument* Kunsthaus Dresden), 8 March 2017. Cf. also Halbouni, M., personal interview, 7 March 2017.

17   Cf. ibid.

18   www.afdberichte.de/tag/busse/

19   Cf. www.zdf.de/nachrichten/heute-journal/hjo-gesamt-1702-07-hjo-100.html

20   Cf. www.afdberichte.de/tag/busse/

21   Cf. ibid.

22   Cf. www.sz-online.de/nachrichten/wer-baute-die-strassensperre-von-aleppo-3608706.html

23   Cf. www.mdr.de/sachsen/dresden/identitaere-bewegung-transparent-monument-dresden-100.html

24   Dolff-Bonekämper, G. (2010), Cultural Heritage and Conflict: the view from Europe, p. 14. In: International Council of Museums (ed.), Shared Heritage. Shared Futures. Museum International, vol. 62: 14–19.

25   Cf. https://rm.coe.int/1680083746

26   Cf. http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/Fribourg%20Declaration.pdf

NEW ZONES FOR OLD BUILDINGS

A daydream about unlocking hidden potentials

Stephan Becker and Tassilo Letzel

The new Bus Rapid Transit in Dar es Salaam is designed for efficiency and ease of access – yet in old Kisutu its newly laid route offers a vision beyond transportation. Could this surprising mix of infrastructure and heritage – vaguely resembling a brutalist pedestrian zone – be an inspiration for new approaches to urban renewal?

A woman on a bicycle passing by, a couple with a trolley case hurrying along, young professionals slowly crossing the road immersed in lively discussion, people sitting in the shadow of old arcades enjoying their time – until suddenly… a huge bus roars into the picture, making its way down the road and turning the peaceful scene of a second ago into a faint memory. Were we daydreaming, misled by a short interruption in the traffic on an otherwise busy arterial road? Well, no, quite the opposite. We are right in the middle of downtown Dar es Salaam, on the well-known Morogoro Road that has been completely transformed in recent years. Since March 2016 it has served as a route for the newly built Bus Rapid Transit, or BRT, with the final stretch into the city centre closed to private traffic. Calm and spacious – save for the buses – it is an unusual sight in an otherwise bustling part of the town.

The impression you get in moments of silence is that of a carefully planned pedestrian area that has not yet been fully adopted by the population. This characteristic might be partly intended, as certain elements like the continuous concrete surface suggest, yet at the same time it is also very likely just a side effect of the practical constraints of traffic planning within a densely-built environment. While in other parts of Dar es Salaam the BRT is conceived as a very heavy handed infrastructure project that uses separate lanes and huge stations, in Kisutu the limitations of the existing urban grid have led to a more sensitive approach. There simply wasn't enough room for more than two buses, yet the buildings still had to be accessible – so why not just make the street a public transport and pedestrian only space?

The result is surprisingly beautiful – at least in a brutalist way that perhaps only something designed to just work and not to please can be. The grey concrete slabs with their

In downtown Dar es Salaam the new Bus Rapid Transit
follows the existing Morogoro Road. Private cars are not
allowed, thus giving the impression of a pedestrian zone
– at least in between services
photo credit: Tassilo Letzel

rough surfaces offer a minimalist backdrop to a decidedly diverse streetscape. Consisting of colourful mid-century buildings and some larger structures from later times, this results in a quite contemporary feeling of cool authenticity. What is striking about that aesthetic is how much it differs from other pedestrian oriented developments around the world. First conceived in the late 1920s, but turned into a success story only after World War II, the typical pedestrian zone is equally an attempt to beautify, sanitise and commercialise urban space. And while that might have saved many old buildings and streets, it unfortunately also quite often resulted in a certain artificial dullness. Yet here in Dar es Salaam, the traffic planners with their – presumably – soberer mindset have resisted any temptation to make things too tidy and cosy. And while another bus passes, one starts to wonder: Could this actually be a concealed vision for the future of the city's old quarters or even – more broadly – an inspiration for new approaches to urban renewal?

With the ongoing transformation of Dar es Salaam and the accompanying destruction of urban heritage, one of the challenges of preservation is of course to change the public perception about the old building stock. And it is exactly in that regard that pedestrian zones have often proved to be an effective approach. Partly an outcome of and partly an answer to modern urban planning, their power to convert city centres into leisure landscapes also give many historical buildings a new lease of life. People love the convenience of cars and highways, but they also love to eat ice cream in a public square while watching other people pass by. Thus, urban environments that were redundant and dilapidated suddenly became worthy of preservation – if only as a backdrop to a new form of urban life. The latter of course is in many ways not that different to what, in Dar es Salaam for example, malls like Mlimani City or designated areas like Slipway have to offer – only with a slightly more original touch perhaps.

No surprise then that pedestrian zones come with their own problems – not least in the way they gradually turn the most lively and authentic parts of a city into artificial and somewhat arrested surroundings increasingly detached from regular development. That of course has resulted in paradoxes like the recent reconstruction of some medieval parts of the German city of Frankfurt – an undertaking that erased all traces of real historical value around that area. One could also argue that in places like Dar es Salaam's Kariakoo the mix of people, traffic and commerce much better represents the contemporary concept of one shared space for all than a pedestrian zone with its rather modernist DNA of separating functions will ever be able to. Yet standing on Morogoro Road, it is still very tempting to imagine the positive effects a designated pedestrian area could have on Dar's urban heritage: restaurants and bars in nicely renovated buildings, benches to relax on and enjoy the façades, little boutiques in quiet and well preserved back streets and, on the weekends, free concerts that use the historical street corners as stages.

If that sounds like a cheesy vision, well, that's because it is – not least because similar images were used by generations of politicians to sell their idea of turning public spaces into streamlined private shopping areas. Yet this preconception distracts from the fact that pedestrian zones are still a very useful approach to tap into the intrinsic potentials of a historical urban environment. And that's where Morogoro Road comes into the picture with its rougher, less polished vision of a pedestrian space. Seeing it as a prototype

The road's section has been turned into a flat surface of concrete that positively contrasts with the rich urban surroundings. It sets a neutral stage that allows for the appreciation of the older buildings

photo credit: Tassilo Letzel

The BRT route is of course far too heavily frequented to
really work as a shared space. Yet it demonstrates how
the unique spatial qualities of old Dar es Salaam could be
utilized and thereby preserved
photo credit: Tassilo Letzel

for a rather bare, backbone-like environment that is simply needed to facilitate communication and exchange, it is possible to focus on the smaller-scale plots and units the streets and buildings have to offer. Wouldn't that be an ideal spatial condition to accommodate a diverse economic development based on small, less capital intensive enterprises? Is it, for example, unimaginable to designate a building or two as low-rent incubators and creative hubs for young professionals? Couldn't some of the existing stores – often not really suited to compete with the malls anyway – be given at affordable rents to experimental fashion designers or used as studio spaces? Aren't there a growing number of app developers and media entrepreneurs who wouldn't feel at home in a newly built skyscraper anyway?

In addition to promoting the value of historical structures as heritage, focusing more on their structural qualities could strengthen the case for their preservation. Here the fact that the National Housing Corporation (NHC) owns the land could actually become a unique advantage. Instead of simply maintaining a physical appearance while leaving everything else to the market forces of consumption – the fate of many city centres and touristic areas – the NHC could start to curate the urban space to allow for a livelier mix including new forms of production. That's what the BRT lanes of Dar es Salaam promise with their surprising juxtaposition of old and new: that there can be a different kind of preservation that does not hinder, but fosters change and development.

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FORCED LABOUR

The Testimony App by Berlin History Workshop

Cord Pagenstecher

This essay discusses a smartphone application as a new tool of urban heritage activism. The app uses mobile devices to convey the experiences and traces of a historically neglected group within the existing city landscape of the German capital.

Berlin was the centre of Nazi forced labour: From 1938 till 1945 half a million forced labourers had to work in Berlin factories, offices and households. In interviews and letters to historians, they describe work, hunger, violence and bombings, but also love and friendships. Since 2013, the memories of those involuntary Berliners have come alive – on the spot, with the smartphone at hand. A multimedia testimony app available for iOS and Android phones enables tourists and locals to explore traces of the forced labourers and listen to their narrations, which had been forgotten for decades.

The *Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt*
The mobile learning app was created by Berlin History Workshop [*Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt*], a grassroots association studying local, women's, minority and oral history and their (in)visible traces in urban heritage.[1] Since 1981, it has been researching and publishing history from below, and lobbying for adequate memorials, the renaming of streets and innovative forms of historical learning in the urban landscape. Embedded in a network of critical movements in civil society, it developed a decentralised approach to memory with regard to National Socialism, based on critical historical thinking, place-based historical research and biographical approaches. Since the 1980s, new memorials have been erected, with abstract monuments giving way to more detailed, personalised and place-specific information plaques. Artistic interventions explored the 'memory-work' expected of memorials through multi-sited, less visible, and spatially and temporally fragmented forms. Lobby and research groups such as the Berlin History Workshop focused on the realities of what National Socialism meant in one's own local neighbourhood and solicited oral testimonies from Jewish and other victims of the Nazi dictatorship. Inspired by the 50th anniversary of the Nazi rise to power in 1983 and the

Forced Labour.
The Testimony App
by Berlin History Workshop,
start screen
image credit: Cord Pagenstecher

activities surrounding the 750th anniversary of Berlin in 1987, many local counter-events were based upon the history workshop's approach of "Dig where you stand," including the excavation of the foundations of Gestapo headquarters, which ultimately led to the Topography of Terror museum unveiled 23 years later in 2010.

Nazi forced labour in the city of camps

Berlin was not only the capital of the Third Reich, but also the centre of Nazi forced labour. Half a million men, women and children were forced to work in factories, workshops, offices and private households in Berlin – far more than in any other city in Europe. Among them were over 380,000 civilians, over 70,000 prisoners of war, around 10,000 concentration camp prisoners and – until they were deported – over 20,000 Jewish Berliners.[2] Most of the forced labourers worked in ammunitions production, many also worked for the railway and postal service, in workshops or churches. Kept separate from the *Volksgemeinschaft* [people's community], they lived among the Berliners in over 3000 accommodations: barracks and restaurants, schools and coal cellars. The police, Wehrmacht, employment office, factory security and SS placed the forced labourers under a strict, racist and bureaucratic rule. Northern and Western Europeans were at the top, Eastern Europeans, Roma and Jews at the bottom of the Nazi racial hierarchy.

From heavy labour, hunger and poor hygiene standards, the predominantly young workers often became ill; tuberculosis and typhus were especially widespread. Since they were mostly not allowed inside the shelters, they were also defenceless against the bombings. Thus, over 10,000 forced labourers died and are buried in Berlin. For many, particularly for Soviet forced labourers, 1945 was not the end of their suffering. At home, they were suspected across the board of collaboration with the Germans; many disappeared in Stalinist camps. In Germany, they became "forgotten victims". For decades, governments and companies have denied – with very few exceptions – any kind of financial compensation. Not until the 1980s did numerous local remembrance initiatives begin to create awareness about the ubiquity of the camps and the individual fates of the forced labourers in the German war society.

With the opening of borders in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, survivors also began to share their personal memories; only then could researchers and local memory workers invite them for an interview or a personal encounter with school students or local politicians. The growth of this localised memory boom was bolstered by US-sponsored compensation claims in the late 1990s. Between 1998 and 2000, boycott threats and legal class actions in the US forced the German state and industry to set up the foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" [*Stiftung "Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft"*] which between 2001 and 2007 made a one-time payment of between 500 and 7700 Euros to certain groups of former forced labourers, depending on the circumstances of their persecution.

A network of decentralised remembrance to forced labour

Like other German cities and regions, Berlin, too, saw a very lively localised culture of remembrance with regard to Nazi forced labour during the 1990s and early 2000s. As a result of the dedicated research of local initiatives, school teachers, committed amateur historians, and antifascist groups, more than 20 commemorative plaques and memori-

als were erected in different boroughs of Berlin.[3] For example, one of the first "official" commemorative plaques for Polish forced labourers was inaugurated in 1995 at a former AEG factory building in Berlin-Wedding. Sharing memories meant also creating communities. In Berlin-Neukölln, for example, about 30 Lutheran parishes from all over Berlin had operated a common camp where over 100 *Ostarbeiter* [Eastern workers] were employed as gravediggers. After receiving a letter from a survivor, some very committed church activists started a research and commemoration project; each parish has one part of this monument in its church and takes part once a year in a shared memorial ceremony.

Elsewhere, school projects have mapped camps, theatre groups have read out forced labourers' testimonies on stage and neighbourhoods have lobbied for commemorative plaques. No tourist will ever find the little hand-made monument created by allotment gardeners in the south-eastern Adlershof district at the entrance to their community, hidden behind a petrol station. Using remnants of the barracks shower, this roadside memorial aims to remember the huge Adlergestell camp, which once housed about 3000 forced labourers from the Soviet Union. Initiated and realised by the elderly gardeners without any public involvement, such a grassroots monument in the city's periphery does not figure in Berlin's spatial imagery of tourists, journalists or historians.
The most important heritage institution has become the Nazi Forced Labour Documentation Centre [*Dokumentationszentrum NS-Zwangsarbeit*] in the south-eastern working class district of Berlin-Schöneweide.

The Berlin History Workshop was instrumental in preserving one of the last remaining forced labour camps in Berlin, which was "discovered" in 1994 in Schöneweide. The ensemble of barracks amongst a stable residential neighbourhood housed a car repair shop, a day-care centre, sauna, restaurant and other rather mundane uses. Built in 1943 by the General Building Inspector for the Reich Capital (GBI), under the direction of Albert Speer, it is one of the last well-preserved former Nazi forced labour camps in Europe. After long years of lobbying, in 2001 a commemorative plaque was erected, in 2006 the memorial museum was opened, and in 2013 a new permanent exhibition was installed.

The Forced Labour App: digital testimony and 'remapping' the city
In 2013, the Capital City Culture Fund [*Hauptstadtkulturfonds*] funded a number of projects under the theme "Destroyed Diversity: Berlin at the time of the Nazi dictatorship" [*Zerstörte Vielfalt: Berlin in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*]. As one of the numerous exhibitions, performance events and historical projects funded, the Berlin History Workshop developed the *Forced Labour* multimedia testimony app. Supported by the Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future foundation, the *Forced Labour* app was launched in German and English in May 2013 with one of its protagonists, 92-year-old Józef Przedpełski. It encourages tourists and locals to follow in the footsteps of former forced labourers who lived and worked in Berlin. As the advertisement for the app explains: "Witnesses tell of factories and camps. Photos and documents show both victims and perpetrators."

The app is available in German and English for all iOS and Android handheld devices. Five tours highlight the personal stories of forced labour survivors as tied to particular
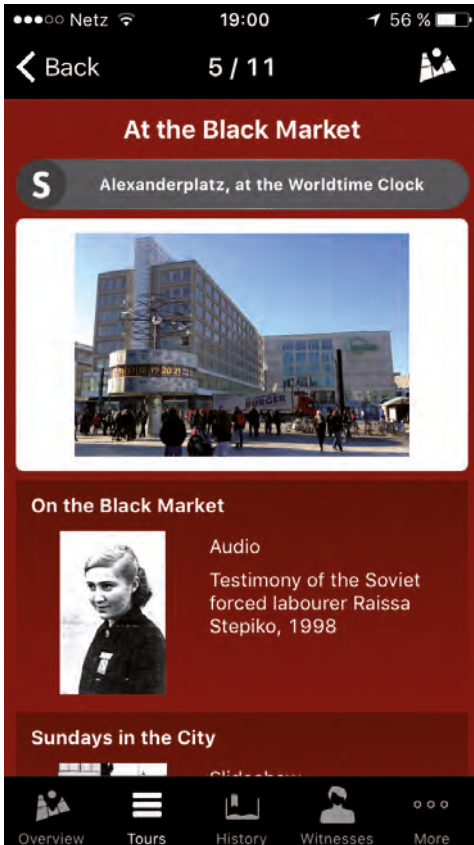
Raissa Stepiko's narration
at Alexanderplatz as part of
the Forced Labour Testimony App
image credit: Cord Pagenstecher
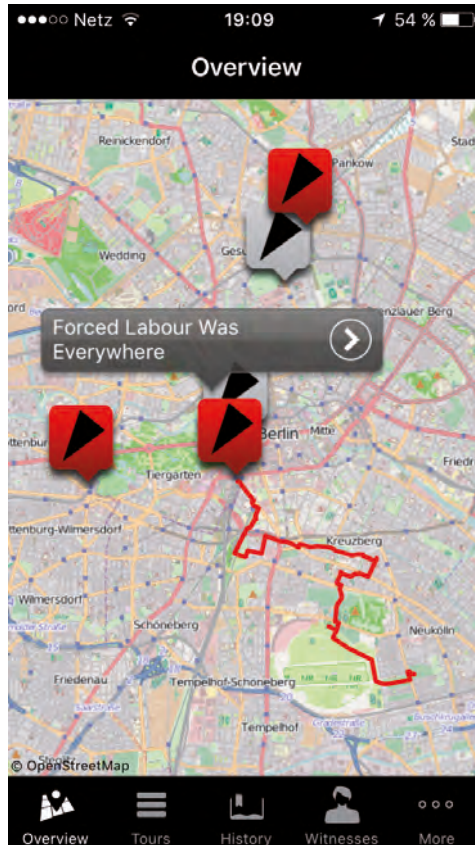
Map with starting points
of Testimony App tours
image credit: Cord Pagenstecher

parts of the city, focusing on different themes: 'A Pole in Berlin' walking tour concentrates on the biography of Józef Przedpełski who had to work for the railway and was housed in a school building turned into a forced labourer camp. The 'Victims and Perpetrators' walking tour begins at the Brandenburg Gate and visits the perpetrators' desks along Wilhelmstraße. The 'In the Factory' walking tour focuses on two AEG factories in Berlin-Gesundbrunnen. The 'Forced Labour was Everywhere' cycling tour starts at Potsdamer Platz and documents the everyday life of forced labourers in the districts of Kreuzberg, Tempelhof and Neukölln. The 'Through the City of Camps' S-Bahn tour from Berlin Zoo station to Schöneweide Documentation Centre calls attention to the encounters between forced labourers and Germans on their ways through the city.

Berlin History Workshop's testimony app is based on the association's long-standing expertise in research and dissemination of local and oral history. Over three decades, it has developed two activist approaches to communicating the significance of the past in the present day: encounters with survivors and searching for traces in the neighbourhood. With the digital technology of a smartphone app, this most recent project now combines both approaches by localising the testimonies and narrating the local traces. As distinct from other history apps that offer city tours with illustrated texts at particular sites, the Forced Labour app connects first-hand accounts with historical sources to provide the user with a rich personal as well as factual context to explore particular places in the city. Indeed the survivors' narratives are the heart of the project. Most personal testimonies come from a special collection that the Berlin History Workshop developed between 1995 and 2010, as one of the first documented archives of forced labourers.[4] The app also draws upon the *Forced Labour 1939-1945* interview archive developed at Freie Universität Berlin.[5]

Tourists, students and residents can download the app on to their smartphones to discover places and learn about the city in ways not highlighted in guidebooks. At well-known spots, such as Wilhelmstraße, as well as at more mundane buildings such as factory halls or train stations, forgotten histories can be investigated. Eyewitness accounts of the former forced labourers are highlighted through short excerpts of video and audio interviews or written accounts spoken aloud. Personal photos, documents and other pieces of memorabilia are also provided. While most of the eyewitnesses came from Eastern Europe, including 16 from Poland, there are some Western Europeans as well, such as the late French journalist, caricaturist und novelist François Cavanna, whose observations are described in his 1979 autobiographical novel *Les Russkoffs*.[6] Each station of the app includes a short overview of the historical context. At particular places, the app user listens to the life experiences of forced labourers that describe humiliation and hope, despair and rebellion, as well as friendship and love, often at the very places these emotions were experienced. For example, the user might be standing at the Brandenburg Gate when listening to former Polish forced labourer Alina Przybyła stating:

> "I was 13, when I was in Berlin, but I remember everything … But I can hardly recognise anything today, the city has changed so much. I only recognised the Brandenburg Gate, where I stood at the time and scratched into one of the columns: 'Little horse, bring me away from here, back to Mum!'"

In today's crowd of shoppers at Alexanderplatz, the user listens to Raissa Stepiko's narration of trying to get a loaf of bread on the black market on the same spot. The seemingly calm present becomes confronted with the stories of a dramatic past at particular places: in the midst of the tourist hustle and bustle at Alexanderplatz the voice of a survivor describes what it was like to experience the chaotic last days of the war, running from hunger as well as the artillery shots. These memories reveal hidden histories, awaken a visitor's curiosity and give otherwise taken-for-granted places in the city new meaning.

Feedback

Feedback from partner institutions and the interested public has been very positive. Various newspapers reported on the project. Within the first year, users downloaded the app about 2000 times. To keep that interest high, however, would need an ongoing PR activity beyond the capacities of a small activist group like Berlin History Workshop. To enhance mobile performance even with large video files, the team decided against a generic mobile website and developed native apps for download with Apple and Android. Without hiring the same app developers again, we cannot update or add new tours or material. With increased wifi availability and enhanced responsive design op-tions, a mobile website accessible through every smartphone browser could be a better option for similar projects in the future.

Digital tools open new paths towards an independent perceiving and remembering of urban history and heritage. They implicate other dependencies, however: Because of the swastikas that featured in some of the historical photographs, Apple did not approve it for the AppStore. Our negotiations – can Nazi Berlin be displayed correctly without swastikas? – with the US based multinational were fruitless; only after self-censoring these historical pictures, could the app be published for iPhones.

1   See the list of earlier projects
at http://berliner-geschichtswerkstatt.de/
frueher.html, and: Jenny Wüstenberg, "Vom
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German Studies Review 32 (2009)3: pp. 590-
618.

2   Cord Pagenstecher, Marc
Buggeln, Zwangsarbeit, in: *Berlin 1933-
1945*, ed. by Michael Wildt und Christoph
Kreutzmüller, München: Siedler 2013,
S. 127 – 142. Pagenstecher, Cord, "We
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*Human Bondage in the Cultural Contact Zone.
Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Slavery and
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3   Cord Pagenstecher, Orte des
Gedenkens – Die nationalsozialistische
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bild, in: *Rüstung, Kriegswirtschaft und
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hrsg. v. Andreas Heusler, Mark Spoerer,
Helmuth Trischler, München 2010 S. 295
– 314. Martin Schönfeld, Von der Abwesen-
heit der Opfer zu einer späten Erinnerung.
Denkmale für Zwangsarbeiterinnen und
Zwangsarbeiter in Berlin, in: *Zwangsarbeit
in Berlin 1938-1945, hrsg. v. Arbeitskreis
Berliner Regionalmuseen*, Berlin 2003, S.
281-309.

4   In 2012, this collection was
deposited at the Forced Labor Documenta-
tion Center in Berlin-Schöneweide.

5   Interview Archive "Forced
Labor 1939-1945. History and Memory",
www.zwangsarbeit-archiv.de/en.

6   François Cavanna, Les
russkoffs, Paris: Belfond 1979 (German: Das
Lied der Baba).

TRACKING
DAR ES
SALAAM

Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

For this work, Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen followed eleven different inhabitants in Dar es Salaam for one entire day. The artists used GPS and cameras to document the volunteers' routes through the city, and later interviewed them with the help of a translator. They were interested in how people move around the city during a typical day, to understand their routines and challenges, and start a conversation about how they see their city developing.

The art piece which grew out of the recordings is an interactive video installation, presented to the audience as an exploration game with different routes through Dar es Salaam. It offers different perspectives to the city through the subjective views of the participants. The spectator can edit, or curate, the reality they want to see, and choose any of the short clips recorded in different parts of the city. The outcome provides unique insights into the lived experience of Dar es Salaam, and points to the many parallel realities contained within one city.

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Programming / Interviews
Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

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Miika Kari
Aika Kirei

Map of the tracks explored by the artists (above)
in Dar es Salaam, 2017
image credit: Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

Hansi selling bags (left)
Msafiri navigating traffic as a *bodaboda* driver (top)
Irene on her way to get breakfast (overleaf)
image credits: Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

TALKING HERITAGE

The potential of Dar es Salaam's historical buildings
and the need for an open dialogue

Aida Mulokozi, Rachel Lee and Diane Barbé

View from the Old Boma
onto the transforming city centre
photo credit: Philipp Misselwitz

Aida Mulokozi is the CEO of DARCH – the Dar es Salaam Centre for Architectural Heritage, a cultural initiative which has renovated one of the oldest buildings in Dar es Salaam: the Old Boma, built in the 1860s by Majid bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar.

Rachel Lee: DARCH is located in the Old Boma, on the waterfront in downtown Dar es Salaam. How do you experience the city centre in terms of old structures and new structures? How do they work together?

Aida Mulokozi: Well actually, the subject of one of our tours is historical buildings that are either adjacent or close to more modern structures, to show the old and the new in juxtaposition. I think it is important to appreciate the historical buildings and keep them standing. It shouldn't necessarily mean that keeping them is stopping the development of newer structures. Now, we have a brand new high-rise building behind the Old Boma, and it's going to be a glassy, shiny building for sure, and it's going to be completed very soon. We have tried to find a way in which we can both form part of the skyline, or rather the landscape, of Dar es Salaam. I think that when a building has a history, it has some significance for how Dar es Salaam has developed as a city, and it should be particularly cared for. Most of

the buildings in the city centre are government buildings, either directly owned by the municipality or by the National Housing Corporation. We are asking these institutions to favour these buildings and to maintain them. And yet at the beginning of March, another building was demolished. It used to host a very well-known nightclub called Bilicanas. I think you might have seen some posts that we did on our Facebook page. Of course there was no notice, at least not publicly, of that incident having been planned. Obviously, the powers that be don't feel they need to consult anybody about the buildings they tear down. But that was a building that certainly could have been spared.

RL: Why do you think the government operates like that?

AM: They are very protective whenever there are curious eyes or people asking direct questions. Their reaction is: "Who are you, why are you asking, and who sent you". We don't have to have that kind of relationship. I think they should

be free to say what's going on, to offer reasons as to why it's being done: an open dialogue. But we're still not at that point where they feel like they need to provide any sort of explanation to people, whenever people notice and inquire about the demolitions.

RL: Yet people in Dar es Salaam are becoming increasingly concerned about the fate of the old buildings.

AM: More and more, people are a bit more inquisitive. I would like to think that they have more information and are more aware of the fact that some of these buildings are old and maybe can help us in one way or another. But we are not given the opportunity of dialogue, which is a pity. It's a lot of work to get to that point where the government feels they need to provide information, and allow people to debate, to give their opinion, give their feedback, and feel like they are part of a process where their contribution and their thoughts are taken seriously and are considered valuable in any way.

Diane Barbé: There are some buildings around Dar es Salaam that have managed to be protected through activism, like the Old Boma. What does it take from the civil society or an institution like DARCH to start getting through?

AM: One of the main issues is that people are not necessarily informed or aware; that is what we're trying to do at DARCH, to make this information available as much as possible. We do that through various means, like public forums of the DARCH Heritage Days each year. It's the big event where we can call the EU, invite ministers, and different activist bodies and, of course, the general public. Still, unfortunately,

not a lot of people actually attend. They don't make it their business to come get this information and engage in an active way, so that kind of works against us. We just try to give an insight into why a building is important, why it is significant, why it is worth salvaging, besides the technical architectural wonder of how it was built. A topic that came up a lot in the first forum [in 2015], was the fact that in Dar es Salaam, there is no master plan being followed. In fact, now, the government is making a very determined effort to have a master plan in place. At the last public forum we had, we invited Dr. Lekule, who is an architect and takes part in the drafting of this plan, and he was able to share what they have laid out so far. He recognised the fact that even if the Antiquities Department only has 25 buildings listed as protected, there are so many other buildings worthy to be on that list. One of the suggestions they made, apparently, was to have a block of the CBD remaining completely untouched so that it would constitute a record of the historical city. How successful that will be, we have yet to see… but it was refreshing to see that there is recognition of the fact that we still have buildings that should be protected, that should be listed.

DB: Are there other institutions you're trying to work with?

AM: The focus was on education and building awareness this year. We were targeting mainly educational institutions, because at the moment very little is being taught on the historical aspects of buildings of Dar es Salaam. Your average man on the street knows it's an old building, but would not be able to tell you it's called the Old Boma, when it was built, or why. So we got schools to

Central Dar es Salaam under redevelopment
photo credit: Anne-Katrin Fenk

participate in the forum. We organised a competition: there were five secondary schools and we gave them questions so that they would go and do research on spaces that were over 70 years old and say why they were important. That basically encouraged them to at least begin to be aware of the built heritage. Education is, I think, one of the pillars of building awareness. At the government level it's … a lot harder. The Antiquities Department was invited to come and participate, and they didn't even respond. It's a little frustrating.

RL: Do you think the government is not interested in discussing preservation?

AM: I *hope* they have an interest in it, I really do! As DARCH we can only lobby, we don't have any legislative powers. I think the more we can sit around a table and have pointed discussions with the Antiquities Department, people in the Planning Commission, people in the Ministry of Lands, then we can really begin to see some change. At the moment, we are transitioning from the old way of doing government, to our new President [John Magufuli, elected in 2015]. There is a lot of legislation that's been ruled out, and new laws being enforced. I think issues of heritage are just not at the top of their list.

DB: Adding to that, many of the government departments are now moving to Dodoma...

AM: Yes, it's a critical moment. We are hoping that it will ease the pressure of developers on the city centre, as everyone's attention will focus on Dodoma, where the government is setting up. We really don't know how it's going to translate for us. The government was quoted as saying, "The White House – which is another historical building – will be a museum!" So we might seriously take him up on that. If we use the angle of these historical buildings actually being open for people to visit, as a generator of revenue…

RL: Some of the government buildings are currently difficult to access.

AM: Right now, when we do tours, whenever you approach buildings that have government offices, you have to be really careful. Most of the time, you get a tap on your back: "What are you doing here? Why are you standing around? Why are you taking pictures?" I think a lot of visitors want to see the buildings and are not just satisfied with looking at them from outside: they want to actually walk in and see, because "is it true that there are underground tunnels?" So they can check for themselves some of the myths and the realities. And certainly for the architects as well, the actual composition of the buildings and the style of the architecture, you can't appreciate that glancing from the other side of the road. This is a really big challenge. I am hoping that with the move to Dodoma, a lot of these buildings literally will become vacant and we can begin to see how best we can get permission to actually enter the buildings and do proper tours inside.

The old and the new: A view of Kisutu
photo credit: Rachel Lee

COMMUNITY VOICES AND MUSEUMS IN BRAZILIAN *FAVELAS*

Erica de Abreu Gonçalves and Marcelo Lages Murta

During the 1970s, the elite and restricted academic institution of the museum was reimagined as an open and community-focused space. This shift was part of the social, cultural and political changes fostered by movements such as the civil rights struggles in the USA, the May 1968 protests in France, and decolonization, for example. In the museum sector this context is reflected in Duncan Cameron's ideas of museums standing as a forum (1971), as well as international debates which resulted in documents such as the Santiago de Chile Statement (1972), the Quebec Declaration (1984), the creation of Minom[1] (1985), the Caracas Declaration (1992), the Salvador de Bahia Charter (2007), and the latest UNESCO Recommendation (2015).

The Santiago Statement is particularly significant in Latin America, since it was focused on these countries' social problems, establishing the social role of museums as central in community development. In that sense, the museum is an institution that serves society. More recently, the Salvador de Bahia Charter, which was launched after the Iberoamerican Museums Meeting in 2007, revealed the shared expectations of these countries and shaped projects for the region nurturing participative processes, with a rebellious museology for human emancipation[2]. These concepts were supported in the field of 'social museology' or 'sociomuseology', developed within some universities, mainly in Brazil and Portugal[3] that led to new public policies in these countries. Rather than just teaching technical aspects of museums, such as conservation, restoration and documentation, sociomuseology intended to translate museological structures to better match contemporary society's needs and contexts. It is based on a multidisciplinary approach, focusing on the articulation of museology with social sciences, development studies, heritage and territorial planning, and includes researchers from many different academic backgrounds[4].

In Brazil, museums have only started to autonomously manage their policies in the last few decades. Like the public policies for culture, before 2002 they were characterized

Exhibition *O mundo de Januária*
Muquifu museum, Belo Horizonte, 2016
photo credit: Erica Abreu

Museu da Maré portal
Rio de Janeiro, 2016
photo credit: Erica Abreu

by being either "absent, authoritarian or unstable"[5] due to the authoritarianism of the dictatorship period, when there was no support to the cultural field, or instability, mainly associated, for example, with concessions to private and corporate sectors allowed by tax exemption programs during the 1990s[6]. After 2003, many cultural sectors, including museums, initiated the structuring of national policies with a participative element. Since 2009, a national institution has been dedicated to museums: the IBRAM (Brazilian Institute for Museums), which is attached to the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

One important platform under IBRAM's responsibility is the "Memory Spots" program. Memory is interpreted in a dynamic way – as a result of social interactions and taking into consideration the interests of diverse groups. The initiatives encouraged by the program value community protagonism and conceive museums as a form of active participation, which aim to improve quality of life, strengthen sense of belonging, promote tourism and local economy and contribute to reducing social inequalities and violence. This program has assisted numerous museum experiences in *favelas* [informal settlements], which became cases of how these communities' memories could re-signify problematic urban stigmas such as violence and trauma, taking their histories and experiences as a way to maintain their identities, support human rights, defend their rights to memory and to the city. The first twelve Memory Spots projects were selected as subjects for analysis and for network establishment[7] by an IBRAM commission in 2009. They could be taken as representative cases that have become symbols for Brazilian community museums. After that, IBRAM could arrange a program of public calls to finance this kind of community-based experience around the country.

The Spots usually figure as territory museums, such as the MUF – *Museu de Favela,* in Rio de Janeiro, where residents provide guided tours through 20 house murals that depict the history of people living there. They were painted by the local artist Acme, who is leading a team of graffiti artists to transform the whole *favela* into an open-air museum. According to statements[8], people were initially sceptical about opening up their lives and memories to the museum. Nowadays, they are lining up to have their stories recorded by researchers from the community and reproduced on the exterior walls, since their memories are sometimes disconnected from the official history of the city. This museum was made by the people in this community and belongs to them, having a particular importance to their identity and to the local social cohesion, gathering their stories, interests, and ideas and perceptions about the city. Many other cases around the country could be taken as examples of these community based experiences.

Muquifu – Museu de Quilombos e Favelas Urbanos
Since 2009, community museums have started to spread throughout the country, as evidenced by a particular case in the city of Belo Horizonte. Although it is not part of the Memory Spots program, it was inspired by projects such as MUF and *Museu da Maré[9]*. Situated in a *favela* in one of the biggest cities in Brazil, The Muquifu Museum serves as a good example of experiences around the country.

The city of Belo Horizonte was founded in 1897. As a planned city, it is based on a Cartesian grid, with large intersecting avenues and sectored, hierarchical districts for administrative buildings, commerce and residential neighborhoods. During the entire 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the desired urbanization failed and, although

Belo Horizonte has one of the highest development indexes in the country, the social gap is clearly revealed in the *favelas* around the city. Today, the population of the city has reached 2.5 million; more than 400,000 live in the *favelas*[10].

The Muquifu[11] – *Museu de Quilombos*[12] *e Favelas Urbanos* is located in one of these *favelas*, the so-called Morro do Papagaio*,* which has a population of around 16,000 people[13]. Surrounded by middle and upper class neighborhoods, the *favela* is under pressure from real estate speculation. Arguments in favour of the formal urban development of the area are gaining increasing support from the municipality, and the inhabitants of the *favela* are at risk of eviction. The museum adopts a bottom-up approach in its curatorial process, led by Father Mauro[14], a Catholic Priest who coordinates the museum and supports its initiatives tackling the issues and problems faced by the community. The museum tries to maintain a "listening sphere" through being open to the voices from the community and basing all the exhibitions on a selection of demands or wishes of the citizens.

Most of the women who live in the *favela* work as housekeepers [*domésticas*]. This kind of work derives from the slavery period, when landlords enslaved people as servants in their households. The enslaved people lived with the families they worked for – in small rooms without privacy or freedom and with a minimal standard of living. Even today, some of the middle class apartments are built with small rooms called "housekeeper rooms". Until very recently, these workers did not have recognized labor rights. It was only in the last decades that a law was finally established to regulate their rights[15]. The *Doméstica, da escravidão à extinção* [Housekeepers, from slavery to extinction] exhibition reproduced one of these rooms, reflecting the minimum legal standards for their measurements, and the exhibition was supported by the women from the surrounding neighborhoods who donated all the objects used to furnish the room. As a part of the installation, the walls of the room displayed statements from these women about their everyday lives and their relations with their employers. Every day, the room could be modified, as new objects and statements were left for the museum.

Another exhibition, *Pedro Pedreiro: tijolo com tijolo num desenho lógico* [Pedro the construction worker: brick by brick in a logical design], deals with workers from the construction sector. It is located in a room literally under construction as the museum is still being built. The dynamic of the construction workers' daily labor is displayed, alongside donated clothing, safety equipment and building materials. An audio-visual installation foregrounds the working routines and a critical discourse about the violence that occurs within this particular working sector is stated in the exhibition.

The *Mundo de Januária* [World of Januária] exhibition was conceived after Dona Maria Januária, who has lived in the *favela* for the last 60 years, asked to donate "her things" to the museum, so that they could be preserved and exhibited. Her personal belongings, offered to the museum, consist of six objects: a poster of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a watch, a couscous pan*,* a set of trade scales, a crucifix and a lamp. Each object and its accompanying story corresponds to one phase of her life, and is strictly connected to the history of the community and the city, bringing topics and reflections about migration, gentrification, intolerance, racism, and many other aspects about urbanization and goals for public policies in the city.

Overview of the main exhibition hall
Muquifu museum, Belo Horizonte, 2016
photo credit: Erica Abreu

Museu da Maré walls
Rio de Janeiro
photo credit: Erica Abreu

Conclusions

These community museums emerged not only as a way to collect, display, educate and research, but also as an approach to tackling specific problems, adopting specific strategies adapted to specific contexts. The *favelas* experience their own urban problems and museums are, among other things, a way of making these difficulties visible to the public powers and to surrounding neighborhoods and visitors, highlighting them as part of the city. Developing public policies founded on those experiences would foster the right to memory based on dialogue and participation, assuring that women, indigenous people, black people, people from *quilombos*, people from diverse religions, popular urban and rural culture, independent artists, LGBTQI communities and many others have their social, cultural and human rights recognized.

The Memory Spots are an example of how social museology has had an impact in Brazil and these particular territories of the cities. They are still growing in number and importance and hopefully the museums will continue to be used and re-signified in order to present and amplify excluded, invisible and forgotten voices.

The purpose of these approaches is not to neglect and delegitimize traditional museums with their collections and methods, as they have an undeniable role in preserving history, culture and promoting education and research. The challenge to the museum sector is to stimulate the development of diverse kinds of museums and support community-based experiences by integrating these new perspectives into traditional museums. This would enable them to fulfil their required social role as set out in the latest UNESCO recommendation and other international documents: to serve people in all their voices[16]. As Muquifu curator Father Mauro pointed out during a visit to the Muquifu: "All stories have their importance" and some of them help the museum to describe the path of the greatest number of people, reinforcing their identity and sense of belonging and ultimately re-signifying the *favelas* as an important part of the city.

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1   International Movement for a New Museology – organization affiliated to ICOM.

2   The ideas here expressed as "human emancipation" are based on works such as the ones publicized by Paulo Freire – especially "Pedagogy of the oppressed" (1968). His ideas are briefly shaped around the transformation of people into subjects, rather than objects. Paulo Freire used to work in Chile in the 60s and inspired Hugues de Varine, who was Director of ICOM during the Santiago Roundtable (Alves & Reis, 2013). The Santiago Roundtable focused the social role of the museums, which could foster awareness and transformation for all society. We considered also a gathering of Freire's ideas with recent works of Jacques Rancière, mainly inspired by his book The Emancipated Spectator.

3   The Lusófona University, in Portugal, is the first institution to have a specific research focus on 'Sociomuseology'. Since 1993 it has developed research with a regular publication of articles in the Revista de Sociomuseologia. In Brazil, the same research line is followed by research mainly based in the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Unirio).

4   Communications, History, Arts, Management, Social Sciences, Education, Architecture and Engineering are some of the academic backgrounds of the scholars and professors in Lusófona University, in Lisbon, which has a specific Sociomuseology Research Center.

5   Based on the article published by Albino Rubim: Políticas Culturais do governo Lula/Gil: desafios e enfrentamentos. In: Revista Brasileira de Ciências da Comunicação. São Paulo, 2008. p. 183-203.

6   Lei nº 8.313 de 23 de dezembro de 1991 – so called "Lei de incentivo à Cultura", or "Culture incentive law". After its implementation, a large part of the public policies for culture in Brazil were based on its management, in a concession to private sector interests based on tax exemption programs.

7   The Memory Spots methodology is presented in an evaluation document published by Ibram and Ibero-American States Organization in 2016: "Memory Spots: Methodology and Practices in Social Museology". The stages of implementation are displayed in six chapters: "Community Awareness and Composition of Decision Entity", "Museum Actions", "Participative Inventory", "Diffusion Products", Memory Webs" and "Evaluation", with an analysis of each of the twelve selected experiences. The fifth chapter shows the network development, which fosters the interchange and meetings among the Spots, with the support of Ibram.

8   Statements from two research visits carried out by the authors in December of 2016.

9   Museu da Maré is one of the most famous community museums in Brazil. Information about this experience can be accessed in the official website of the institution: www.museudamare.org.br

10   Based on Libanio (2016) and data from the Brazilian Institute of Statistics – IBGE and Municipality of Belo Horizonte.

11   The word muquifu in informal Portuguese means "a house considered very small, modest and dirty". In contrast, it expresses a kind of affection when referred to by those to whom the space belongs.

12   Quilombos were communities of ex-slaves and fugitive slaves, mainly black and indigenous people, during the Latin-American slavery period that began with colonization in the 16th century. Brazil was the last country in America to abolish slavery, in 1888. Nowadays, the Quilombos are understood as these remaining communities, mostly located in rural and peripheral areas.

13   Data from Municipality of Belo Horizonte mentioned by Pereira, 2012.

14   Father Mauro Luiz da Silva, Director of MUQUIFU Museum and Priest in the Parish "Nossa Senhora do Morro" until 2017.

15   The current law concerning domestic work is Lei Complementar n. 150, from 1 June 2015.

16   The 2015 Unesco Recommendation establishes the social role of the museums in its paragraphs 16, 17 and 18, highlighting the need to "address all of society" and its role in "social integration and cohesion".

TELL ME ABOUT "YOUR HERITAGE"

Oral history as a tool to raise awareness of built heritage
and to rethink architecture

Vittoria Capresi

How can people's memories contribute to our understanding of the built environment? How can narratives about spaces shed new light on the mechanisms that govern architecture and buildings?

The interpretation of architecture is linked to the direct explanation of material space. The built landscape is usually analysed through the forms of and spatial relationships between individual buildings. The functions of the buildings and the spaces around them provide further information, which can be used to better understand the interactions between the constructions themselves.

What happens if – as an additional level of interpretation – we add the narratives and stories of the inhabitants? What new insights can the analysis of oral histories of a built space offer us? Can shifting our perspective from an academic narration of a site to a personal, emotional one raise awareness about and expand our understanding of built heritage?

In this paper, I would like to explore how architects can relate to oral histories, by including in the analysis of architecture the perspective of the inhabitants and their interactions with the built environment. There are two aspects of the link between architecture and narratives that I would like to explore: firstly, the possibility of raising awareness about built heritage, and secondly, using personal narratives to explore the discrepancy between how buildings were initially presented and how they were actually used. These goals are not antagonistic, but are simply two steps of the same process. In this paper, I will focus on my research on architectural heritage in Downtown Cairo, Egypt, and on Italian colonial architecture in Libya.

In Downtown Cairo, the process of collecting narratives was crucial to the research project. In fact, sharing stories, and sharing a common passion for architecture *was* the

Talat Harb Square,
Downtown Cairo, 2012
photo credit: baladilab

Students and residents sitting outside the coffee shop for the
Take a coffee with your heritage! project, 2013
photo credit: baladilab

project's goal. In this sense, the process was the aim: talking about architecture and heritage to become aware of its value.

Downtown Cairo was planned and built between the late 19th century and mid-20th century by European and Egyptian architects, following the Parisian system of straight streets and roundabouts, with a style that referred to European, Ottoman and local architecture. The building up of the Downtown district was a lengthy process, one that is still ongoing today. The villas that initially defined the area were gradually demolished, giving way to higher apartment buildings, increasing both the density of the buildings and of the population. The change in typology was reflected in a shift in style: from a neo-classical repertoire to a more linear and plain rationalist design by the end of the 1930s. Today, the area is characterised by a clear system of streets and squares, embraced by a varied ensemble of buildings with different styles and facades. Downtown Cairo is the heart of the megacity, with small shops, offices, apartments, cafés and restaurants in a complex social, religious and functional balance. A few years ago, the process of gentrification began: several buildings started being restored, and regular arts events started to take place, as a new wind brought change to this district.[1] Still, because of a regularised rental system dating back to the 1950s, a general lack of maintenance rules, and unclear ownership of some buildings, many spots are neglected and numerous demolitions are still taking place.

The series of projects we started in Downtown Cairo were focused on involving the inhabitants in the process of redefining the link between people and architecture by exploring their personal attachments and relationships to the historical buildings.[2] To get in touch with the inhabitants, we chose a small coffee shop, an *Aqua* in Arabic, and made a deal with the owner: in exchange for a few upgrades (painting the walls, putting up a new sign, replacing the *shisha* pipes, etc.), he provided us with space for meetings and presentations to talk about architecture. This was the beginning of the *Take a coffee with your heritage!* project. The students of my "History of Architecture" seminar were involved and, during regular meetings, they presented their research on several little-known buildings of the area, asking the people about their memories of and personal links to them. The meetings usually ended with several groups gathered around the little coffee shop tables, where the regulars and interested passers-by spoke about their private homes, their buildings, and the surroundings. During these informal discussions, we explored the qualities, beauties, and hidden potentials of the area with the inhabitants.

To intensify the exchange between students and inhabitants, and in order to explore the architecture in more depth, we organised a two-week summer school, during which students from Egypt and Germany collected memories of the inhabitants and surveyed more than 50 houses in Downtown Cairo.[3] The book we produced after two years of additional research presents plans of the buildings and photographs of the flats for the first time, linking the stories of the people with those spaces through narratives based on oral histories. This is unique, because it gives a voyeuristic glimpse into buildings which until now were simply analysed as facades.[4]

We neither significantly edited the interview transcripts, nor added our own interpretations. By reading all the interviews, the reader gets a choral impression of life in

Downtown Cairo, "hearing" the voices of the squatters on the roofs, the 80-year-old, upper-class Italian man living alone in a 200 m^2 apartment, or the single female artist who had recently moved in. Downtown Cairo's society, in all its facets, is anonymously revealed.

As is often the case with community-based projects, sustainability was an issue: would it be possible to start a continuing study on the memories of the city, with an ongoing process of oral history collection? On the other hand, would such continuity make a difference? Interest in the project was probably sparked mainly by its limited duration and geographical boundaries, and our resources were limited. But still, even if only for a short time, the project aroused the interest of a number of inhabitants and students in Cairo's built heritage, and the participating inhabitants enjoyed contributing to a book about "their" Downtown, which has reached an international audience.

In the following I would like to briefly discuss the role of oral history as a tool to under-stand and delve more deeply into the symbolic meaning of architecture. The research I am currently carrying out for the MODSCAPES project focuses on the Italian colonial settlements in Libya built under Mussolini.[5] Constructed between 1934 and 1939, the 28 new settlements were designed to host Italian families, chosen by the regime to move to Libya and begin a new life there. Mussolini's propaganda message was that this would combat the problems of overpopulation and unemployment in Italy. In reality, it was intended as a way to definitively occupy and control Libyan land, and to avoid socialist gatherings and political instability in Italy. Around 40,000 people were brought to the coasts of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and accommodated in small farmhouses on plots that each family had to cultivate.[6] While the farmhouses were scattered all over the land, administrative, political and religious needs were catered for in a core of ad-ministrative buildings. This was planned as a logistics centre in the middle of a defined area, and included a church and school, as well as offices for managing the colony and the municipality.

The first four experimental settlements were built in Cyrenaica, but it was with the first wave of mass colonisation that the project acquired a definitive drive. In 1938, 20,000 people (the "*Armata dei Ventimila*") were brought from Italy to Tripoli after a long trip around Italy by train and boat, during which all the emigrant families were collected. To provide new homes for these families, eleven new settlements were built from scratch by both famous and lesser-known Italian architects.[7] The settlements were photo-graphed while still uninhabited, shortly after their completion, and before the arrival of the settlers. Those images were published in the fascist regime's books and newspa-pers of that time, showing a "dreamy" architecture, in an otherwise empty landscape. The regime press used only a few more pictures to cover the beginning of the mass colonisation, and in most of them the people were absent, or perfectly staged.[8]

In 1939, a second wave of families arrived in Libya, this time with a less ostentatious cere-mony, and one year later Italy entered the Second World War. After that, no more pictures were published by the press, and the public quickly forgot the settlements. After the end of the Italian colonisation in 1947 and the British protectorate of Cyrenaica and Tripolita-nia, in 1951 Libya was declared independent and many families started returning to Italy. Following the 1969-1970 coup by Gaddafi, all Italians were forced to leave the country.

Gioda settlement, today al-Krarim, Tripolitania,
Libya, 1938
image credit: Libia, n.1, Gennaio 1942, p.21

What happened to these families? What was the process of "going back" to an un-known mother country like? And while in Libya, how did Italians experience the fascist regime in their motherland, the Second World War, the post-War period, and Libya gaining its independence? How did the Libyan families working with the Italians experience the occupation? How close was the interaction between them?

This chapter of Italian and Libyan history is still considered quite a complex political matter: the relations between Libya and Italy were, and still are, driven by a mutual, consensual silence. Little attention is given to the colonisation period, the gas camps used to "pacify" the country in the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, and to the Italian refugee families returning in 1970s to their own unfamiliar homeland.[9] Furthermore, the work of the Italians is, in the Italian public's mind, still considered as "pure", free of political connotations, and meant to bring the colonised country to a more sophisticated stage of development.[10]

In this context, the narratives of the people who lived through those events could be invaluable as a source of information to better understand and totally rethink this historical moment. Still, as an architect, the research I am working on is mainly focused on the memories related to the places and the buildings, on the architecture of this colonial time. However, when talking about the physical links to the distinct spaces of the house and garden, the daily activities of the Libyan and Italian families, the Sunday visits to the church, and the Friday prayers, information is emerging that relates not only to the architecture. I am now in the process of collecting narratives and stories about the settlements, including private pictures, letters and diaries of that time. All these memories bring precious additional information about this particular society to light, contributing to a more vivid picture of the colonial and post-colonial period for the Italian and Libyan families involved. Moreover, it generates a deeper understanding of the effects of architecture and town planning on people's lives and their long-term perception of place.

1   The Al-Ismaelia for Real Estate Investment owns several buildings, and they are now taking care of restoring them in a conservative way. The D-Caf Art Festival takes place annually in Downtown Cairo, bringing artists from all over the world to temporarily re-use empty buildings, squares and neglected spaces. The D-Caf is sponsored by the Al-Ismaelia for Real Estate Investment, which is aware of the key role of artists and intellectuals in reviving the area.

2   All the projects which took place in Downtown Cairo from 2012 until 2014 were conceived and carried out by Barbara Pampe and myself, under the label *baladilab*, an architecture hub spin-off of the German University in Cairo, where both of us were teaching. For all the Downtown projects see www.baladilab.com (last visit 6.4.2017)

3   "A visible City. The Tangible and Intangible Heritage of Downtown Cairo", 2013, fully financed by the German Academic Exchange Service – DAAD.

4   Capresi, V., Pampe, B. (eds.), *Discovering Downtown Cairo. Architecture and Stories*, Berlin: Jovis 2015.

5   Modernist Reinventions of the Rural Landscape – MODSCAPES explores rural landscapes produced by large-scale agricultural development and colonisation schemes planned in the 20th century. It is funded by the EU through the HERA programme. www.modscapes.eu

6   For a detailed description of the colonisation and an in-depth analysis of the rural settlements see: Capresi, V., *The built Utopia. The Italian Centres founded in Colonial Libya (1934-1940)*, Bologna: BUP 2010.

7   Florestano Di Fausto was probably the most well-known architect of the settlements. As private architects or as members of the technical office for planning, Umberto Di Segni, Giovanni Pellegrini, Alfredo Longarini, and Mario Romano also worked on the projects. See: Capresi 2010.

8   Massaretti, P.G., "The Spectacle of the "Twenty Thousand". The tragic Epic of Italian Colonialism in the demographic colonisation Villages of Libya", in: Godoli, E., *The presence of Italian Architects in Mediterranean Countries*, Proceedings of the First International Conference, Alexandria, November 15th-16th 2007, 52-65, Firenze: m&m 2008.

9   There are several recent books talking about these events in a critical and scientific way. See the work of Angelo Del Boca; Salerno, E., *Genocidio in Libia*, 2005 and *Uccideteli Tutti: Libia 1943*, 2008 on the Jewish detention camp, and Pugliese, J. (ed.), *Trans-Mediterranean*. Brussels: 2010. Still, public opinion in Italy views the colonial traces on the Libyan territory as a gift Italy gave to Libya.

10   An exhibition in Bologna in November 2016 curated by the AIRL – Associazione Italiani Rimpatriati dalla Libia (Association of the Italians Repatriated from Libya) was uncritically titled: „Gli Italiani in Libia. Il contributo allo sviluppo del paese" ("The Italians in Libya. The Contribution to the Development of the Country"), and had the patronage of the Municipality of Bologna. See also: Del Monte, S., *Staging Memory: Myth, Symbolism and Identity in Postcolonial Italy and Libya*, Frankfurt am Main: 2015.

DALADALA
DIARIES

Rehema Chachage

Daladala Diaries springs from archival sound recordings that I have collected over the years during travels on our local and, what was for the longest time, most common mode of transportation: *daladalas*. They are a not exactly systematic public bus system, available all over Tanzania. *Daladalas* are becoming rarer, due to the introduction of the new and preferred high-speed buses in Dar, and the use of other, more private and convenient modes of transportation. During my time as a resident artist at ZK/U, I spent a lot of time, developed an interest in, and recorded some video and sound footage in Berlin's trains and stations. I decided to borrow from my *daladala* archive and use some of these sounds to contrast the two universes. I was interested in the narrative that could be formed when the visuals of a 'proper', neat and organized public transport system in Berlin is juxtaposed with the loud and chaotic nature of sounds from the *daladalas* and the city of Dar es Salaam, as heard from inside the *daladalas*.

In my work, I have a huge interest in everyday rituals: real or imagined gestures, interactions, repetitive experiences. Traveling long hours in a *daladala* in the Dar es Salaam traffic, there is always enough time to people watch and observe a lot of these gestures, behaviors, and (non-)interactions. But traveling on the U-Bahn or S-Bahn in Berlin, it hardly takes any time to get to where you are going. I had to make the

video very slow, to give that illusion of the prolonged Bahn ride like a *daladala* stuck in a jam, that gives room for these kinds of observations. When making the video, I was also reminded of an article I read on the All Africa website by Katharina Stein, which explains in detail her struggles and enjoyments with Tanzanian *daladalas*, while making comparisons with the German transport system. I thought it interesting to combine my representation and narrative of Berlin's public train system, which is told (and filmed) from a foreigner's point of view, with this narrative of a foreigner's experience in Tanzania with *daladalas*: a foreigner telling a foreign(er) story. Both are strange and interesting, because… who has the right to tell what story?

Stills from *Daladala Diaries*,
Berlin, 2016 (above and right)

Daladala Diaries, process. The artist experiencing Berlin's
public transportation system (overleaf)
photo credits: Rehema Chachage

HOW TO MAP COEXISTENCE IN AN URBAN LANDSCAPE?

An alternative guide to the city of Copenhagen

Maj Horn and Signe Rom

Maps for Copenhagen grew out of a project of the same name (2012-2015) aimed at investigating the sense of belonging and the function of public spaces for recent immigrants. How do you start to interact with a new city across barriers such as language, cultural background and economic status? The project was initiated by artists Signe Rom and Maj Horn, at the Trampoline House in Copenhagen.

Since 2012, we have been engaged at the Trampoline House, a social haven and cultural hub in Copenhagen for asylum seekers, migrants and everyone else. There, we gathered knowledge about the city together with the users of the house. Most of them were somewhere in the midst of a complex process of seeking asylum, therefore representing a particularly vulnerable and relevant layer of society at odds with itself. Dialogues and collective mappings were central tools. In December 2014, we completed the first guidebook to Copenhagen, in Danish, English and Arabic, representing the knowledge, advice, and shared experiences that emerged through these activities. *Maps for Copenhagen* contains ten thematic chapters, each with a city map made by different artists. The chapters answer fundamental questions: "Where can I go to hear some good music?", "Where can I go to meet new friends?" and "Where can I go with my children?" Other themes included were green areas and places with the most sunshine.

The project was guided by crucial considerations: What does the city of Copenhagen look like to someone who has just arrived? How do you start to understand this new place – the social codes and the shortcuts? How do you start to turn the city into your city? And how do you use the city without much money in your pocket?

The project was in many ways a reaction to the policies of the Danish asylum system in recent years. Undocumented migrants are usually placed in camps away from the city, as if the State actively wished to prevent them from interacting with Danish society

Places to go for cheap groceries
photo credit: Maj Horn, map by Paula Bulling

while their cases are being processed – which can take years. So how can people, in spite of this framework, start to connect with the city and the life that is possible there? Copenhagen requires certain economic resources to participate in its public and social life, and just reaching the city without spending money is impossible. Our experience in Copenhagen is that people get here anyway, because going to the city represents the vital possibility of social life and time away from the camps. In the light of this situation, an important priority for the guide was directing readers to places that are essentially either very cheap, or free.

Working with maps made us reconsider how we visualise places and represent the overall geography of the city. Not everyone is used to finding his or her way using a bird's-eye-view map, so we discussed extensively what tools could be used to communicate directions or geographical information. Would it be useful, for instance, to use colour to represent different parts of the city? Or to translate the meaning of place names into Arabic? Artistic contributions to the guidebook show many interesting examples of alternative mapping systems. For instance, Nermin Durakovíc illustrated the map for "Where to meet new friends", by creating graphic replicas of the facades of the suggested buildings. Using direct visual recognition of what a pedestrian sees, instead of a traditional map where things are abstractly represented from above and afar, seemed a first step towards "translating the city". In a sense, we consider the book to be an exercise in the "hacking" of public space, as it deals with finding loopholes to facilitate use of the city. "Hacking" around obstacles that could easily become shut doors (money, language and social knowledge). *Maps for Copenhagen* engages with the need for alternative economic and social models, at a participatory, self-started level. With it we hope to advance the current dialogue about coexistence in the multi-layered contemporary urban landscape of arrival cities such as Copenhagen.

Maps for Copenhagen can also be seen as a current image of the city, from a different perspective: investigating its physical form as well as the social and structural conditions defining access to opportunities at the time of our investigation (2012-2015). In that way, we are taking part in the discussion about the urban heritage of the city – discussing how new traditions and minority cultures begin to become part of the city.

The books are distributed free of charge at Trampoline House and are available at selected bookshops, sold at production price. The guidebook can also be downloaded from the webpage: *www.mapsforcopenhagen.com*

Knowledge collectors: Rana, Eco, Shams, Shukri, Mohammed, Ahmed, Fira Oll, Bhsap, Serdar, Birte, Modar, Nidal, Adeel, Noura, Emad, Ismail, Lina, Mohammed, Ana Paula, Jana, Deá, Nina, Emmanuel, Aabdarrahim, Nora, Nicoline, Afro, Raz, Lucien, Naraki, Asif, Kristian, Reema, Natasha, John, Benben and Omi
Artworks: Bonnie Fortune, Sara Grønborg, Vladimir Tomic, Parul Modha, Søren Assenholt, Paula Bulling, Maj Horn, Nickolas Theilgaard, Annette Skov, Nermin Durakovic, Emma Smith and Lucia Merlo
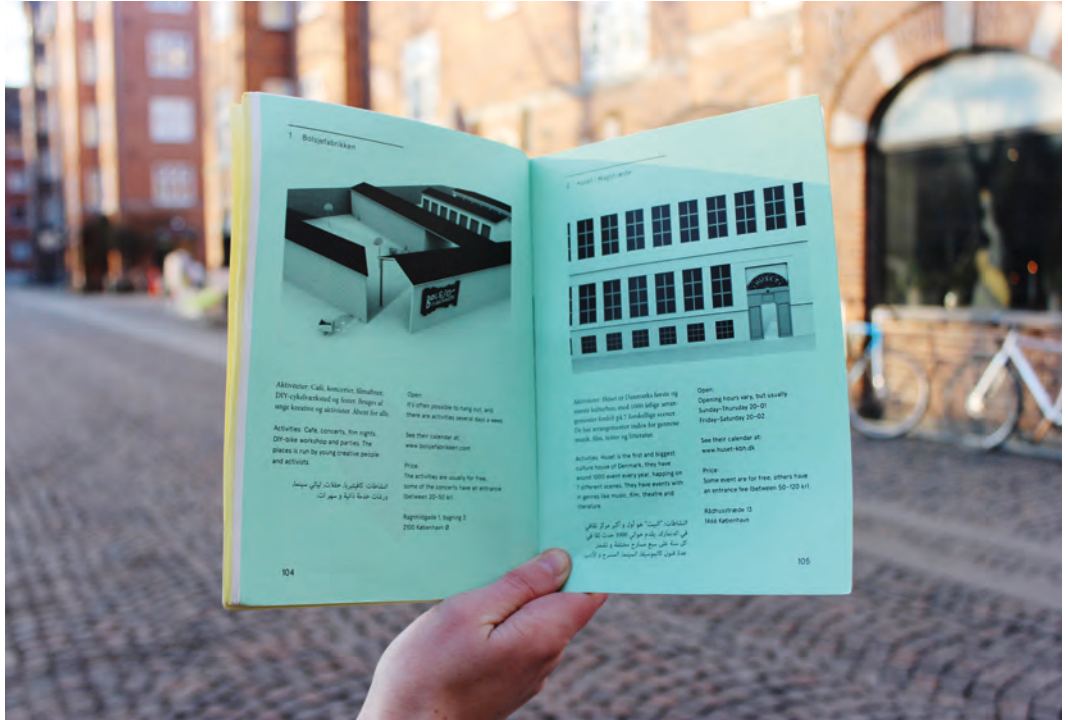**Translators:** Ali Ali, Shams Hashim Alfadal, Signe Rom, Natasha Hogan
Graphic design: Eller med a.
Economic funding: Nørrebro Lokaludvalg, Interkulturelt Center (IKC), BUPL and Grosserer L. F. Foghts Foundation.

Social contexts and places to meet new friends

photo credit: Maj Horn, map by Nermin Durakovic

Squares and places with the most sunshine

photo credit: Maj Horn, map by Sara Grønborg

STORIES. A THIRD TRACK IN THE HERITAGE DISCOURSE

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper and Anne-Katrin Fenk

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper: "'from below' is rather misleading because it tries to just turn the thing around within the usual hierarchies of top and bottom, pretending that the story stood on its head and had to be put on its feet…"

photo credit: Alexander Römer

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper is an art and architectural historian and professor of historical conservation at TU Berlin. She is co-founder and speaker of the research training group "Identity and Heritage" at TU Berlin and Bauhaus University Weimar. From 1988 to 2002 she was curator at the Historical Monuments Office in Berlin, and she was also a member of the Council of Europe's expert group that designed the "Convention of the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society," also known as the Faro Convention.

Anne-Katrin Fenk: During this research project we put an important focus on collecting and researching urban narratives. The stories we collected in Dar es Salaam, as well as in Berlin – some trivial and light, others dense and dark – were so diverse and multilayered that we had to repeatedly learn – through them – to develop a new perspective on urban history and also on recorded heritage. We often posed the question: What role does the narrative assume in the contemporary heritage discourse?

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper: In order to answer this question we first of all have to think about the relation between the narrative and the concept of heritage. The concept of heritage, in contrast to the concept of monument, does not act on the assumption that there is an object with various formal characteristics. Instead, it assumes that there are people who relate to objects in various ways. These relations will be time bound and thus may be limited in time. People may claim or just take up something that is from the past and transport and translate it into their present, or they may adopt it through reinterpretation. But we shouldn't forget that the concept of heritage still includes the commonplace practice of the legacy that is meant to bind the heirs to the matter in terms of the meaning of things and places. Nor should we ignore the signs and intentional monuments that were put up by people who had the power to do so and which were meant to last into the future. We could call this heritage with a mandate. So those intentions from the past need to be considered at all times. If we now add the narrative – the story – which may tell the story of a past event, but is, as we know always constructed in the course of the storytelling, then the relation of time, matter and space becomes more complex. It is a complicated game.

A-KF: Hidden in the mandate is the question of the context and the occasion of the storytelling. So the question arises as to who and what create a historical

position, and whether an alternative narrative – a narrative "from below" – of the negotiated history is possible at all.

GD-B: In my opinion, this idea of "from below" is rather misleading because it tries to just turn the thing around within the usual hierarchies of top and bottom, pretending that the story stood on its head and had to be put on its feet. For me, this is too mechanical and too simplistic. This is why I believe that, if we could do without this expression "from below", there would be more clarity and there would not always be the feeling that we are speaking exclusively about a process of emancipation. First, one ought to ask the most important question: Who has the floor to tell a story and who is empowered or can be empowered to recognize that they have a story to tell? This question is essential at the grassroots of society, where people potentially do not know at all whether they have a story to tell because no one has ever asked them. In a manner of speaking, this is the initial spark for potential narrators to realize that they might have something to tell.

A-KF: That means it requires an occasion and support?

GD-B: Yes, above all it requires support, for the desire to tell needs to be encouraged. But the recording and passing on of narratives in the city also require people who know how to do just that. The process also requires storytelling expertise. If we connect a monument with its formal characteristics and historical meanings to its heritage status in society, and to the available narratives and stories, we will, in my opinion, create a particularly valuable framework to evaluate heritage and place. All three aspects do not always have to be present, but when they are these

monuments become the bright centers of a city. The narratives will, indeed, be a third track of the discourse.

A-KF: Does this mean we have to learn a different style of recording?

GD-B: If one starts to see the constant recording of everything that happens or the retrospective recording of everything that has ever been as a model for insuring against forgetting, as in Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, one at least approaches the reason for the notation. Reading Proust for the first time I focused on this matter intensely because I personally know this fear of losing important memories of my home landscapes. I thought about how I could prevent myself from ever forgetting. This is an example of an individually constructed record aimed against forgetting. To apply this to the collective and say that everything – without selection – should be constantly written down so that nothing is lost, would lead to total chaos.

A-KF: And then later on people would have to do research on all these recordings?

GD-B: Yes, in order to recognize the models and the topoi of the narratives that have been used and to decode the dominances in the narrators' subtexts. We always have to consider the full range of matters of fact and individual matters of concern, because everything that is told is construed in the time of narration. Narrations maybe fractional, partial, evasive, and not every narrative is true. The counter-narrative is not a better truth than the dominant narrative either. Once you start collecting other stories you enter a field of people who are not used to telling stories. So I also believe that this desire for poetic justice

that one likes to entertain and where one imagines the narratives fighting in space and meeting and raising each other to more or less meaning is a fantasy. I can understand this very well, but if you imagine the process of narration and counter-narration this is a typical construct of intellectuals.

A-KF: How to continue?

GD-B: Definitely not by not continuing. One has to collect the narratives but become aware of the fact that one is a collector of narratives. Like Trojanow with his book *Collector of Worlds*. And when I travel and visit places that I have never been to before and see something, discover things, and people tell me their stories, then I am some kind of catalyst. And possibly the people that I meet have never recounted the story in that way before and maybe no one has crossed this area like I have and written about it later. I am in this case the leading figure and have to face my responsibilities. And if I do not reflect myself, well then I may produce text with literary value but from a research perspective it is not sincere.

A-KF: What is interesting is that the narrative as a research methodology is very prevalent in the post-colonial discourse. Yet, the constant question remains how the discourse could and should be conducted because the challenges connected to defining heritage, building culture and urban history are of a different nature in different cultural contexts.

GD-B: This is the key question, working in a different culture and cultural context. Of course it is possible to translate a traditional approach, such as the one used by a French colleague, who occasionally runs seminars on

cataloguing monuments in Mali and Congo, into a different culture, even if dealing with architecture and history there is still unfamiliar. Of course this is still a colonial approach, employing the best, most friendly and most qualified intentions that one can imagine. Yet, what happens is that the user of the method himself learns something. He learns which different concepts of time and space are brought into the process. Frequently, this is experienced as a kind of disruption in the beginning. Yet, unbelievable intellectual adventures can happen here.

A-KF: So where do you see your starting point as an expert when you travel in different cultures that are still foreign to you?

GD-B: I am an art and architectural historian, and as a monuments conservator I of course also keep that question in mind. All I can do is verbalize and observe, and maybe evaluate and communicate. This is my starting point. If I go to a foreign country it is highly unlikely that I will meet people who are just like me. So I have to deal with people who have expertise in entirely different things and who possibly don't care at all if a building is baroque or historical or at which stage of the colonial history it was created, while I take joy from these things and want to know the facts. But it is not superfluous knowledge.

A-KF: So it is about accepting meaningful knowledge, which varies according to perspective, and also about the necessity of decoding this knowledge culturally in order to make it visible and thus applicable?

GD-B: Yes, it is about exploring which bodies of knowledge can be combined with other bodies of knowledge in such

a way that it does not result in a counter-program to an observation limited to a city's architectural history, but results instead in an integrated program that allows for architectural history and narratives to be combined. And for this complex structure of all the expertise brought in by locals and non-locals to be retained. The verbal combined with the visual is the method to create public interest in the site of action.

A-KF: You are basically describing the best method for behavior towards cities. Of course you also have to be lucky in the way that the site of action is not subject to other interests.

GD-B: Right, if possible, you constantly have to cross-reference this complex knowledge with the current constellations of stakeholders. Otherwise it happens that what you have worked on so beautifully and committedly is gone the day after tomorrow because you have interrupted someone's commercial interests. And the best method to prevent people like you and me from disturbing local interest, is to remove the object, because you can't rebuild it.

A-KF: This leads us back to what you pointed out in the beginning – the main thing is the encounter and it should not be about seeing the "Other" as a further resource for research. With regard to Berlin, one currently has to wonder if we are under the misconception that the negotiations on urban history are complete? It is palpable that the discourse on heritage in the 90s struck a more artistic and progressive note. Are affairs more stable today or do we have more time to act on the various stories and urban histories than after the fall of the Wall?

GD-B: I know what you mean. During the 90s I was a monuments conservator in Berlin. Back then I dealt intensively with many disputed sites of which there were plenty in East and West Berlin. My first case was the competition for the design of a memorial site on the Berlin Wall at Bernauer Strasse. This is where I met Esther Shalev Gerz and Jochen Gerz and started to develop a keen interest in memorial art. At that time I was able to monitor closely what was happening, starting with *Topographie des Terrors* to the *Table and Chairs Memorial* at Koppenplatz (*Der verlassene Raum*, Karl Biedermann, 1996) and the *Underground Library* on the Bebelplatz (Micha Ullmann, 1994). These were incredibly exciting times for those who wanted to engage with the role of art in society because suddenly monuments became important.

A-KF: This means there are time frames in which monuments and historical sites in cities reach another, broader meaning in society?

GD-B: Yes, back then there was a need for social discourse on events relevant to the city's history, the need for critical self-affirmation in confrontation with the mostly very unpleasant past. This is different today. If you discover the desire to look closely, like back then in the 1990s, the research and work in memorial art, especially on unpleasant events of the city's history, made us come out stronger, not weaker. The more fiercely you argue with people, with people who want something else, don't want it at all, want a different form or sculptures, memorial landscapes, something soothing or something exciting, lurid or terrifying, the more deeply this heritage will be accepted by society. All this is what mobilizes you at the core for or against a particular project. Back then,

an incredible amount of intellectual and artistic energy was drawn to Berlin.

A-KF: Well, how can the excitement of the early post-reunification years be brought back?

GD-B: Not at all. The lines of conflict are elsewhere today. If one did, however, do research on these processes from the early 1990s, we in Berlin would have plenty of new material for conflict. That is in the case that one would want to address this. But we are not there yet.

A-KF: In closing, I have to ask once more in retrospect: What heritage is actually negotiable? Are we aware of the fact that at a certain point in time only one particular heritage and so only one specific narrative is revealed and made apparent, while another, possibly politically not conformable, but important, heritage remains undiscussed?

GD-B: Time and time again there are dramatic events – not all in Berlin! – that carry a different quality of collective meaning. One good and striking example here is the memorial art installation *Those who were slain in the dark alleys* by the Awami Art Collective from Lahore. The sculpture, consisting of numerous buntings, which are actually designed for positive celebrations and which carry the names of the people who died through terrorism in their own country, is, despite the formal hints, not clearly recognizable as a controversial memorial from a distance. What made it possible, however, to put this very political piece into practice was, in my opinion, the fact that mourning is indeed unavoidable and collective. It is so powerful that even entities that are not sympathetic to art or usually commemoratively supportive and would strongly suppress such emancipatory and man-ifest-like performances, cannot refuse them. This is understandable since mourning is such a basic human need. Mourning is not resistance but mourning is potentially refractory. Thus, the installation becomes an act of emancipation and construes a different mark in the city, which isn't entirely absorbable by one urban ideology. Will it become a future heritage in Lahore? Will the temporary monument still matter? Or the place? Or the narrative? We shall have to wait and see.

COMMUNICATING UNWANTED HERITAGE?

The case of the Technical City Hall in Frankfurt am Main

Monika Motylinska

The word *Zweifel* [doubt] – in giant block capital letters, with fluorescent lighting – was installed by Lars Ramberg in 2005 on the edge of the roof of the Palace of the Republic in Berlin. With this installation the artist pointed to the controversies surrounding the German Democratic Republic's architectural monument that had lost its function after the reunification of Germany and was eventually demolished in 2008.[1]

This is one of many examples fitting the topic of artistic approaches and curating urban heritage. However, looking for an answer about the role of artists in the process of communicating the unwanted heritage of a controversial period, I aim to focus not on the much-commented-on work by Lars Ramberg, but on two lesser-known artistic interventions against the demolition of the City Hall in Frankfurt am Main. It is not an overstatement to say that the City Hall was one of the most hated buildings of the post World War II era in Germany. So why would anyone protest against its demolition? Were these protests the desperate reaction of a misunderstood minority? Were they empty gestures, with no chance of succeeding? Did they have any influence on the public discourse at all?

These interventions were not isolated artistic voices, but a fragment of a larger debate about the city centre in Frankfurt. Therefore, the first part of this essay is dedicated to the controversies concerning the City Hall and the Old Town in Frankfurt. This is followed by an analysis of a video by Franken/Architekten and a series of exhibitions by Sarah Bonnert. The debates on the City Hall were investigated in one of the case studies in my doctoral thesis on handling postwar heritage in Germany. I have applied a discourse analytical approach and analysed how the experts' discourses and the public discourses are intertwined.[2]

To clarify, the term "City Hall" used here refers to the *Technisches Rathaus* [technical city hall]. In German, this term describes a building in which diverse planning departments

City Hall, Frankfurt 2007

 Sarah Bonnert, *Das verschwindende Zeichen*
[The Disappearing Sign], 2011
photo credit: Sarah Bonnert

of the city council have their seats. This spatial extension of a city hall, usually in a sep-
arate building, was an invention of the post-war period. The actual city hall in Frankfurt
am Main that accommodates the city council and the mayor is situated on the oppo-
site side of the market to the building in question, in a structure from the 15th century,
reconstructed after World War II.

Technisches Rathaus – a brief historical outline

Frankfurt's *Technisches Rathaus* was a highly controversial project from the very begin-
ning. Associated with top-down town planning, it was rejected before it was built (1970-
1972), as the first citizens' initiatives began protesting against it in 1969. They managed
to collect over 20,000 signatures against the project. Their main argument was that the
original design by Wolfgang Bartsch, Anselm Thürwächter and Hans H. Weber, which
had won the architectural competition in 1962, had been substantially altered. It is worth
noting that the three young architects from Frankfurt received considerable professional
acclaim, winning against entries from such names as Hans Scharoun, Ernst May, Can-
dilis-Josic-Woods and Walter Gropius.[3] For the finished project they won the Hessian
Architectural Association [*Architektenkammer Hessen*] and Ministry of Finance award.
Nevertheless, public opinion in Frankfurt was not convinced, one reason being dis-
approval of the wilful decisions of Hans Kampffmeyer, a councillor for building and
construction, who considerably shaped the city between the late 1950s and mid-1970s.
The other factor was that many citizens were in favour of a large-scale reconstruction
of the Old Town, which had suffered vast bomb damage in World War II. For decades,
the local press consistently maintained a negative attitude towards the City Hall. By
the 1990s, demolition was being considered. Due to a lack of proper maintenance
and repair the building looked dilapidated, and rumours about asbestos contamination
repeatedly circulated.[4]

While the future of the City Hall remained uncertain, an architectural competition for the
area between the market and the cathedral was held, one of the requirements being
that buildings should be divided into small sections. Most of the contributors interpret-
ed this as an oblique request for a "historical" reconstruction. Finally, the City Hall was
demolished in 2010, in order to make way for the "rebuilding" of the former parts of
Frankfurt's Old Town. No one protested against it, other than a few artists, architects
and architectural historians.

What was probably decisive in this case was the fact that the City Hall was out of
favour from the very beginning and had almost no advocates, especially not in the local
community. In contrast to other debates concerning post-war architecture, for instance
about the Beethoven Hall in Bonn, the grassroots movements opted for the demolition
of the City Hall and the reconstruction of the Old Town. Thus, the minority objecting to
the erasure of the City Hall is particularly worth investigating.

First artistic voice

In the year of the demolition, Franken/Architekten GmbH commented on the process of
shifting urban paradigms and preferences in their contribution to an exhibition in a crea-
tive workshop "Nidda 84" in Frankfurt am Main. Instead of presenting their own projects,
Franken/Architekten chose to screen a video entitled *Misere(re)*.[5] Using *Psalm 51* by
Antonio Allegri as background music, it shows how parts of the war-damaged Old Town

in Frankfurt were replaced by the structure of the City Hall. Afterwards, the City Hall was replaced by the Old Town. According to their vision of the future, in 2043, there will be another citizen's initiative, named "Friends of the City Hall" that will opt for the demolition of the new Old Town and the reconstruction of the City Hall.

The title is ambiguous. On the one hand, it states the misery of current town planning in Frankfurt, which seems unable to propose anything but a so-called reconstruction, and by doing so, surrenders to popular preferences and pressure from investors. On the other hand, it emphasises the fact that aesthetic preferences may be interchangeable. Attitudes towards a building such as the City Hall that was not considered worth protecting in the 40 years of its existence, might change in the course of time. In spite of once being labelled an "architectural sin", it might be redeemed in the future and acquire a *post mortem* heritage status. An – admittedly improbable – reconstruction would be a final step in such a revaluation process. As other examples such as the town hall in Bensberg by Gottfried Böhm prove, the rehabilitation of a previously rejected building from the post-war period can be achieved – as long as there is at least some public interest and, rather obviously, as long as the building is still standing.[6]

The vision of Franken/Architekten was deliberately utopian. Its goal was to show that any reconstruction of architectural heritage is doomed to fail, because it is impossible to regain the authentic. As the authors stated: "Authenticity and regional identity are not conservable, instead, they are mediated and subject to permanent change. Especially in the field of architecture, one has to deal with the past, but it is impossible to reconstruct the past."[7]

The contribution by Franken/Architekten received only little attention in the media and was discussed mostly among professionals, so its public impact was debatable. It remains a barely heard voice of protest and disagreement.

Second artistic voice
Artist and photographer Sarah Bonnert chose a different, more complex, strategy. Between 2010 and 2014, she created a series of installations and objects such as a flipbook documenting the disappearance of this part of urban heritage under the title *Alte Stadt aus neuen Häusern* [Old Town Made from New Buildings].[8] Through interviews with the architects, residents, shop owners, pedestrians and urban activists, she collected opinions about the City Hall and the designed Old Town. Furthermore, the demolition process was documented day by day with two cameras and shown in the installation in a time lapse. Ironically, these videos seem to be the reverse of the official time lapse on the website of the "Dom-Römer-Quartier" project that document how the Old Town emerges.[9]

Sarah Bonnert has described her work as an obituary for the City Hall. It is an attempt to bid farewell to an unpopular building that was part of the urban structure for four decades. It is a call for attention in the final stages of a destruction process. Yet, contrary to Franken/Architekten, the artist remained in the position of observer, not accuser.

However, there is a striking aftermath to the story of this artistic intervention. In November 2016, the artist presented a second installation *Vom Versuch eine Altstadt zu bauen*

"Old town" construction site
photographed from the cathedral, 2014
photo credit: Monika Motylinska

Reconstructed "old town",
photographed from the cathedral, 2017
photo credit: Von Daviidos – Eigenes Werk, CC-BY-SA 4.0,
https-__commons.wikimedia.org_w_index.php_curid=61809693.jpg

[On the Attempt to Build an Old Town].[10] In the cathedral museum, she created a sound-scape from fragments of interviews, divided into four stations: "Utopia", "emotions", "history" and "science". The perspective shifted from the unwanted heritage of the City Hall to the Old Town as an expression of the wishes and desires of the citizens.[11] During the work on her ongoing project, Bonnert changed her own attitude towards the Old Town. Critical at first, because – like Franken/Architekten – she was convinced that it is impossible to reconstruct the authentic, she has become more empathetic towards "the wishes of the citizens" and, as of November 2016, understood that there was a hole in the urban structure that needed to be filled with the Old Town.

Conclusion

The question marks – both the metaphoric one posed by the artists within their works, and the linguistic one in the title of this essay – remain important. The case of the City Hall in Frankfurt shows that it might be the artist's role to call into question common opinions about what heritage is. The building may disappear, but it leaves traces – not only in the archaeological sense, but also in the public discourse, artworks and other interventions.

From the scholarly perspective it is crucial to reconstruct both the decision-making and the public debates on the controversial heritage to understand their contexts. Levels of politics and art are, in such cases as Frankfurt, closely intertwined. Artistic contributions by Franken/Architekten and Sarah Bonnert were means to express minority voices, opposing the common view. They point to what is being excluded from the heritage status – both from the official and from the community narrative – and is considered a foreign body in the urban tissue. If judged by outcome, they could be considered failed attempts to raise awareness about the disappearance of heritage from the post-war period. Yet, their aim was different; it was not about succeeding, but about stimulating reflection on urban heritage and its boundaries. What connects the artistic interventions discussed here is their approach to temporality: the process of disappearance was their focus, not the building itself. This underlines the fact that the debates about the City Hall cannot be considered in isolation from the Old Town.

The case of the City Hall in Frankfurt can still raise doubts, at least concerning the definition of a local community. It is indisputable that the citizens wished a reconstruction of the Old Town, no matter if true to the original or interpretative. Still, the involved grass-roots movements seemed rather homogenous and exclusive, consisting of privileged members of society. What lacked most in the discussion were the voices of migrants and underprivileged citizens. Doubts and questions will remain. Thus, they also belong to heritage discourses and are worth protecting, and artistic interventions can be viewed as one of the ways of doing so.

1   http://www.larsramberg.
de/1/viewentry/3890 (accessed online
20.02.2017)

2   See also: Motylinska,
Monika: *Rehabilitierung des Architekturerbes
der DDR – eine Diskursanalyse. In: Denkmal
Ost-Moderne II – denkmalpflegerische
Praxis der Nachkriegsmoderne.* Ed. by Mark
Escherich (Stadtentwicklung und Denk-
malpflege, Bd. 18). Berlin 2016, p. 52-63.

3   Dom-Römerberg-Bereich.
Ed. by Hans Kampffmeyer. Frankfurt 1964.

4   Report on the contami-
nation: Sanierung Technisches Rathaus
– Schadstoffübersicht, Technischer Bericht
Nr. 99 08 050. In: Braubach-Str. 15, Stadt
– Ffm., Band 25, Archiv der Bauaufsicht
Frankfurt am Main.

5   https://www.youtube.com/
watch?v=L4jjj5ekW2c ((http://kulturex-
press.de/961.htm, accessed on 20.02.2017).

6   Cp. Motylinska, Monika:
*'Ape Rock' or an Icon of Brutalist Architecture
in Germany? In: Adaptive Re-use. The
Modern Movement Towards the Future,*
do.co,mo.mo_ 14th international confer-
ence proceedings. Ed. by Ana Tostoes and
Zara Ferreira. Lisbon 2016, p. 444-450.

7   „Authentizität und regionale
Identität sind nicht konservierbar, sondern
werden vermittelt und unterliegen
einem strengen Wandel. Gerade für die
Architektur gilt, daß man sich zwar mit
der Geschichte auseinandersetzt, die
Geschichte aber nicht eins zu eins wieder
herstellbar ist." (http://kulturexpress-
de/961.htm, accessed on 20.02.2017).

8   http://aufbruch-abbruch.de/
(accessed on 20.02.2017)

9   http://www.domroemer.de/
webcams (accessed on 20.02.2017)

10   http://dommuseum-frank-
furt.de/downloads/bonnert.pdf (accessed
on 20.02.2017)11 https://www.jour-
nal-frankfurt.de/journal_news/Kultur-9/
Ausstellung-Klangraum-im-Dommuse-
um-Erwartung-und-Erinnerung-28286.
html (accessed on 20.02.2017)
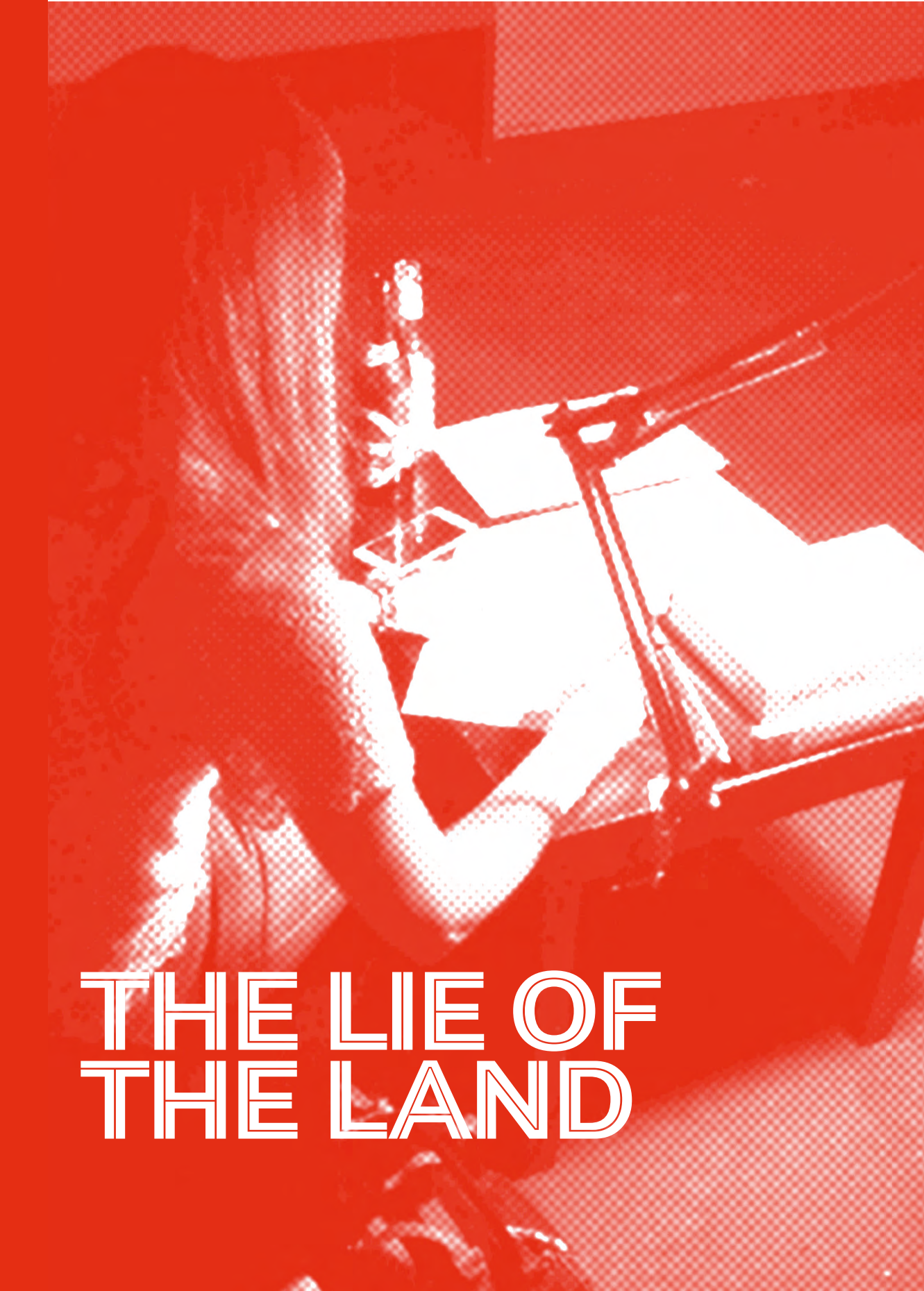
THE LIE OF THE LAND

Michelle Monareng

Urban heritage is one of the primary symbols of human evolution through history. It reflects inter-continental and inter-generational experiences and highlights the cultural, religious and political values of the society where it is preserved. Archives are repositories of urban heritage. They highlight the imperial processes of invasion and dispossession, as well as narratives of resilience and resistance.

For the past four years, I have been working with an archive that was created by my grandfather, Abram Shikwane. It documents the forced removal which took place in 1965, in the Rietspriut No. 417 I.R. Farm in Heidelberg, outside of Johannesburg. This archive consists of testimonies, written documents such as memoranda, photographs, old VHS and cassette tapes. They were collected by my grandfather to present evidence to a land claim court in 1995 to prove ownership of the so-called Rietspriut farmland. A memorandum by one of the community members details the events leading up to the forced removal, threading the causes and effects back to the end of the 19th century, when the Berlin Lutheran Mission wrote to the community, asking whether they could build a resident mission station on their land. The community accepted and allowed them to build a church and a school.

Later, one of the reverends advised the community that the document which proves that they are the rightful owners of the land, the title deed, would be safer in his care. The community trusted him and gave him the document. Years went by and the title deed got transferred from one reverend to the next. In 1913, the Native Land Act declared that black people should be removed from their fertile lands, which should be attributed to the whites. When they were about to be removed, the community requested the title deed from the reverends, but they found out that the land was now owned by the Berlin Lutheran Mission. The community didn't have documentation in 1965 to prove to the police that they were the rightful owners – or rather, that they *are* the owners of this land. So they were relocated to another farm, smaller and sterile. This story is told in my film *Removal to Radium* (2013).

During my residency at ZK/U, I had an opportunity to visit the Berlin Mission and the land archives, to research this story from a shifted perspective. I found diaries, letters, photographs; there is even a book that was written about the German missionaries who visited South Africa at that time. Yet, in all the documentation, there is a constant denial of the role the Berlin Mission played in the forced removal of this community, and in colonial expropriations in general. This narrative was written down and archived, and so it became part of history. But this grand narrative was silencing the stories of the

community members… and now there is this archive which contradicts the versions represented by the missionaries. So my project is to start undoing that narrative by looking into the gaps and the silences, and allowing voices from the outside to start destabilising the narrative. I have been working a lot to translate these documents from German into English, as it is the only way for me and other South Africans to access these archives, but the translation must be done both ways. My work places a spotlight on the discontinuities, contradictions and ruptures found in the German historical archives, and performs an undoing of the predominating narrative by presenting another voice of the story.
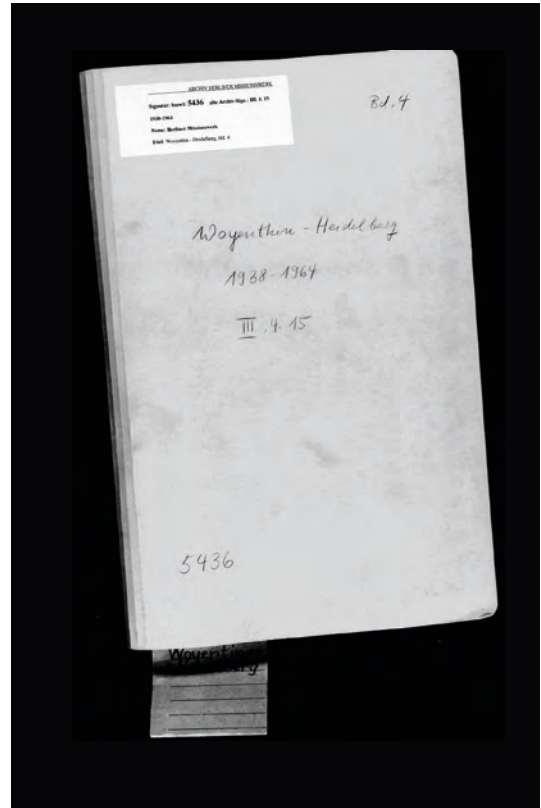
Documentation of the Heidelberg case
from the Archiv Berliner Missionwerk (1938-1964)
 photo credit: Michelle Monareng

The artist introducing her work in a video shown
at the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition, at ZK/U,
Berlin 2017

photo credit: Michelle Monareng

The Lie of the Land
Installation at ZK/U, Berlin 2016
(above and overleaf)
photo credit: Michelle Monareng

WHEN SPACE BECOMES A PLACE

The RASTER : BETON Festival
in the large housing estate of Leipzig-Grünau

Juliane Richter and Hannah Sieben

What happens to a large housing estate after the last construction worker has left and the settlement has to pass the reality test? What stories can a quarter tell after four decades of existence? Today home to about 40,000 residents, Leipzig-Grünau, located in the west of Leipzig, is one of these identity-evoking places. Created from 1976 onwards, it was one of the largest housing projects of the former GDR (German Democratic Republic). Among the residents, the memory of Grünau's foundation is still very much alive: they helped out on the construction sites, had to improvise paths and walk to the tram in rubber boots. Once called *Schlammhausen* [mud town], this label eventually became a unifying term which strengthened an identity as well as a myth of origin. "Grünau as a whole is and remains an attempt at the production of a human home," writes architectural historian Wolfgang Kil, reformulating a quotation by Ernst Bloch.[1]

RASTER : BETON was a festival held at D21 Kunstraum Leipzig and various locations in the large Leipzig-Grünau housing estate. It included an exhibition, artist residencies, a symposium, film series, guided city tours and an educational programme exploring how residents appropriate their neighbourhoods and achieve individuality within large-scale housing schemes. Which are the places where people connect with their neighbourhood? What is left of the builders' utopian concepts? How has a space which appears to lack history and tradition become a place which evokes an identity? What does our attitude towards certain types of architecture tell about our relation to the past and historical memory?

On a symbolic level, modern settlements such as Leipzig-Grünau have always been more than a mere cluster of architecture: widely visible, the district made real the State's vision of a future in which affordable housing was fundamental. Instead of being divided into several quarters, people lived under similar conditions and in similarly designed apartments. The solemnly emphasised model of social equality, which was in fact never realised, was supposed to be induced by the uniform distribution of housing space and

Festival center
photo credit: Julia Debus
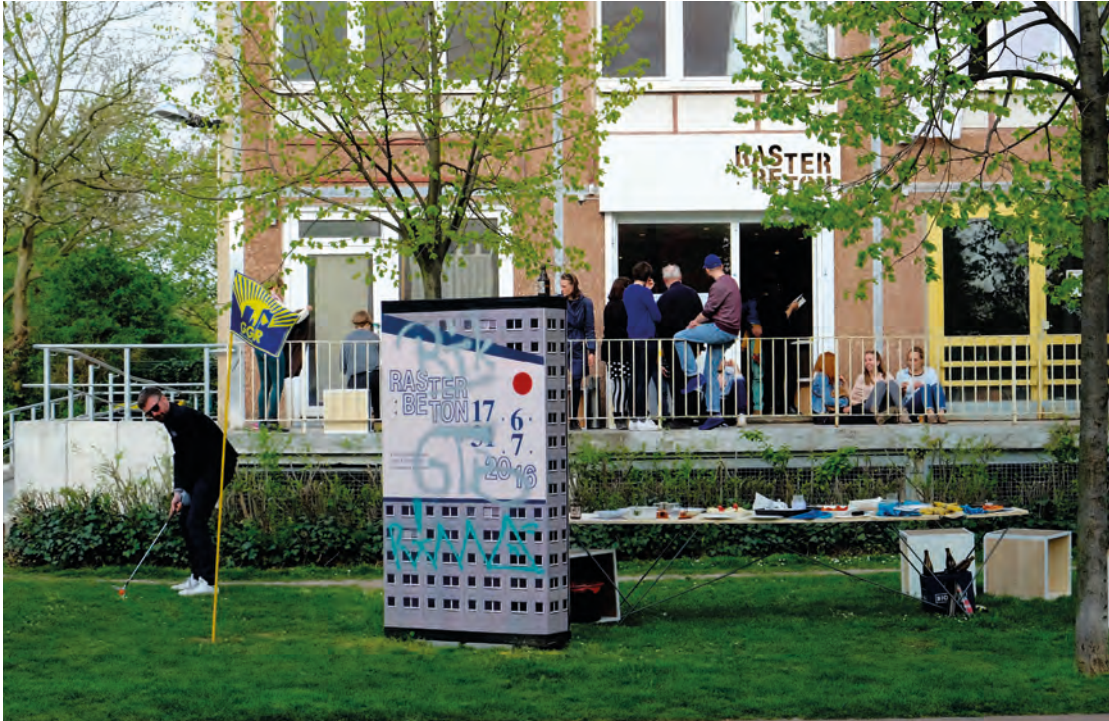
Kinowagen [cinema trailer] by Bruit du Frigo
photo credit: Samuel Boche

One of the first golf players of the GGR
in the installation by Daniel Theiler
photo credit: Julia Debus

Dancing in Grünau + Die Ästhetik der Anzahl
[+ the aesthetics of numbers]
Installation by zukunftsgeraeusche
photo credit: Josephine Bock

consumer goods, designed to fulfil "the socialistic lifestyle" of nuclear families within housing communities[2]. Today sociologists consider *Plattenbau* [prefabricated building type specific to the GDR] as a symbol "which describes a complex connection between GDR ideology and edificial-spatial configurations of social behaviour."[3] In parallel, uniformity came from the buildings themselves, constructed from prefabricated and serially mass-produced slabs. The architectural system of large-panel building came from the rationalisation of the construction sector, which attracted criticism from the very start of the concept.[4] Before 1990, Plattenbau[5] was already considered the symbol of a failed housing policy, and today it has even become synonymous with a failed State. Even 27 years after the fall of the Wall, it remains difficult to separate Plattenbau from ideological judgments; it represents an instrument of criticism of the GDR but also of modernism in general, as most Plattenbauten in the world refer to prefabrication and industrialisation, and ultimately to the ideas and experiments of modernism.

"Each space needs time to become a place."[6] This quote by Oswald Matthias Ungers accompanied our RASTER : BETON Festival from the beginning, functioning simultaneously as an apology and a description of large housing estates around the world. Prejudices towards the inhabitants of Grünau still exist: they are typecast as coming from a place with low income, high crime rates and early school leavers.[7] Social perceptions merge into the architecture of Plattenbauten and of big housing estates in general, as if the one circumstance causes the other.

This is where the RASTER : BETON Festival makes the connection between Grünau as a living space, in all its multiple social, cultural, and biographical dimensions, and as an urban element in the history of Leipzig, connected with the other parts of the city. The estate is very much in the middle of the contemporary concept of urban renewal, as new layers of histories are continuously added 40 years after its conception.

Residency programme
To prepare for the festival, a two-month artist residency programme was established in Grünau. The goal was to create site-specific artworks in public spaces. We assumed that a festival like RASTER : BETON was only as strong as the identification of the district's residents with what is meant to happen there. The festival did not strive to colonise or invade, but aimed for participation.

In a playful manner, Daniel Theiler drew attention to two current stereotypes. One concerns the sport of golf, which is commonly said to be an elitist hobby for the wealthy. The other one concerns the aforementioned perception of large housing estates as devalued, even dreary, places full of "social problems". Theiler's idea was to restore the reputation Grünau had in the 1970s and 1980s, when living in such a modern apartment block with all the comforts it provided was quite desirable. He merged the elitist and the despicable when he founded the Grünau Golf Resort (GGR), the world's largest urban golf resort. With simple means and a humorous gesture, the green areas between the buildings were converted into a golf course where people could take classes and participate in a tournament, the "Grünau Open". There was also an exhibition about golfing in the GDR in the club house. Though aiming sincerely to charm his audience, Theiler didn't hold back from using distancing irony: for instance, the name and logo of the GGR referred to the visual language from the GDR period.

The artist Julischka Stengele conducted performative walks through the district in the style of sight-seeing tours, offering unconventional interpretations of the history of the place. For instance, the sculpture of a lying man (or woman) from the 1980s became a tool for practising different kinds of sex positions. A fence made of concrete blocks turned into a partition for shy lovers, allowing them to touch without seeing each other. Stengele declared "points of interest" in certain architectural details and formulated a queer-feminist alternative history of Grünau by pointing towards existing art in the public space, architecture, and space settings in Grünau.

Alternative uses of public spaces were also demonstrated by the Berlin-based architectural office zukunftsgeraeusche. Their contribution transferred local dance clubs, which normally train in rather closed spaces, into the very public space of a busy city square, inspiring passersby to dance together with them. The artist Folke Köbberling collaborated with local residents as well. Together they realised a wax mural on an empty shop front, whose constant alteration from weather and human interventions (it could simply be called vandalism) can be seen and explored to this day, setting up a new time counter.

Finally there was the *Kino-Wagen* [cinema vehicle], created by the French artist collective Bruit du Frigo with the help of volunteers. The vehicle showed Grünau through a mobile camera obscura, moving its passenger through the neighbourhood to explore it from such an unusual perspective that even long-time residents became disoriented. Bruit du Frigo understood the street as a stage which everybody can individually experience and actively shape.

Exhibition, symposium, educational programme
The RASTER : BETON programme also proposed an exhibition with works by visual artists who questioned the inherent aesthetics of prefabricated large concrete-panel buildings and large housing complexes, and how they affect the lives of their residents, with works from Anne-Valérie Gasc, Margret Hoppe, Laurent Kronental, Andrea Pichl, Ginan Seidl und Ray Peter Maletzki.

A symposium reconsidered the "Grünau phenomenon" from various angles: from a focus on the local, the symposium aimed to foster comparability, as it was also crucial to look at Grünau from an international perspective and with international guests. Among others, we invited Simone Hain, David Crowley, Annie Fourcaut, Wolfgang Kil, Stefan Rettich and Ines Weizman to discuss the question of "houses for the masses" worldwide. Dieter Hasenpflug gave a lecture on new settlements in China, which, from a sociological perspective, brought up interesting points of comparison to the large estates in Germany. The topic is highly relevant as fast-growing cities need living space for ever-increasing population densities. These settlements carry with them a contemporary narrative: living in such an urban setting is no local peculiarity, but rather a global occurrence. They also ask: can the experiment of a planned urbanism be successful? Another panel opens a reassessment of the architecture: Plattenbauten and other large "housing machines" were often blamed for their apparent inhumanity. Yet, they hold the attention of new generations, who claim that residing in the "Platte" has again become legitimate.

Wenn Zeit und Form verfließen
[When time and space are crumbling]
Installation by Folke Köbberling
photo credit: Juliane Richter

The festival also included a film series about the modernist ideas behind Plattenbau architecture, about life within the estates and the ideologies guiding urban planning in the 1970s and 80s. It was shown in unusual places in Grünau, for example in a skating rink. Researchers, including some from Cuba, were invited to give lectures, and we also cooperated with pupils from a local school, art mediators and artists. Together they filmed their urban environment with an 8mm camera (as available in the GDR in the 1970s), developed and cut the material, and presented it in the Festival Centre.

Conclusions

Grünau has become a place with a specific genius loci – a certain spirit, which should perhaps be compared to the older, turn-of-the century Wilhelmenian districts based on a model of tenements defining urban blocks, that are now considered to mark the prestige and historical core of German cities and beyond. The inhabitants of the estates have appropriated the space: they have made it "home". There is no better place that represents this empowerment and grounded identity than the so-called "Garten Frank-enheimer Weg," which is a hybrid between a private garden and public park, created by Ingrid and Fritz Hundt more than thirty years ago. For the closing event of RASTER : BETON, visitors from different parts of the city came together and got in touch with local residents to attend a barbecue and watch a film in the garden. For us it was one of the many things Grünau can be: a district which offers unexpected discoveries, which is sometimes full of beauty, or can be terribly boring. It is also one neighbourhood within the city, whose overall unified identity splits into manifold atmospheres of urbanity as we get closer to it. And another insight was: after all, not only did we do something with the place, but the place did something with us as well.

More: raster-beton.de/rueckblick

1   Wolfgang Kil, preface to Vom *Heimischwerden.* Leipzig-Grünau 1981 bis 1991, by Harald Kirschner (Halle/Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2015), p. 8.

2   See Simone Hain, *Das utopische Potential der Platte,* in Dosto-primečatjel'nosti, ed. Axel Watzke et. Al (Hamburg: Junius, 2003), p. 79-87.

3   Christine Hannemann, *Die Platte. Industrialisierter Wohnungsbau in der DDR*, 3. ed. (Berlin: Schiler, 2005) p. 14

4   See a summary of the debates in: Juliane Richter and Katja Weise, *DDR-Architektur in der Leipziger Innenstadt. Das Leipziger Kolonnadenviertel* (Weimar: Bauhaus Universitäts-Verlag, 2015), p. 142-146. As a contemporary source, which mirrors some aspects of the discourse, see: Carl Krause, *Zur Qualität der Baukörpergestaltung, in Bauinformation – Bauforschung, Baupraxis*, ed. Bauakademie (Berlin, 1987), p. 5-78.

5   Throughout this text, the German term Plattenbauten [prefabricated concrete slabs] is kept to indicate its historically symbolic meaning and the spatial, social, cultural, and political dimensions involved when actually referring to a certain type of architecture which can equally be found in the West and all around the world. To explore these facets was one of the festival's aims.

6   N. N. and Oswald Mathias Ungers, „Jeder Platz, der gebaut wird, braucht Zeit, um ein Ort zu werden." *Ein Gespräch mit Oswald Mathias Ungers im August 2004, in 40 Jahre Märkisches Viertel: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Großsiedlung*, ed. Brigitte Jacob and Wolfgang Schäche (Berlin: Jovis, 2004), p. 190.

7   For a debate on the often negative image of large housing estates, see Hannemann (ibid.), p. 150-172.

HERITAGE ACTIVATION

Reclaiming the present and future city in Flint, Michigan

Stephen Zacks and Jerome Chou

For the Frankfurt School, the idea of a culture industry signaled something ominous about culture's subservience to what Adorno and Horkeimer called the "absolute power of capitalism." The "culture industry" became the byword for a certain leftist distrust of mass entertainment. Yet over time, the usefulness of art and culture for progressive aims became an accepted truism – nowhere more than in American cities, where artists grew to acknowledge their work as a tool to advance the process of urban reinvestment.

Flint Public Art Project (FPAP) launched in 2012 making the argument that highly generative practices for city-making – or what came to be called place-making – needed to be displaced from cosmopolitan centers and moved into smaller regional cities where they could serve a more socially useful purpose. Cultural production tends to concentrate itself around wealthy urban agglomerations, and thereby becomes a tool of real estate inflation with negative impacts for affordability and equitability. If culture is a form of capital, it can also be mobilized intentionally to redistribute wealth.

In the formation of the project, we argued that places like Flint, Detroit, Gary, Youngstown, Toledo, Cleveland – and hundreds of other small-to-medium-size cities experiencing postindustrial restructuring – had less access to generative processes for reinventing themselves. Larger cities had also experienced depopulation, property devaluation, joblessness, and abandonment during the same period, but the advantages of being globally networked and attracting new immigrants allowed them to reimagine and repurpose places for the future. Greater economic diversification meant that universities, entertainment, engineering, medical research, and tourism flourished when industrial production shifted and became increasingly automated. Around 2013, policy-makers at the Lincoln Institute for Land Policy and Center for Community Progress began using the term "legacy city" to identify places in the Midwest and Northeast that had lost their original economic purpose. Creating more fluid pathways for exchange of information,

Saginaw Street looking north showing the Vehicle City Arch
erected in 1905 as part of the City's 50th anniversary

photo credit: Arthur Crooks, photo courtesy of Kettering University Archives

A group watches a performance installation inside the condemned
Genesee Towers from a nearby parking lot in July 2011

photo credit: Emily-Rose Bennett, The Flint Journal.

The 2016 Free City festival at the Chevy Commons
postindustrial factory site installed *The Mothership*
designed by Anya Sirota + AKOAKI accompanied
by Afrofuturist bands curated by Detroit Afrikan
Music Institution. In the background, *64TEETH*
by Hubert Dobler

photo credit: Efe Bes

people, and practices between cosmopolitan centers and regional cities could accelerate economic development in places where it was desired and needed, amplifying a narrative already taking shape on the ground.

In seeking ways to reimagine places burdened with the heavy weight of loss and blight, we took cues from the practice of participant observation. Employed in anthropological fieldwork, in the work of William H. Whyte and Jane Jacobs, and in urban activist projects such as Kyong Park and Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss's Lost Highway Expedition, Interboro Partners' summer pavilion for PS1 Contemporary Art Center, and Center for Urban Pedagogy's exhibitions and pamphlets unpacking the functioning of municipal institutions and processes, participant observation in our case meant looking for how people were formally and informally using spaces, what seemed to be working, what places stood out as opportunities, and what institutions supporting neighborhoods we could approach as partners and collaborators. We engaged artists and residents directly by attending public meetings, organizing workshops and gatherings, and meeting with stakeholders to identify their needs and preexisting goals.

Starting from these cues, we initiated a series of projects to instigate and amplify changes already underway, experimenting with the theory that small temporary actions and spectacular events would produce knock-on effects. Focusing initially on the revitalization of Flint's downtown business district – led by the Uptown Redevelopment Corporation, the C.S. Mott Foundation, and independent cultural producers centered around the Local 432 all-ages performance space and the Greater Flint Arts Council – we developed concepts like activating the condemned 19-story Genesee Towers building with performance, dance, music, and lights, creating a popular spectacle to shape another story about the city.

We also turned our attention to activating the mile-long former manufacturing site known as Chevy-in-the-Hole – a flood plain on the edge of the Flint River now razed of all buildings. Starting in 2013, FPAP programmed the site with the Free City public art festival, installing sculptures, performances, and music, and holding workshops for a few days each year. First-time visitors and returning shop workers found inspiration in this symbol of loss – a scar on the landscape revived for a public use. Then-Mayor Dayne Walling and the Genesee County Land Bank used these events to apply for federal funding for its conversion into the Chevy Commons, winning millions in grants from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to remediate and landscape the site.

Our initial premises took for granted the prevailing "market fundamentalist" ideas that have dominated policymaking in the last half-century: we would not expect direct help from the city's resource-deprived public sector, but assumed that investment would flow from private sources, and that individual profit-taking would motivate others to follow. Yet as FPAP enmeshed itself in downtown Flint's redevelopment process, we began to recognize the same uneven concentration of resources happening within the city.

Through the federal Main Street program, state-level Renaissance Zone tax-incentives, investments by a nonprofit arm of the C.S. Mott Foundation, and private development spearheaded by the local Chamber of Commerce, most vacant sites downtown had already been acquired and warehoused for future development or were being converted

into lofts, offices, bars, and restaurants, leaving little space for from-the-ground-up initiatives. This success in the central business district had not extended to neighborhoods, which continued to lack access to resources, exacerbating a rift between black and economically disadvantaged residents and the downtown elites. In this context, public art seemed to become a part of the "invisible hand" re-inflating value within the local market, erasing the visibility of the power brokers.

Program director Jerome Chou and operations director James Andrews turned their attention to the city's "hardest hit" neighborhoods, broadening the organization's reach to include the predominantly African-American communities on the city's North Side – areas suffering from the worst vacancy and foreclosure, high levels of crime, and the least access to capital. Chou and Andrews worked with Raynetta Speed, community outreach coordinator at the Land Bank, to develop the Neighborhood Art Parade, a monthly gathering that referenced a history of parades celebrating neighborhood pride and Flint's auto heritage. We partnered with an existing walking club started by a group of seniors to combine healthy activity with neighborhood outreach and added art actions that would quickly remediate a devalued site with murals, installations, landscaping, amenities, and activity. The art parades culminated in events at a transformed site featuring marching bands, stepping groups, live music, murals, flowers, and local food.

But in another of our projects, the organization confronted the real challenges of attracting resources to undercapitalized areas. The Spencer's Mortuary building had been closed for over a decade, but the local neighborhood association, the Carriage Town Historic Neighborhood Association wanted our help in converting it into a community art center. The Spencer's building had a significant history as the place where the owner filed Flint's first civil rights lawsuit in 1965 and organized black residents to integrate its cemeteries. To support our efforts, the Land Bank offered to let us acquire the building across the street, an eight-bedroom previously squatted rental house, to renovate into the Stone Street Coop & Residency, hosting staff and visiting artists. FPAP has installed temporary work on the Spencer's grounds and managed a variety of programs at the site, but it has struggled for years to attract investors and grants. Yet the organization's presence at the intersection mediated its crime problem and perception as a dangerous place, influencing redevelopment projects by Kettering University and the launch of the Tenacity Brewing Company and Factory Two maker space, which have all gradually invested money along the adjacent streets leading to the intersection.

In her 1996 *Evictions*, art historian Rosalyn Deutsche places New York's history of public art in the context of the previous era's economic underdevelopment, framing its role as either participating in or critical of the narrative and process of redevelopment:

> "Materialist analyses of space enable us to evaluate the effects of cultural practices, such as the new public art, which are engaged in that struggle on the side of real estate and state domination. They also suggest ways in which public art can enter the arena of urban politics to undermine that domination, perhaps facilitating the expression of social groups excluded by the current organization of the city. Participation in urban design and planning enmeshes public art, unwittingly or not, in spatial politics, but public art can also help appropriate the city, organized to repress contradictions, as a vehicle for illuminating them."[1]

One of the earliest Neighborhood Art Parades in 2013
used a Creamsicle-inspired concept to turn a vacant gas
station into an ice cream stand, and invited high school
step-dancers to perform for the launch event
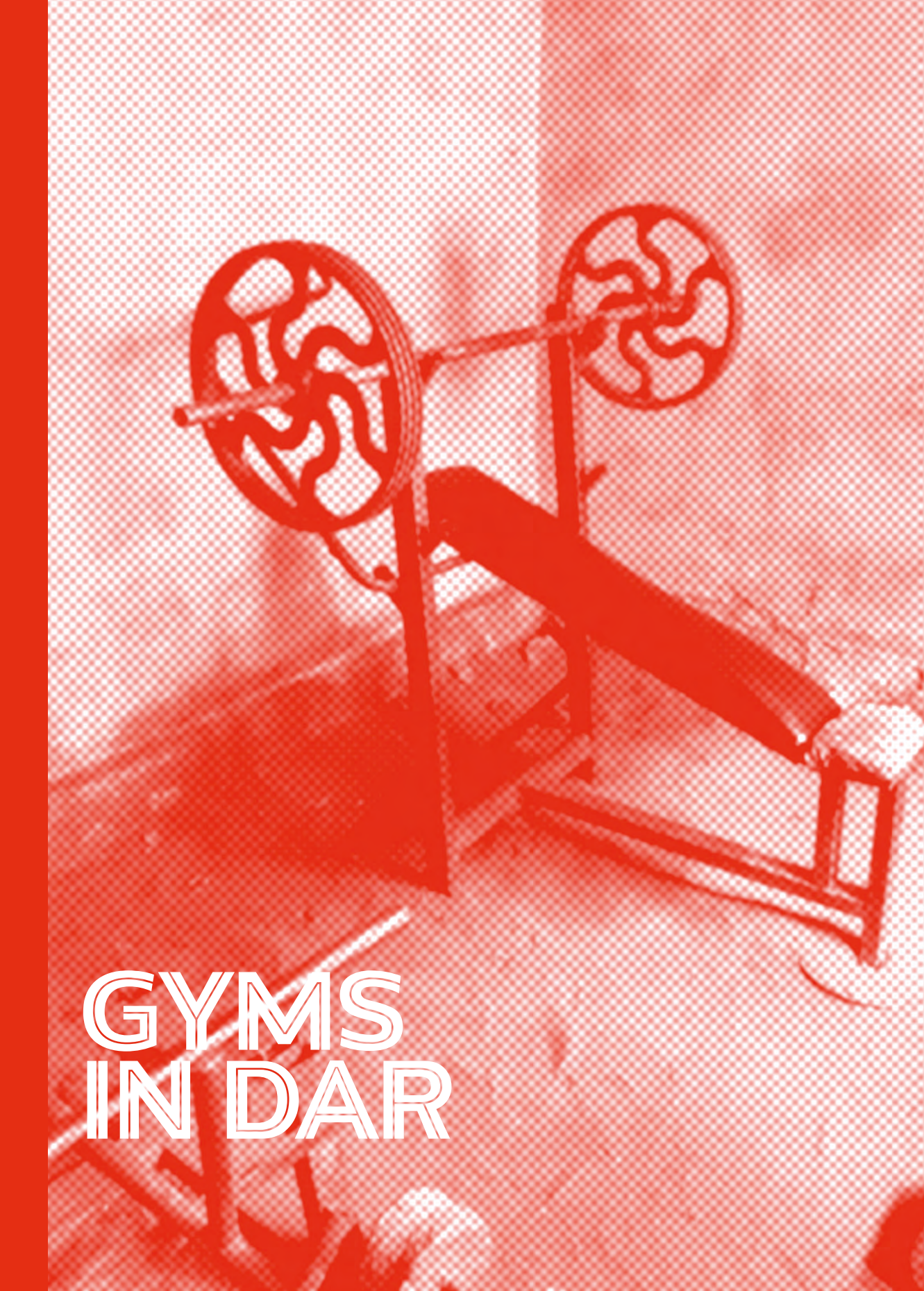photo credit: Stephen Zacks

A meeting of community stakeholders in the former Spencer's Mortuary building – organized by Andrew Perkins and Matthieu Bain in 2013 as architects-in-residence for Flint Public Art Project – sought to gain support for an arts-based redevelopment project. They gathered inside an atrium created by removing a portion of the rain-damaged second floor

photo credit: Stephen Zacks

FPAP initiated its programs in the aftermath of the predatory lending and mort-gage-backed securities crisis, in which both the Bush and Obama administrations chose to prop up banks but let homeowners go into foreclosure, with banks managing defaults through poorly regulated relief programs. The government poured trillions of dollars into the economy, but cities across the country experienced levels of foreclo-sure, vacancy, and blight unseen during decades of industrial decline.

Creative placemaking emerged during the same period as a socially engaged art prac-tice promoted by grants from corporate foundations and the National Endowment for the Arts, using artistic initiatives to help pick up the pieces and stimulate development. FPAP took a critical position and acted strategically within this environment. Its decision to focus on areas outside of the central business district, pointing resources in the di-rection of neighborhoods, implicitly critiqued downtown-centric development strategies, reinforcing community power and aligning with under-represented voices. Its work has sought to instigate agency and empowerment to combat unequal access to resources at the same time that it remains, in part, a captive of the public policies of its moment.

1   Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions:
Art and Spatial Politics* (Chicago, Ill.;
Cambridge, Mass.: Graham Foundation
for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts ;
MIT Press, 1996), 78.

GYMS
IN DAR

KUNSTrePUBLIK and Jan van Esch

KUNSTrePUBLIK and Jan van Esch's artistic inquiry focused on a particular kind of male community space in Dar es Salaam: the home gym, realised *ad hoc* in someone's garage, courtyard or basement. In Dar es Salaam, the western fitness role models, while shown on posters and magazine collages in the local gyms, are not the driving force behind them. Western gyms are silent, individualistic spaces that are primarily concerned with the meditative aspects of body shaping. The homemade gyms in Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, serve as important social spaces, where members are granted access to community life, income opportunities and social status. We were interested in the way the gym groups came together under a common interest, and how they transformed small urban spaces into places of leisure. In our research we focused on the histories of each space, the economic structure, the tools available.

How were they built? And most importantly, what are the stories of each community member? Critical of anthropological approaches that extract information and place it into a Western knowledge environment without leaving behind anything relevant to the community, we created a series of formal group portraits that we organised into a calendar, the proceeds from the sales of which will go to improving the equipment in the gyms.

The calendar is designed in a way that the stories, basic facts and interpretations juxtapose with the photographs. These calendars are not just about the community, but for the community! In particular we want to thank:

Kisegalile Gym Frank, Ramso, Khalid, Hamza, Stoward
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Handmade sign and press bench
Dar es Salaam, 2016 (top)
photo credit: KUNSTrePUBLIK and Jan van Essh

Reproduction of a weightlifting area at the Juxtaposing
Narratives exhibition, Berlin, 2017 (above)
photo credits: Rachel Lee

Gyms in Dar, process.
Setting up photography studios to shoot the calendar
(left and overleaf)
Dar es Salaam, 2016
photo credits: KUNSTrePUBLIK and Jan van Esch

A YEAR IN THE SERTÃO

University, artistic creation and community in Brazil's interior

Ana Luisa Carmona Ribeiro

Amidst the vast plains of the *Cerrado*, the Brazilian savanna, and a 600-km drive from the nearest metropolis, Santa Maria da Vitória might be seen by some as an oasis in the desert. The early 20th century beginnings of this town are tied to the fluvial transportation of local produce on the Rio Corrente, one of the main subsidiaries of the São Francisco River. Since river transportation declined in the 1970s, small-scale agricultural holdings were replaced by large mechanized plantations, transforming the landscape, destroying native vegetation, draining water resources and enriching landowners and large international corporations. This shift brought little improvement to the impoverished rural populations that still depend largely on the scarce rains and their own intensive manual labor for subsistence crops. Adding to century-old land conflicts, the violent land grabbing *grileiros* are also a constant menace.

Santa Maria da Vitória's 40,000 inhabitants are largely uneducated and heavily affected by unemployment. While the elders sit at the Old Market, watching the diminishing water flow of the Corrente, the smartphone-equipped youth desperately seek a different future.

In 2015 a public university was founded in Santa Maria da Vitória. Offering degrees in communication and arts at no cost, the *Universidade Federal do Oeste da Bahia* (UFOB) has provided the youth with an alternative future perspective. The first in their families to get a university degree, most students depend on government funding and many come from rural areas, where electricity and even toilets were unavailable until the 2010s. In a place where the absence of public libraries, movie theaters, museums, music halls, concert rooms and parks is hardly compensated for by the ever-growing number of church halls, education is a big challenge. In the following I will reflect on a year of experimental pedagogic engagement at UFOB, where, together with students, staff and the local community, we attempted to create teaching formats that explore and intersect with the local cultures and urban heritage.

Carnival in the Corrente: An old river dredger navigates
the river during the second *Ateliê Integrado*

photo credit: Cleudir Neves

I had just completed a master's degree in Politics, Memory and Cities in São Paulo, the richest state in the Brazilian federation, when I joined the UFOB teaching staff in the Sertão, 1600 km away. Coming from a relatively privileged middle-class background, I had never been to the Sertão and could barely imagine the places and the people I was about to meet. To be truthful, my imagination was fueled by the Brazilian regionalist literature and films from the 1950s, 60s and 70s that depict a dry, violent place with a starving population ruled by violent coronéis. Picturing myself teaching in a newly-built university in Brazil's interior, I recalled the experiences of avant garde architect Lina Bo Bardi, who in the 1960s unsuccessfully tried to establish a school of arts, crafts and design in Salvador, Bahia. Back then, Brazil's rapid industrialization and urban growth was fed by the rural exodus of a population expelled from their native lands in northeastern Brazil by land grabbers, droughts and famine, and who were forced to migrate to the sprawling cities of the southeast. My paternal grandparents were among the northern and northeastern Brazilians who moved across the country in the 1950s. Now I was making the reverse journey and facing all those real and imaginary stories I had been told.

After arriving in Santa Maria da Vitória, I strolled its stone-clad streets trying to make sense of an urban landscape that profoundly contrasted with the one in my imagination. Instead of the simple façades my architectural history classes had led me to expect, I found many two, three or even four-story buildings, lots of tempered glass and profusely colorful tiles made to imitate all kinds of materials. Instead of an open doors community, I saw walls, gates, wire fences and alarms. And even though people still use horses and donkeys, the preferred means of transportation are cars and motorbikes. Were it not for the river, Santa Maria da Vitória might have seemed like a neighborhood on the periphery of São Paulo.

I felt lucky to be among a teaching body consisting mostly of young people who were eager about the possibilities they foresaw in a university built in such unusual conditions. Until private universities started emerging in the 1990s, Brazilian university education was generally provided by high-end public institutions in the most economically developed regions and cities. With highly competitive entrance exams, these institutions were an elite realm that adhered to conservative academic traditions. In the early 2000s, during the Lula and Dilma Roussef Workers' Party administrations, the country witnessed a new politics of "interiorization", resulting in the creation of several new schools in the country's inner and most impoverished territories, such as the Amazon and the Sertão. But even though this new policy sought to allow economically disadvantaged people access to higher education, the kind of institutions created reflected the rusty old structures of elite Brazilian universities. In Santa Maria da Vitória's diverse and particular environment, it felt necessary to establish practices on a different basis: bringing the university closer to the community and the region's most pressing urban and rural matters while innovating in teaching methods and applying a more experimental approach to art education.

Challenging classroom schemes and academic approaches through drawing
Never having visited museums or cultural institutions, most of the students had little previous contact with art or art practices. In addition, many had not chosen art as their preferred subject: with the choice of either arts or communication, the only degrees

Students create urban narratives through drawing
in Correntina, Bahia

photo credit: Ana Luisa Carmona Ribeiro

Students during a collective drawing experience:
the "Desenhaço", in Santa Maria da Vitória sought
to engage the locals in the portrayal of local landscape
and architecture

photo credit: Max Bittencourt

The old Market Square in Correntina, Bahia
photo credit: Ana Luisa Carmona Ribeiro

offered in a 100 km radius, some of the students were taking unplanned courses. But even if most were not deeply engaged by all their courses, drawing was something many were eager to do, being the closest approach they ever had to art.

One among the several practices I focused on was the creation of urban narratives through drawing, proposing that the students use sequential drawings to tell stories and raise awareness about urban matters and community. That meant spending many hours outside, walking the most trodden and least beaten paths, observing infrastructure and construction from different angles, and talking to workers, fishermen, merchants, *areeiros*, farmers and the *lavadeiras* about their routines. After the first days of work, the students began relating to what they saw and drew, and some evocative personal stories surfaced in their works: a father with a stall in the local farmers' market, or relatives who work for a large export-style fruit farm while living in a simple house among papaya trees, or stories of a faraway village where parents survived one of the worst droughts in years on a small farm without cisterns or a fresh water supply. Another student dedicated himself to filling a sketchbook with drawings of several popular religious festivals from different faiths.

These highly engaging experiences helped the students to develop their drawing skills while avoiding traditional *beaux-arts* studio-only teaching techniques. The kind of visual narratives they created often also contributed to the debate inside the classroom, raising awareness about the diversity of narratives that can be put forward as alternatives to an official discourse on matters of urban heritage, culture and urbanism.

Creating an arts residency

For most of my students art seemed quite intimidating and distant, as they were accustomed to Art (with an uppercase) being exhibited on pedestals and in sacralized spaces such as museums and galleries. The Artist was seen as a deified character. I wanted to bring to Santa Maria da Vitória the lowercase kind of art practice that values artistic processes over art objects and puts us in touch with other contexts and other cultures, let them penetrate an artist's work process, while still feeling close to home. With this in mind, I invited Manu Romeiro, a young painter and singer from São Paulo to come to Santa Maria. Romeiro employs travel as a research method and was eager to come to the Sertão and work with my students.

Romeiro's five-week residency centered around the relationships she built in town, spending her days sitting at street stalls and farmers' markets, talking to students and people on the streets and offering quick portraits in exchange for their stories. During Romeiro's last week four large portrait paintings were exhibited as work-in-progress among the merchandise being sold at the stalls of the Old Market. The students, who had accompanied and debated Romeiro's artistic process, organized themselves in teams to curate the exhibition, working on installation, press, and publicity materials. A band was formed with local musicians to jam during the closing night. Throughout the residency, a group of communication students, tutored by my colleague Max Bittencourt, filmed the events and made a short documentary.

Months after Romeiro left, people are still lining up to have their portraits drawn by students who are spontaneously working on the streets. Also, the stall owners and carriers

from the market had one of Romeiro's portraits framed and exhibited permanently inside the Old Market. After initially mistrusting our intentions, they embraced the artist, her work and the activities the students developed. Two months later, we held a video conference with Romeiro in her studio, during which she spoke about her residency to fellow artists from São Paulo and her finished paintings were publicly exhibited for the first time. Initiated by the students, the opportunity to converse with Romeiro and other artists from a distant city concluded a series of great exchanges created by the first art residency.

Approaching art and urban matters through the *Ateliê Integrado*

Before Romeiro arrived, I had just completed a three-day urban artistic inquiry. The first *Ateliê Integrado* [integrated studio] aimed to engage teachers and students in a horizontal experiment to debate and propose artistic interventions on urban matters. Praça do Alto do Menino Deus*,* an old square and important landmark in Santa Maria, was chosen as the site. Despite being remembered by many as a place for public meetings and religious festivals, it was currently being used as a garbage dump. In mixed teams the students and teachers developed different actions regarding issues such as the relationship between university and city, the clearing of the dump, and the reuse of the waste material as the basis for dump sculptures. All of the actions took place during a public performance.

The second *Ateliê Integrado: Cidade Fluvial*, tackled an even more pressing urban matter in Santa Maria: the town's relationship with the river. I invited urbanist Oliver de Luccia from *Grupo de Pesquisa Metrópole Fluvial*, a research group from the University of São Paulo, to speak about fieldwork he had done in the cities along the São Francisco waterway. In 2014 he had tried to travel as much of the waterway as possible by boat, but had not got very far: a 2013 drought had rendered many parts of the river impassable, a fact linked to an almost six decade-long national policy of highway-oriented urbanism. In his sketches and photographs de Luccia analyzed the urban situations, observing that urban growth and development had transferred from the riverbanks to the areas along the highways. As a consequence, the areas by the water frequently became degraded and desertified, leading to the loss of an important heritage of river navigation. In Santa Maria a similar process has been taking place since the 1970s. The second *Ateliê* took de Luccia's perspective as a starting point for a series of artistic inquiries that sought to focalize the *Corrente* and its relationship with town life. During the workshop, three teams developed their debates into different results: a performance called *Carnival in the Corrente*, which recuperated the traditional street festival with a makeshift *bloco de carnaval* on top of a retired river dredger; the *Boat-automobile*, an old wood boat on wheels that rolled across Santa Maria's streets to raise awareness about the abandonment of river transport and the primacy of the automobile; and a short documentary-fiction entitled *I am the river*, which discussed environmental and urban problems caused by the loss of fluvial heritage.

The need to increase bottom-up practices and participation in the urban debate has been acknowledged in many of the current discourses about urban matters, but these debates habitually remain trapped inside the walls of academia and public offices, restricted to the disciplinary field of Urbanism. Seeking to break that disciplinary isolation, my first year in the Sertão has been a period of deep immersion that opened paths

towards experimenting with a better engagement between arts, community and urbanism. In a region unaccustomed to tertiary education, the new university is transforming Santa Maria da Vitória into a small laboratory for our inquiries. In our experiments, the engagement of a larger audience, including students and community, has been the key element to success, affirming the need to expand the urban debate towards broader participation. Being still fully immersed in an unfinished teaching experiment, I would like to conclude not with affirmations, but with a couple of questions that have been propelling me forward: Can different pedagogical practices build more organic ties between academia and society? Can urbanism, now without a "capital u", become in practice a common ground for shared knowledge and transformation of our cities?

HERITAGE WALKS

A first step in urban heritage activism in Mumbai

Shraddha Bhatawadekar

There are growing concerns today over the rapid loss of cultural heritage. In burgeoning cities like Mumbai, urbanization and other human-caused factors are a constant threat to the very existence of heritage. Heritage education is an important way of creating awareness about heritage, leading to interest and appreciation among local stakeholders, thereby encouraging responsible behaviour towards heritage. Heritage walks are an integral instrument for heritage education. They offer an interactive experience, which is crucial for engendering interest and appreciation of heritage, likely to further promote engagement and participatory approaches. I have been conducting heritage walks in the city of Mumbai for over a decade. I would like to narrate my experiences here and discuss the opportunities this field presents in encouraging grass-roots initiatives in urban heritage activism.

Understanding activism

There seems to be no set definition for "heritage activism". In simple terms, it is "activism" that has something to do with heritage. To understand heritage activism, it is first necessary to deconstruct the word "activism". The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines activism as *a doctrine or practice that emphasizes direct vigorous action especially in support of or opposition to one side of a controversial issue.* The Oxford Dictionary describes activism as *the policy or action of using vigorous campaigning to bring about political or social change.* It is clear from these definitions that activism is vigorous i.e. strong action aimed at facilitating change. Activism as Brian Martin calls it, is an action on behalf of a cause; action that goes beyond what is conventional or routine[1].

Activism in a political sense is usually perceived as something radical; protests, rallies and so on, meant to challenge and counter the existing system. However, activism doesn't always need to be aggressive and dramatic. As Jordan writes, "small actions are just as central to activism![2] as large ones"[3]. He explains, "…you realize that future, which we normally expect to arrive grandly, also arrives in (such) small moments…"[4].

Heritage tour with college students
Mumbai 2012
photo credit: Asit Kulkarni

Activism is to be seen also as a process influencing changes in mindsets and attitudes. In Jordan's words, Activism!'s ethics of the future offer us a vision of a movement-based society in which the representation and generation of different ways of life is constantly, radically open. This is not a vision in which everyone becomes an activist!. Perhaps put more accurately, this is a vision that demands that we rethink what is meant by (political) activity.[5]

What is heritage activism?

If we are to define heritage activism in the light of the above discussion, it is first necessary to determine the cause of heritage activism before turning to methods. What is the action against or in support of? What are we trying to achieve through activism? Is it only to preserve heritage, or something more?

Heritage is our legacy from the past, something that portrays the accomplishments of our ancestors and reflects our traditions, cultural roots and identity. There are currently many discourses and movements that are aimed at protecting heritage. Preservation and conservation movements have evolved over the years, both locally and internationally, and adhere to the agenda of heritage sustainability. These movements are traditionally centered around the idea of preserving and promoting the authenticity of heritage fabric and its original setting[6]. Heritage is however, not a static idea, but is constantly being refined by place-making and meaning-making processes by people in the present. What the heritage movements seem to have largely overlooked is this integral link between people and heritage and the need to integrate heritage in the spatial, socio-cultural landscape in the present.

This is not to say that there are no attempts at inclusion of heritage, but these efforts are scarce. The value-based approach[7] and people-centered approach[8], which are being promoted in conservation, can be seen as vital steps towards recognizing the integral relationship between people and heritage. Heritage can be valuable to society and can be an instrument of socio-economic change and this aspect needs to be explored further. Stottman presents this idea in relation to archaeology[9]. He states: "It [activist archaeology] is about understanding a community and integrating its needs and wants into our work and using the process of archaeology and the knowledge it produces to help satisfy community needs"[10]. Heritage activism should take into account these multiple layers and rather adhere to an inclusive, integrated approach.

Heritage activism could therefore be seen as any action which is aimed at integrating heritage into the socio-economic aspirations of people, by which heritage is preserved and contributes to enhancing the quality of people's lives. This way, heritage activism can become a rather positive and constructive force for producing a sustainable society and can create a win-win situation. Heritage activism needs to focus on influencing and changing the mindset of people by engendering interest and awareness about heritage, as a first stride towards sustainability.

This can be achieved in many ways. Heritage education is an important instrument towards creating interest in heritage and its significance. Heritage education can take any form: it could be formal or informal; could engage any age group; could take place anywhere be it at schools, museums, heritage sites and monuments. Here, I want to

explore heritage walks as one of the tools of heritage education, and how this can be perceived as a step in heritage activism.

Heritage walks as a first step in urban heritage activism

I was first introduced to the idea of heritage walks in early 2006, while I was still pursuing my undergraduate studies. I came across an opportunity to conduct heritage walks during Kala Ghoda Arts Festival in Mumbai. This is a street festival, meant to create interest and awareness about the city's heritage through various activities such as heritage walks, dance performances, and art installations, which takes place once a year in the heritage district of Kala Ghoda in South Mumbai[11]. My first experience with heritage walks showed me the tremendous potential they held to create interest about heritage among people. The activity of physically walking in the area with other interested people, an opportunity to closely view the heritage sites and their features, with a narration about various aspects of heritage drew people to heritage and its intrinsic values and significance.

My association with heritage walks has continued ever since, through activities for schools and colleges, walks for tourists, business firms and citizens alike. I have realized in the process that this activity promotes an exploratory spirit, leads to the joy of self-discovery and allows for a personal connection with heritage, which is crucial in creating interest in it. The awareness created in this way leads to appreciation of heritage and its facets. During walks, I have frequently come across comments like, "I have lived in/travelled to this area so many times, but I never noticed this [heritage feature] before", or "I always saw this [heritage feature], but never knew what it meant." I have also seen retention of interest among participants and their repeated inquiry for more such activities and initiatives in which they can participate.

The activity of heritage walks also has potential especially in engaging youth in heritage. I witnessed this through a certificate course in Heritage of Mumbai, which I initiated about six years ago. The course was planned with the idea of introducing Mumbai's heritage to college students through a unique combination of classroom lectures and heritage walks. The idea was supported by the Department of History of Ramnarain Ruia College, a renowned college in Mumbai, and the course was launched in 2011. Through the course students have had an opportunity to visit various monuments and sites in Mumbai such as forts, rock-cut caves, religious sites, colonial buildings, and various neighborhoods, and learn about different aspects of heritage. The course has been successful in engendering interest in heritage among students[12]. As Aseema Karandikar, one of the student participants stated,

> "Through the Heritage of Mumbai course I've explored different places in and around Mumbai, which I might not have done otherwise. Moreover, I would not have obtained so much information as I did, thanks to the experts in various fields who guided us in the course. I think such courses are a useful tool in getting more students interested in the field of history and heritage. These walks can make teaching more effective, especially that of art and architecture as students get a chance to actually see the artifacts/ buildings they're learning about."

Heritage walk at Elephanta Caves,
World Heritage site

photo credit: Ankur Jain

Heritage walk during the Kala Ghoda
Arts Festival, Mumbai, 2012

photo credit: Ankur Jain

The benefits of the course need to be seen in a broader perspective. The course offers classroom lectures and walking tours. The lectures talk about historical evolution of different aspects related to Mumbai, be it architecture, art, religion, environment or even maritime or culinary aspects. The walks complement and reinforce the knowledge gained in the classroom by showing the tangible and the intangible connected with these aspects, traces of which can still be found in the streets of Mumbai. In this process, the course connects and critically reviews the formal and informal discourses related to heritage. It thus helps develop among students a better understanding of heritage and recognition of heritage as an essential element of society and as a contributor to sustainable development.

Riddhi Joshi, another participant in the course echoed similar thoughts:

> "Heritage plays an important role in building an economically sustainable and cohesive country and needs a special focus for promotion and preservation. Heritage walks help students like me to explore the unexplored and neglected richness of the place. They play an important role for understanding the development of the history and character of the city. They unearth the real essence of the place as these walks highlight a vast range of architectural styles, and trace the city's social and cultural history."

The walks allow students to view heritage in its real setting, which accentuates the idea of heritage as living, continuous and diverse. It helps generate new meaning and associations with heritage. Various forms of engagement arise out of this, with students exploring heritage in their own way, taking an interest in participating in festivals in local neighborhoods, and thereby reinforcing their association with heritage and community. This has further instilled among students the desire to contribute to heritage preservation. This motivation to act is very crucial for the conservation and sustenance of heritage. Dr. Louiza Rodrigues, the convener of the course, when asked about the importance of heritage walks aptly commented:

> "Heritage, whether tangible or intangible, is a repository of the hopes, aspirations and dreams of the people. Hence, when an old structure is demolished, a heavy price is paid – with the loss of structure the memories in it are also lost. Heritage walks can garner interest and create awareness about lesser-known historical sites, which can enhance students' and people's knowledge about their local heritage. Small steps can be taken by the students and citizens by documenting heritage through their writings, which could be a powerful weapon, not only to educate the general public but also the policy makers. This will be a humble step to create awareness about heritage and preserve it."

The above discussion shows that heritage walks can indeed be categorized as heritage activism, a modest first step as it may seem, but with a potential to bring about change in the attitudes of people and transform their way of looking at heritage. Viewing heritage in its present context sheds a new light on heritage as a living entity and a continuous process. The walks thus empower communities with new perspectives and perceptions about the notion of identity and their own heritage. This awareness results in responsible behavior towards heritage and is likely to create further engagement and

participation in decision-making regarding heritage. It has a role to play towards the sustenance of heritage and its future integration in the aspirations of the society. In this process, heritage becomes a catalyst for social change. Past and present are thereby connected, and contribute to a sustainable future.

Heritage walks can engage different sections of the society, encouraging dialogue and discussions about heritage among them. At the same time, they can bring to notice the alternative histories as well as pressing issues and concerns of the society. This way the walks can become a powerful tool in mobilizing society to bring about change. With tourism being a major force worldwide, walking tours are among the popular tourist activities in any historic site and place. The walks can also become a medium for connecting tourists with local aspects, unique features as well as concerns, thereby promoting respect and sensitivity for others' culture and heritage, making the process more meaningful and inclusive.

To sum up, such small steps like heritage walks can create conditions for change. There is a need to recognize this power of heritage walks as an instrument to facilitate positive change and exploit their potential to the fullest. Rephrasing Stottman's words, I can say that, although the heritage walks may not save the world, in some small way, they can change it[13].

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1   http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/07Anderson.html

2   Jordan uses an exclamation mark to talk about activism that might be producing ethics for a future society (Jordan 2002: 26).

3   Tim Jordan, *Activism!: Direct Action, Hacktivism and the Future of Society* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 154.

4   Ibid., 7.

5   Ibid., 153.

6   Ioannis Poulios, *The Past in the Present: A Living Heritage Approach – Meteora, Greece* (London: Ubiquity Press, 2014).

7   https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/valuesrpt.pdf

8   http://www.iccrom.org/priority-areas/living-heritage/

9   M. Jay Stottman, *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* (University of Alabama Press, 2010)

10   Ibid., 8.

11   http://www.kalaghodaassociation.com/

12   Shraddha Bhatawadekar and Chinmay Yedurkar, "Role of Heritage Education in Cultural Heritage Conservation", in *Professionals' Experiences in Cultural Heritage Conservation in America, Europe, and Asia*, ed. Andrea Macchia et al. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 14.

13   Stottman, *Archaeologists as Activists*, 15

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Diane Barbé is an artist and researcher based in Berlin. She works at the intersection of psychogeography and urbanism, using radio, soundscapes and scenography to create collective experiences and explore the impact of urban environments on the human psyche. She graduated from Sciences Po Paris School of Urban Affairs in 2015, and has been working as a researcher and junior project manager at the Habitat Unit, TU Berlin.

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Rehema Chachage is a mixed media artist working mostly in video and sculptural installations as well as performance. She graduated in 2009 from Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town where she received a BA. Themes explored in her work are very much determined by her situatedness, but the most prominent ones are "rootedness" "gender" and "identity".

Cloud Chatanda

Cloud Chatanda is a visual artist specialised in illustration and drawing. His illustrations have frequently been published in Tanzania in schoolbooks, magazines and campaign comics. Chatanda currently works on larger scale hand drawings that deal with daily and city life in Tanzania. He has exhibited his works at Nafasi Art Space and the East African Biennale.

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Jan van Esch is a Dutch visual artist and cultural entrepreneur, devoted to inter-cultural and community art interventions. From 2011 to 2016 he was director of Nafasi Art Space, Tanzania's biggest contemporary art center. In 2017 he was one of the artist-displacements residents at ZK/U in Berlin, collaborating with the Berlin Red Cross. He currently lives in Amsterdam and is the curator of the Culture Initiative, a fund set up for artistic interventions at the International AIDS conference 2018.

Anne-Katrin Fenk

Anne-Katrin Fenk is an architect, urban designer and researcher at the Habitat Unit, TU Berlin. She is the co-founder of MOD Institute, a Berlin-Bangalore international collective of architects, designers, researchers, curators and practitioners with interests in urbanisation processes in India.

Susanne Förster

Susanne Förster studied Sociology and Technology Studies at TU Berlin. Her specialisation is sociology of knowledge, science and technology studies and heritage studies. Currently she is focusing on relationships between art, science and technology and completing an internship at Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin.

Erica de Abreu Gonçalves

Erica de Abreu Gonçalves is an International Fellow at the Historical Museum of Frankfurt. She is completing a PhD programme in Museology at the University Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias (Portugal). Her present research is focused on the connections between museums and cinema and their languages and ways of communicating, as a means to develop participation in museums.

Benjamin Häger

Benjamin Häger (Dipl.-Ing.) is an urban planner and PhD candidate at the DFG Graduate School "Identity and Heritage" at TU Berlin. He focuses on the junction of institutional preservation and heritage activism, and tries to find out how productive participation can be implemented in heritage practices.

Maj Horn

Maj Horn holds a Master degree from the Funen Art Academy, Odense, Denmark. Her work deals with the relationship between public spheres and communities by looking into aspects of knowledge sharing, the acquisition of sites, identity and the atmosphere of places and how to find new strategies for coexistence. The media she works in range from photos and installations to dialogical processes, walks, workshops and actions.

Philip Horst

Philip Horst is co-founder and co-director of the artist collective KUNSTrePUBLIK and the Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik (ZK/U) Berlin. Philip studied Fine Arts at the Bauhaus University Weimar and experimental media design at the Berlin University of the Arts (UDK). He worked as an artist, curator and researcher at the TU Berlin, Skulpturenpark Berlin_ Zentrum, and invest archipelago.

Sehr Jalil

Sehr Jalil holds a BFA, MA and MPhil from the National College of Arts, Lahore. Her dissertation was titled "Understanding the phenomenon of paradise through contemporary visual art". Currently she teaches History of Art and Architecture and Culture Studies at the National College of Arts. She is a member of Awami Art Collective.

Tellervo Kalleinen and
Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen are a Finnish-German artist duo who believe in the power of discussing societal issues through individual stories. They became widely known with their Complaints Choir Project, which started in 2005 and is still spreading around the globe today. Their participatory works incorporate widely different media such as films, games and events.

John Kitime

John Kitime is a musician, activist and radio broadcaster from Dar es Salaam. He has toured with many internationally recognised jazz bands, such as the Kilimanjaro Band. In 2012 he co-founded the Tanzania Heritage Project.

Georg Krajewsky

Georg Krajewsky is a research fellow at the Department of Sociology, TU Darmstadt and currently associated member of DFG Graduate School "Identität und Erbe" at TU Berlin and Bauhaus-Universität Weimar. His studies focus on urban sociology, sociology of space, science and technology studies and heritage studies.

KUNSTrePUBLIK

KUNSTrePUBLIK is an artist collective working in the public sphere, exploring the potentials and limitations of art as a form of expression. Composed of Matthias Einhoff, Philip Horst and Harry Sachs, the collective directs the ZK/U, the Center for Arts and Urbanistics, which hosts experimental projects to foster conversations between the diverse stakeholders of the urban arena.

Johan Lagae

Johan Lagae is a professor at Ghent University and currently teaches 20th century architectural history with a focus on the non-European context. He has conducted research on urban and architectural heritage in Kinshasa, DR Congo. His research interests include colonial and postcolonial architecture, urban planning and urban history in (Central) Africa, colonial-built heritage and colonial photography.

Sam Lanckriet

Sam Lanckriet has been involved as a research assistant in a number of projects at Ghent University, among which a spatial inquiry of the future development of the campus of the University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa (2009), the project StadbuitenStad (deSingel, Antwerp, 2015) and several Congo-related projects, including a contribution to the 2010 *Afropolis* exhibition entitled 'Mapping Kinshasa'.

Rachel Lee
Rachel Lee is a postdoctoral fellow at the LMU Munich. Working at the interface of architectural and urban research, teaching, curating and art practice, her research explores the histories of colonial/postcolonial architecture and urbanism, migration and exile, transnational practice and the transfer of knowledge and ideas.

Hannah Le Roux
Hannah Le Roux teaches, practises, curates and writes about architecture at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Her current research, lived modernism, is based on the observation of change in time of modernist spaces, and proposes and maps designerly practices that catalyse the social appropriation of space.

Tassilo Letzel
Tassilo Letzel studied documentary film in Bolzano, and photography and sculpture in Munich and Copenhagen. He is a travelling filmmaker and photographer with a focus on architecture, urban development and cultural heritage preservation. His film project "From Bavaria to Bengal" followed the sale and relocation of a Bavarian crude oil refinery. It was supported by a Gerd Ruge stipend and grants from IFA and DAAD.

Umesh Maddanahalli
Umesh Maddanahalli graduated from MS University Baroda with an MA in sculpture. He practises at the interface between sculpture, performance and video art, and has exhibited internationally since 1994. His work focuses on issues of identity, culture and locality, frequently engaging with specific sites, places and communities, and involving the viewers as integral participants in the pieces.

Joy Mboya
Joy Mboya, originally trained as an architect, is the Executive Director and co-founder of the GoDown Arts Center, a leading non-profit multidisciplinary arts facility in Nairobi, Kenya, that provides subsidised space for Kenyan artists and spearheads entrepreneurial capacity building programmes and creative sector discourses for artists in the East Africa region. Joy is also co-convenor of the Creative Economy Working Group that conducts advocacy work and research on cultural policy and legislation in Kenya.

Philipp Misselwitz
Philipp Misselwitz is Chair of Habitat Unit at TU Berlin – a globally networked research and teaching centre focused on the study of urbanisation processes in the Global South. His current research focuses on user-driven urban development processes and co-production in housing, rural urbanisation processes, translocal spatial production as well as transdisciplinary teaching methodologies in the urban design field.

Michelle Monareng
Michelle Monareng was born in 1991 in Johannesburg, South Africa, where she also works and lives. She completed her BA degree in Fine Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand (2013) where she was awarded the top graduate show prize and the Anya Millman Scholarship. She is currently finishing her Master in Fine Arts at the University of Witswatersrand.

Monika Motylinska
Monika Motylinska is an architectural historian, currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space. Her ongoing research project investigates GDR architecture abroad in the context of transnational networks and cultural transfer. She holds a PhD from TU Berlin on the handling of post-war heritage in Germany.

Patrick Mudekereza
Patrick Mudekereza lives and works as an artist and author in Lubumbashi. He runs the artistic association and art centre Rencontres Picha, which curates experimental projects with local and international artists, focusing on visual arts but creating crossovers with the literary and theatre scenes of Congo. He has also organised four biennales of photography and video art.

Rishika Mukhopadhyay
Rishika Mukhopadhyay is a human geographer with an MPhil from the University of Delhi. Her thesis, titled "Conservation of Heritage through lived spaces: A case study of Chitpur Road, Kolkata", questions the conventional notion of heritage studies in India by focusing on different ethnic and religious groups and how they perceive and practise heritage along the oldest stretch of Kolkata.

Aida Mulokozi
Aida Mulokozi is the CEO of DARCH, a centre for architectural heritage in Dar es Salaam, which officially opened in 2017 and acts as both a cultural institution and an advocate for historical preservation in the city. Previously, she worked for 15 years with the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Laura J. Murray
Laura Murray is professor of English and Cultural Studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada. She has published and taught extensively in Indigenous Studies, United States literature, copyright law, and cultural policy, and has long been engaged in community arts and political activism. Currently she is Director of the Swamp Ward and Inner Harbour History Project (www.swampwardhistory.com).

Marcelo Lages Murta
Marcelo Lages Murta is a historian and a PhD candidate in Museum Studies at Lusófona University, Lisbon, Portugal. He holds an MA in International Cooperation from Cantabria University, Spain. He has worked as a consultant for UNESCO, Ibero-American States Organisation–Ibermuseus Program, Brazilian National Heritage Institute and the Ministry of Culture.

Naira Mushtaq
Naira Mushtaq of Awami Art Collective graduated from the National College of Arts, Lahore, as a painter. Her practice deals with the deconstruction and reframing of vernacular found photographs. She teaches at the National College of Arts and Kinnaird College for Women, in Lahore.

Judy Ogana
Judy Ogana is currently UNESCO's National Cultural Officer for Kenya. She was the General Manager of the GoDown Arts Centre for ten years, focusing on community building and sustainability. She also worked at the Kuona Trust Art Centre in Nairobi for seven years and studied Fine Arts and Culture Management at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Paul Ndunguru
Paul Ndunguru is a renowned visual artist, performer and educator in Tanzania. He has shared his work across Asia, Europe, and Africa. He also works for the Tanzania Books Project publishing company as an illustrator, and makes comics, sculptures, puppets and paintings. He is a lead singer and a composer for Wahapahapa Band.

Cord Pagenstecher
Dr. Cord Pagenstecher is a historian and research associate at Freie Universität Berlin, Center for Digital Systems, specialising in oral history and digital humanities. He has worked with Berlin History Workshop, the Ravensbrück Memorial Museum and the Berlin office for compensation of Nazi victims.

Nadin Reschke
Berlin based artist Nadin Reschke engages with social issues, collaborating with people from outside the art world, initiating communication between them and creating a framework for social action. Although her works incorporate traditional studio media, they are realised in a variety of visual and social forms such as performance, video, social activism, and mobilising communities towards a common goal.

Ana Luisa Carmona Ribeiro
Ana Luisa Carmona Ribeiro teaches visual arts and design at the Federal University of Western Bahia. She holds a degree in architecture (University of São Paulo) and a Master degree in Politics, Memory and Cities from the University of Campinas. Her research interests include the production of visual urban narratives and the development of artistic inquiries tightly entwined with local urban matters and community.

Juliane Richter
Juliane Richter completed her studies in Art History and Journalism with a thesis on inner city *Plattenbau* in Leipzig. Since 2016 she has been a research associate at the University of Applied Sciences Leipzig. She also works at the D21 Kunstraum Leipzig and curated the festival of art and architecture RASTER : BETON in the big Leipzig-Grünau housing estate.

Signe Rom
Signe Rom holds a Masters degree in Visual Culture from the University of Copenhagen. Within an academic context she has been engaged with politics of

representation, images in public space and identity in connection to difference. She works with artistic and educational projects where shared ownership, mapping and counter-strategies to mainstream image/identity production are central themes.

Alexander Römer

Alexander Römer is an architect and carpenter based in Berlin. With ConstructLab he has been developing ideas and practices around experimental, low-budget and participative construction methods and collective building moments in the expanded field of architecture, urban planning and art. He binds the creative and the practical, thinking and making, and sets the project within a social, environmental and temporal context.

Harry Sachs

Harry Sachs is co-founder and director of ZK/U, Berlin. As a founding member of the artist collective KUNSTrePUBLIK, he has been working as an artist, curator, researcher and activist in site-specific projects worldwide. He co-founded AbBA – Alliance of threatened Berlin Studio Houses – an activist group against the gentrification of Berlin's artistic infrastructure, as well as ZUsammenKUNFT Berlin eG, an open cooperative for a co-produced city. He was one of the initiators of 'Haus der Statistik'.

Gözde Şarlak

Gözde Şarlak Krämer is an urban planner and a researcher based in Berlin and Istanbul. Her work spans academic and applied research, teaching and design projects. She is currently a PhD candidate at İstanbul Technical University, faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning. Her research investigates alternative food networks in metropolitan areas.

Jona Schwerer

Jona Schwerer is a student in the Master programme Sociology and Technology Studies at TU Berlin and recently finished his Master thesis on heritage making in the city of Freiburg im Breisgau. His interests are urban sociology, sociology of space, heritage studies and qualitative methods of social research.

Annika Seifert

Annika Seifert is a German architect and researcher. Co-founder of DARCH, she holds a Master degree

in Architecture from ETH Zurich. She has authored and edited various publications on architecture and urban development in East Africa and has worked as a researcher at the Habitat Unit, TU Berlin. Currently she lectures at the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts.

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi is a postdoctoral fellow at Mahindra Humanities Center, Harvard University. She received a PhD in the History of Art and Archaeology from the New York University Institute of Fine Arts, and her historical and ethnographic research focuses on spatial politics, urbanisms, and modernist culture and discourses, drawing from primary research in East Africa and South Asia.

Hannah Sieben

Hannah Sieben is a freelance artist, curator and cultural manager. She studied Media Art at the Academy of Visual Arts Leipzig and Cultural Sciences, Theatre Science and Ethnology at the University of Leipzig. From 2012 to 2015 she was Artistic Director of D21 Kunstraum Leipzig, where she curated the festival of art and architecture RASTER : BETON with Juliane Richter in 2016.

Samaila Suleiman

Samaila Suleiman holds a BA and MA in History from Bayero University Kano where he currently lectures and from which he received the Ibrahim El-Tayyeb prize. He completed his PhD in Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. His research interest lies broadly at the intersection of historiography, nationalism and the politics of history in Africa.

Stephen Zacks

Stephen Zacks is an architecture critic, urbanist, and curator based in Brooklyn and a native of Flint, Michigan. Founder and creative director of Flint Public Art Project, he received an MA in Liberal Studies from the New School for Social Research. He is currently writing a nonfiction narrative about New York during the mid-70s fiscal crisis, tentatively titled *How to Kill or Make a City: Art in the Ruins of New York, 1958-1989*.

SIMULIZI MIJINI / URBAN NARRATIVES

This book is an outcome of the project
Simulizi Mijini / Urban Narratives
www.urbannarratives.org

Project Coordination
Habitat Unit, Technical University Berlin
DARCH, Dar es Salaam

Curatorial team
Habitat Unit, Technical University Berlin
DARCH, Dar es Salaam
ZK/U – Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik, Berlin
Nafasi Art Space, Dar es Salaam

Art Exchange
ZK/U in Berlin and Nafasi Art Space in Dar es Salaam hosted artist residencies throughout the Simulizi Mijini/Urban Narratives project, inviting Cloud Chatanda, Paul Ndunguru, Patrick Mudekereza, Rehema Chachage and Michelle Monareng to work in Berlin, while Umesh Maddanahalli, Nadin Reschke, Alexander Römer, Tellervo Kalleinen and Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen, and KUNSTrePUBLIK with Jan van Esch investigated heritage in Dar es Salaam. Curated by the Habitat Unit, ZK/U and Nafasi Art Space, the multi-week residencies included public lectures by the artists and the production of project-specific works, which were shown in the Juxtaposing Narratives exhibition at ZK/U in March and April 2017 and as Urithi M'jini in the newly opened DARCH space in Dar es Salaam's Old Boma from June to September 2017.

Exhibitions
Juxtaposing Narratives
17 March – 2 April 2017, ZK/U, Berlin
Curatorial Team: Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee (Habitat Unit) in collaboration with Matthias Einhoff, Philip Horst, Harry Sachs (ZK/U) and Jan van Esch (Nafasi Art Space)

Exhibition Design: Diane Barbé, Matthias Einhoff, Jan van Esch, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Benjamin Herfurth, Philip Horst, MinJi Kim, Rachel Lee, Hannes Mundt, Maryam Poursafar, Harry Sachs, Patrycja Stal

Urithi M'jini
30 June – 30 September 2017, DARCH, Dar es Salaam
Curatorial Team: Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee, Philipp Misselwitz (Habitat Unit)

Exhibition Design: Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee (Habitat Unit) and Ashok Jethwa and team (Vogue Creations Ltd.)

Teaching Exchange
Students from the architecture, urban design, and town and regional planning courses of the Habitat Unit, TU Berlin, and Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam took part in the Simulizi Mijini/Urban Narratives research and teaching programme. Taking a sociological approach to the 'urban', before delving deeper into the question of heritage and cultural identity, students started to approach each city through dérive or 'strollology'. Data was collected during two month-long summer schools in which theoretical and practical understandings of urban history and sense of place were explored. In Berlin, the summer schools were augmented outside of the exchange programme by a theory seminar and a research studio. The students reflected on the data by writing short narratives, which were jointly edited and revised and presented in a takeaway exhibition, a blog (http://urbannarratives.mod.org.in/) and the book *Talking Cities: Urban Narratives from Dar es Salaam and Berlin*. An interactive app called *Urban Narratives* was also launched in June 2017 on Android devices, as a tool to explore the cities both remotely and in situ.

Students: Lisa Blum, Iulia Ciomu, Carlo Costabel, Negar Hashemi, Max Hege, Benjamin Herfurth, Sascha Hofmann,

MinJi Kim, Darius Duong Le, Sarah Manz, Dorothea Mbosha, Arnold Mkony, Arne Mickerts, Michael Minja, Kate Mrema, Hannes Mundt, Gift Mushi, Ena Ninkovic, Khilan Parmar, Irina Pelmegow, Maryam Poursafar, Andrea Protschky, Franziska Rüss, Aileen Runyoro, Hilbert Shirima, Patrycja Stal, Adrian Taylor, Beatrice Termeer, Arianna Tiberti, Ana Vrgoč, Anka Walker, Rui Wang, Pommeline Warringa.

Teachers: Diane Barbé, Richard Besha, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee and Philipp Misselwitz

Inputs from: Elena Agudio and Lynhan Balatbat (SAVVY Contemporary), Comfort Badaru (ANZA), Stephan Becker (BauNetz), Vittoria Capresi (Baladilab), Cloud Chatanda, Rehema Chachage, Marian Dörk (Urban Complexity Lab, FH Potsdam), Anne Fleckstein (German Federal Cultural Foundation), John Kitime (Tanzania Heritage Project), Christian Kopp and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro (Berlin Postkolonial e.V.), KUNSTrePUBLIK, Aline Löw (Stadtaspekte), and Aida Mulokozi (DARCH), Margarita Gómez Salas de Schetter (GIZ) and Annika Seifert (DARCH).

Urban Narratives, Mobile App: designed and programmed by Diane Barbé using goodbarber. Edited by Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk and Rachel Lee. Contents provided by the aforementioned students. Special thanks to Karen Moon and Sarah Markes for kindly sharing with us texts and illustrations from Street Level.

Publishing Exchange
A third level of exchange took place between two architecture and urbanism magazines: ANZA, a biannual print publication based in Dar es Salaam, and Baunetzwoche, a weekly online publication based in Berlin. Baunetzwoche editor and writer Stephan Becker spent two weeks in Dar es Salaam with photographer Tassilo Letzel, exploring the city and its heritage. Together with Comfort Badaru, Comfort Mosha and John Paul Senyoni of ANZA, East Africa's first architecture magazine, they produced an issue of ANZA titled Unintended Consequences and an issue of Baunetzwoche with the title Dar es Salaam: Not Yet Fixed. Both were launched in March 2017 to coincide with the exhibition and conference in Berlin.

Conferences
During the project, two conferences brought together scholars, activists, curators, artists, and architecture and planning professionals to discuss urban heritage: *Reconfiguring Urban Heritage from Below* in Dar es Salaam in April 2016 and *Urban Heritage Activism* in Berlin in March 2017. Hosted by the British Council in Dar es Salaam – one of the few protected heritage buildings in the city – contributors discussed case studies from Johannesburg, Lubumbashi, Istanbul, Zanzibar, Nairobi and Ghana as well as Dar es Salaam. The central questions were: Urban Heritage: What is it? Whose is it? Who defines it? How can it build inclusive cities? The second call for papers, for the TU Berlin conference, met an overwhelming response and the conference was extended to two days. It was structured around six sessions: World Heritage / Counter Narratives; Heritage and Conflict; Engaging Unwanted Heritage; Narrating; Multi-vocality; Co-curation and two roundtables. The presentations addressed heritage in cities around the world, including Kolkata, Lahore, Cairo, Rio de Janeiro, Beirut, and Dresden.

Reconfiguring Urban Heritage From Below
1 April 2016, Dar es Salaam
Curatorial Team: Diane Barbé, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Rachel Lee, Philipp Misselwitz (Habitat Unit)
Contributors: Yaşar Adanalı, Comfort Badaru, Diane Barbé, Walter Bgoya, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Antoni Folkers, Iain Jackson, Muhammad Juma, Johan Lagae, Rachel Lee, Hannah Le Roux, Joy Mboya, Deogratias Minja, Philipp Misselwitz, Marie Morel, Aida Mulokozi, Iga Perzyna, Annika Seifert

Urban Heritage Activism
16-17 March 2017, Berlin
Curatorial Team: Diane Barbé, Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Benjamin Häger, Claudia Jürgens, Rachel Lee, Philipp Misselwitz and Gülsah Stapel

Contributors: Erica Abreu, Jully Acuña, Yaşar Adanalı, Awami Art Collective, Comfort Badaru, Diane Barbé, Shraddha Bhatawadekar, Vittoria Capresi, Jerome Chou, Rebecca Corey, Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Matthias Einhoff, Anne-Katrin Fenk, Zinovia Foka, Susanne Förster, Benjamin Häger, Maj Horn, Leila Javanmardi, Claudia Jürgens, Georg Krajewsky, Rachel Lee, Farah Makki, Sarita Mamseri, Srdjan Mandić, Mansion, Avehi Menon, Philipp Misselwitz, Monika Motylinska, Rishika Mukhopadhyay, Laura Murray, Marcelo Murta, Cord Pagenstecher, Ana Luisa Ribeiro, Juliane Richter, Gözde Şarlak, Jona Schwerer, Annika Seifert, Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi, Gülsah Stapel, Samaila Suleiman, Mike Terry, Stephen Zacks

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Colophon

Habitat Unit

CENTER FOR ART AND URBANISTICS
ZENTRUM FÜR KUNST UND URBANISTIK ZK/U

NAFASI art space

TU berlin

GOETHE INSTITUT

BRITISH COUNCIL

DARCH

KULTURSTIFTUNG DES BUNDES

TU Delft OPEN

Things don't really exist until you give them a name traces contemporary urban heritage discourses and practices across the globe. From Dar es Salaam to Berlin, via Istanbul, Flint and Kolkata, a wide range of voices connects to heritage debates. Artists, curators, and activists as well as historians, architects, planners and urban researchers address the urban heritage conundrum: Although heritage is claimed to have the power to achieve social cohesion and galvanise urban communities, it is intrinsically contested and divisive. Through fresh perspectives, concepts, methods and tools rather than a belief in absolute aesthetic and material values, this book argues for a more citizen-centred and rights-based approach to heritage which could help to make cities more just and inclusive.

TU Delft OPEN