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EDITOR'S NOTE

This issue of the journal focuses on the broad theme of 'Urban and Architectural Conservation'. In the recent past, a great deal of emphasis was laid on the philosophical, professional and academic aspects of conservation. A sizable body of literature has been generated through publications based on sound research works. These pursuits have enhanced the understanding about conservation to a great extent and have also helped establish this field as a promising area of scientific inquiry and exploration. However, the most effective interface of research and practice is evidenced in the contexts of Europe. Many other locations around the globe have tremendously benefited from this ongoing discourse.

Need and relevance of urban and architectural conservation is lately recognized in many developing countries like Pakistan. One reason for the rather late awakening is the absence of corresponding scholarship to create a knowledge base. Building upon this opportunity for contribution, this volume has attempted to outline some of the key issues.

The factor of authenticity, which is discussed in a paper, is a pivotal qualitative determinant of heritage. Relevant parameters such as relationship of authenticity and integrity, potential usage of authenticity as a universal concept vis-à-vis contextual perspectives and practical applicability of authenticity in decision making have been highlighted in the paper. Through case studies from Ankara, Turkey, the next paper studies the importance of conservation in rebuilding urban consciousness. It was found that even strong ideological references can be employed to build up a social and spatial memory that is owned by wide cross section of the population. Usage of local knowledge and skills in a specific context has been demonstrated through a case study on integrated risk management. It emphasizes upon the usage of a proactive strategy as a useful option to deal with a post disaster re-construction and management of heritage sites. The next paper deals with the organizational and legal aspects of urban conservation citing the examples from Mardin, Turkey. Multifarious problems arise from the issues such as responding to individual desires related to historic built structures, lack of adequate economic resources and incoherent organizational set up to deal with heritage related problems. A citation of built heritage management scene related to Karachi has been presented in a research paper. From the evidences of organizational inconsistencies and over bearings of vested interests upon heritage, the paper concludes outlining the multitude of core issues that need to be addressed in the domain of conservation.

A key issue that is highlighted in the editorial article is the creation of national policy on conservation. As a common practice, such a document is evolved after an exhaustive deliberation of concerned stakeholders. Once finalized and approved by the concerned authorities, such a document acts as a threshold in enacting an effective framework of conservation in the respective context.

It can be concluded without doubt that promulgation of a statutory framework is one of the most vital initiative in the domain of urban and architectural conservation. However, it may not be confounded as the final accomplishment. Multifarious inputs in the professional and academic respects need to evolve to fulfil the spirit of the charters and corresponding policy lines.

Editorial Board

AUTHENTICITY IN CONSERVATION DECISION-MAKING: THE WORLD HERITAGE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The paper treats the evolution of the use of authenticity as an important factor in assessing the suitability of nominations for inscription on the World Heritage List. It treats in sequence a number of major questions linked to authenticity:

- Is authenticity a heritage value in itself or a qualifier of heritage values?
- Is authenticity linked exclusively to authenticity of surviving material fabric or to other factors as well?
- What relation exists between authenticity and integrity?
- Is it possible to apply authenticity as a universal concept, or must assessments be modified in relation to context?
- How is it possible to use this concept in practical ways in conservation decision-making?

The above questions are examined in detail in the context of the ICOMOS-UNESCO-Japan Government 1994 Nara meeting on Authenticity held in Japan. The purpose of this meeting was to assess conservation practices (and "authenticity") in various regional contexts, and subsequent follow up meetings at international, regional and national levels, including the "Authenticity and Monitoring" meeting held in Cesky Krumlov in the Czech Republic in 1995, the "Inter-American Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of the Cultural Heritage" held in San Antonio, in 1996, and the "Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context" meeting held in Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe in 2000.

This paper aims to provide administrators and professionals, a greater understanding of the principal issues in the application of the authenticity analysis in conservation decision-making, and their relevance in the context of World Heritage inscriptions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Authenticity has long been one of the main goals of those involved with conservation work. While the Venice Charter does not refer to authenticity among its 16 articles, the preamble to the charter enjoins all its adherents to preserve monuments in the full richness of their authenticity.¹ This passion for the real and genuine is shared by professional and citizen alike, who seek to be in touch with the most truthful and believable expressions of the past. Disneyland has its place but its three-quarter scale reconstructions are entertainments and recreation, not windows to the past.

The World Heritage Convention has played a major role in giving more attention to the concept and in defining ways in which its assessments can assist in conservation action. But ten years after the Nara Conference on Authenticity (Nara, Japan, November, 1994) and five years after ICOMOS adopted the Nara Document on Authenticity (Mexico City, Mexico, Oct. 1999) as one of its seminal doctrinal texts, the concept is still a vexing one for many involved in conservation decision-making. In spite of the many regional and national meetings which followed the Conference, many of the issues that the Nara Conference set out to address remain open to debate:

- *Authenticity as heritage value? Or qualifier*

¹ The Venice (The International charter for Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, 1964).

of heritage value? Many continue to feel that authenticity is a value in its own right and must be considered as a component factor in assessing significance of heritage. Others (and these include those present in Nara) suggest that authenticity is a qualifying factor in assessing heritage value, a filter through which values may be understood to be real, credible or indeed legitimate.

- *Authenticity of fabric?* Many link authenticity to the survival and retention of original or significant fabric, opposing it to “accuracy” of restoration or reconstruction actions. Here authenticity can exist, but can not be restored or improved. For others who now associate the concept with a broad range of attributes, through which heritage values are manifest, including setting, function, tradition etc., authenticity can offer a multidimensional analysis of the truth offered by the full tangible and intangible reality of a heritage property. Here authenticity can be restored or regained. But which approach is best for conservation?

- *Authenticity or integrity?* Many have difficulty to distinguish authenticity from integrity. These difficulties are compounded by internal contradictions and practices in the use of language in the World Heritage system. These difficulties date from the beginning of efforts to develop practical guidelines for analysing nominations submitted to it. These contradictions include differences in preferences in different regions within the cultural heritage field, differences in approaches between cultural and natural heritage fields, and changes in thinking in the 26 years of application of the World Heritage Convention. But which word to use? Or is the word choice important?

- *Authenticity a universal concept?* Many have difficulty to integrate the concept in their work in their own heritage systems, lacking a precise linguistic equivalent in their own language. Is the Nara Document, one of the first international documents to promote the importance of conservation decision-making in cultural context, guilty of promoting a universal standard not relevant to all?

- *Practical utility of authenticity concept?* Many



Figure 1: Circo Massenzio, Via Appia Antica, Rome. “For most, the word authenticity suggests the degree to which original building fabric or material may survive as testimony to a building’s beginnings”.

have difficulty to implement use of the concept in conservation decision-making in a practical way, asking how to go beyond the abstractions implied in defining authenticity for World Heritage sites, and to begin to apply the concept? How can we use it to influence, modify or direct conservation treatment decisions?

2. BACKGROUND

Before looking at each of these questions in more detail, let's go back to the Nara Conference itself which provides a context for considering these questions. The Conference was born in the desire of one country, Japan, to join the World Heritage Convention in the early 1990s, and to ensure that conservation practices on its nominated sites would

be judged fairly by World's Heritage Evaluators. Japanese conservation professionals were concerned in particular that their practice of occasional dismantling of wooden temples as part of long term care and conservation would be seen as an unsound conservation approach by European assessors, as not sufficiently respecting the original materials and craftsmanship used in construction of wooden temples. The result of Japan's questioning of the absoluteness of the standards for judgement applied was an international conference held in Nara in November, 1994, hosted by Japan, and supported by ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee.

The Nara Conference brought together 45 international experts to look at the legitimacy of conservation practices in Japan but also in many other countries. Judgements about authenticity were seen as characteristic indicators of approaches in different cultural contexts. The Conference resulted in a document (the Nara Document on Authenticity) which both broadened the application of authenticity, extending the factors considered in authenticity analysis from the tangible attributes of material, design, setting and workmanship to the often intangible, dynamic attributes of function, tradition, and spirit, and also clearly stated the importance of making conservation judgements within the local cultural context.²

The meeting also provided indirectly a definition of authenticity: a measure of the degree to which the values of a heritage property may be understood to be truthfully, genuinely and credibly expressed by the attributes carrying the values.

Following the Nara meeting, and in line with the cultural relativism promoted by the Nara document, a number of regional and national meetings have been held to permit exploration and adaptation of authenticity analysis in various working contexts.



Figure 2: Japanese domestic building. "The Nara meeting of 1994 was organised to ensure that conservation practices were assessed within their own cultural context, and that practices such as the occasional full or partial dismantling of heritage structures such as this Japanese structure would not be judged by European or western standards, (where the practice of dismantling is unknown, and not well understood)."

The most important of these have been the following:

- Authenticity and Monitoring, October 17-22, 1995, Cesky Krumlov, Czech Republic, ICOMOS European Conference, 1995.³ 18 European members of ICOMOS from 14 countries presented national views of the application of authenticity concepts. Presentations affirmed the importance of authenticity as a means of assuring truthful, sincere and honest approaches to conservation problems, and gave emphasis to strengthening its use with the dynamic conservation of cultural landscapes and urban settings.
- Inter-American Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of the Cultural Heritage, US/ICOMOS, The Getty Conservation Institute, San Antonio, Texas 1996.⁴ Participants from ICOMOS national committees

² The Nara Document on Authenticity, published in "Nara Conference on Authenticity", ed. Knut Einar Larsen (With J. Jokilehto, R. Lemaire, K. Masuda, N. Marstein, H. Stovel), UNESCO, Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japan), ICCROM, ICOMOS, 1995. Also now contained within Annex 4 of the proposed new version of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. UNESCO. Tentative publication date, summer 2004.

³ Authenticity and Monitoring, October 17-22, 1995, Cesky Krumlov, Czech Republic, ICOMOS, 1995.

⁴ "Inter-American Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of the Cultural Heritage", San Antonio, Texas, May 2001, US/ICOMOS - The Getty Conservation Institute, Washington 1997.

of North, Central and South America debated the application of the concepts of Nara. The meeting adopted the Declaration of San Antonio, which discussed the relationship between authenticity and identity, history, materials, social value, dynamic and static sites, stewardship and economics.

- **Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context:** expert meeting, Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, 26-29 May 2000, UNESCO - World Heritage Centre.⁵ Eighteen speakers looked at issues arising in management of both cultural and natural heritage properties. Among recommendations were suggestions to include management systems, language, and other forms of intangible heritage among attributes expressing authenticity, and strengthening the place of local communities in sustainable heritage management.

3. ISSUES IN AUTHENTICITY ANALYSIS

Lets return to the five questions raised at the start of this paper.

3.1 Authenticity as Heritage Value? Or Qualifier of Heritage Values?

The World Heritage Convention Operational Guidelines⁶ have always treated authenticity as a "qualifying condition" for cultural heritage properties, just as "integrity" is used for natural heritage properties. The Nara Conference confirmed this view, that authenticity should be understood as a modifier of values, a filter through which a property's important values may be perceived clearly - or less clearly. Meeting the test of authenticity has been a requirement for World Heritage inscription since 1978, in the belief that the values defined as significant (as possessing "outstanding universal value") should be expressed in genuine and real ways by the attributes of the property.

The view of the World Heritage Committee is now codified in Annex 4 of the new Operational Guidelines⁷. In part, the Guidelines state:

"In applying the test of authenticity to nominations of properties of cultural value for inclusion in the World Heritage List, the following points need to be considered:

(i) Authenticity is not a value itself. Properties do not merit inscription on the World Heritage List simply because they are greatly authentic; rather, inscribed properties must demonstrate first their claim to "outstanding universal value", and then demonstrate that the attributes carrying related values are "authentic", that is, genuine, real, truthful, credible.

(ii) Authenticity is not an absolute qualifier. It is meaningless to state that such and such a property is "undeniably authentic". Authenticity is a relative concept, and must always be used in relation to the ability of particular attributes to express clearly the nature of key recognized values."

3.2 Authenticity of Fabric?

For many of those interested in authenticity, there has often been the assumption that what is being referred to is material authenticity, the survival of original or significant material fabric: an authentic structure or ruin would be one where the evidence of the passage of time is visibly and palpably present in the building, where the structural remains may be regarded as a physical document of change and transformation over time, where the building is essentially regarded as an artifact.

Application of the test of authenticity in the World Heritage context has however broadened the understanding of the different ways in which authenticity may be understood. The preparatory discussions for implementation of the World

⁵ "Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context: Expert Meeting, Great Zimbabwe," Zimbabwe, 26-29 May 2000, UNESCO-World Heritage Centre, Paris 2001.

⁶ Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. UNESCO 2002.

⁷ Annex 4 of the proposed new version of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, UNESCO. Tentative publication date, summer 2004.

Heritage Convention in 1976 and 1977 resulted in a definition of authenticity which went beyond material, to include design, setting, and workmanship. In other words, authenticity should be looked at relative to the particular values ascribed to a site. If the property is perceived as having value as a testimony of past achievement, then it would be important to question the authenticity of the material remains which express that achievement. If however, the value of a structure lies in the aesthetic quality of its design, then it becomes important to question the degree to which design intent is reflected in surviving fabric, forms and patterns. And equally so with authenticity of setting, and workmanship.

More recently, as a result of Nara, the interpretation of authenticity has broadened further. Discussion in Nara and in the preparatory meeting which preceded it in Bergen in January, 1994⁸, focussed attention on intangible attributes such as use, tradition and spirit, as contributing to understanding the authenticity of a property. A monastery which remains in religious use is more authentic than one which becomes a hotel. A structure animated by traditional activities and rituals is more authentic than one where these have been lost. And so on.

Annex 4 of the new Operational Guidelines supports the point that authenticity should be understood in a broad context, and suggests the process to be followed in assessing authenticity in this context⁹:

(iii) *“Once outstanding universal value is established for a property, it should be determined which attributes are primary carriers of the valuedefined: Material? Design? Workmanship? Setting? Tradition? Use? Spirit? Other attributes? And in what combination? And then asking: to what degree does this (or these) attribute(s) authentically (credibly, honestly, genuinely, truthfully) express or carry the defined outstanding universal value?”*



Figure 3: Palladian Basilica in Vicenza, Italy. “The definition by the World Heritage Committee in 1978 of the Test of Authenticity in the Operational Guidelines, added ‘Design, Setting and Workmanship’ to ‘material’ as authenticity references. Hence authenticity for this structure, notable for its design qualities, might imply primarily fidelity to the original design idea.”

(iv) *As a corollary, it should be noted that it is not important that a property's authenticity be demonstrated for all attributes (that is, for each of material, design, setting, workmanship, tradition, use etc.) but only for those that are considered to be significant carriers of the property's outstanding universal value.”*

3.3 Authenticity or Integrity?

The use of authenticity for World Cultural Heritage assessments, and integrity for World Natural Heritage assessments has led to some confusion. Are the two concepts different? Or are the two concepts addressing the same concern but with language from two different fields? Is it necessary to use different words for what seem to be similar concepts?

Indeed, over time, and as the Committee has tried to unify treatment of cultural and natural heritage, particularly since an experts meeting held in Amsterdam in 1998, the Committee has asked the same question.

⁸ Conference on Authenticity on relation to the World Heritage Convention. Preparatory Workshop, Bergen, Norway, Jan. - Feb. 1994 (Ed. Larsen, K.E. / Marstein, N.) Riksantikvaren, Norway, 1994. This publication contains two articles by the author which describe this concept. Stovel, H., Notes on Aspects of Authenticity and Stovel, H. Notes on Authenticity.

⁹ Annex 4 of the proposed new version of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. UNESCO. Tentative publication date, summer 2004.



Figure 4: The town of Riomaggiore in the World Heritage Cultural Landscape of Cinque Terre, Italy. "The 1994 discussions in Nara extended the attributes used to assess authenticity to include 'dynamic' references such as use and function. Authenticity in relation to this cultural landscape then involves assessing not only the state of surviving physical elements or patterns but also the agricultural processes which have shaped and continue to shape the landscape."

The confusion in terminology is increased when one looks into the early history of the development of the test of authenticity described in the Operational Guidelines. In the expert meetings organised by UNESCO in 1976 and 1977 to develop evaluation procedures for assessing nominations to the World Heritage List, then ICOMOS Secretary-General Ernest Allan Connally proposed that the system of evaluation used by the National Park Service to determine the suitability of nominations to the American National Register be used as a basis for World Heritage

work.¹⁰ The National Register system, once having established criteria for determining significance, also requires that the integrity of the property be demonstrated. Integrity of a property is defined in terms of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. Sound familiar? Indeed, these words appear to be more or less the same attributes specified by the World Heritage Committee in applying the test of authenticity.

A further look into the history of the American

¹⁰ These early meeting are described in notes prepared at the time by then ICOMOS Secretary General Ernest Allan Connally, and which have been used in the preparation of Dr. Connally's unpublished manuscript on the early history of the World Heritage Convention. In preparation for the Nara meeting of 1994, Dr. Connally gave the author access to his notes. These notes are referred to in the author's paper: Stovel, Herb, "Considerations in Framing the Authenticity Question for Conservation" p. 393-398, published in *The Nara Document on Authenticity*. Published in "Nara Conference on Authenticity", ed. Knut Einar Larsen (with J. Jokilehto, R. Lemaire, K. Masuda, N. Marstein, H. Stovel), UNESCO, Agency for Cultural Affairs, (Japan), ICCROM, ICOMOS. 1995.

approach reveals a 1953 National Parks Service Administrative Manual Reference to Landmarks:

“an essential consideration is that each one should have integrity – that is, that there should be no doubt as to whether it is the original site or structure, and in the case of a structure that it represents original material and workmanship”.¹¹ Integrity was further defined as a; “composite quality connoting original workmanship, original location and intangible elements of feeling and association”. These original factors were complemented by the addition of “design” and “setting” in the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Today, the National Parks Service describes integrity as the “ability of a property to convey its significance”¹².

When Dr. Connally proposed adoption of this American approach in a meeting in March 1977 in Paris, Prof. Raymond Lemaire of ICOMOS suggested that the concept be retained but that the word “authenticity” would need to be used to describe this concept to better relate to conservation practice in most countries. The Committee ultimately adopted this approach; and Dr. Connally’s seven integrities became - at least initially - the four authenticities named in the World Heritage Committee’s “test of authenticity”.

The confusion is further increased with recent efforts to unify treatment of cultural and natural heritage which have resulted in a decision to complement the authenticity test for cultural heritage with an integrity test. (Note that no such reciprocal authenticity requirement is being imposed for natural heritage). The effort here in verifying integrity for cultural heritage properties is to assess the degree to which the nominated property is “whole” (that is, including all elements and systems necessary for the health of the system or the completeness of the message being conveyed) and “intact” (in relatively good condition, with forces of deterioration under control).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

In the end, it is perhaps not very important to insist on choice of one word or the other. Indeed, some professionals advocate use of other filters such as “maintaining continuity” or “defining identity” in trying to talk about the quality and impact of the transmission of the values of a heritage property. The critical thing is the sub-text: is it completeness that is important? wholeness? intactness? realness? genuineness? truthfulness? credibility? These are the important ideas if one wishes to be sure that the tangible and intangible attributes of properties are effectively supporting and carrying the heritage values of a site or property.

3.4 Authenticity a universal concept?

The Nara Conference focussed attention on one concern expressed by many invited to speak, namely that in many countries and languages, it was difficult to find a single word which meant authenticity. If the word did not exist in the language, many asked, did the concept? What would be the point of discussing a concept for which no linguistic equivalent exists. The exchanges in Nara confirmed, however, that even where the larger concept of authenticity could not be translated by a single word, that the concept could be described in two or more words or phrases corresponding to the various aspects of authenticity looked at above: material authenticity; authenticity of design; authenticity of setting, and so on.

The same point continues to be raised in debate by certain scholars, overlooking the Nara determinations about the relevance of the authenticity concept. But in the end, the most important defences of authenticity do not derive from linguistic arguments but from the ability to demonstrate that authenticity analysis has practical value within the conservation decision-making process.

3.5 Practical Utility of Authenticity Concept?

The attraction of ICOMOS pioneers like Raymond Lemaire to the authenticity concept was based on the premise that this concept was of great practical

utility in conservation. That by placing authenticity retention (or recovery) as a goal in their operations, conservationists were guided toward provision of optimal care for the heritage in their hands. How so? Where do these practical wellsprings lie?

This approach is best described in the Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites by Jukka Jokilehto and Sir Bernard Feilden published by ICCROM-UNESCO-ICOMOS in 1993¹³, containing concepts first laid down as early as 1983 when the first drafts of the book were being developed. Chapter Eight which deals with authenticity places the concept within an analytical process moving from definition of heritage values through to conservation intervention decision-making.

The process is very straightforward. The conservation process is understood to begin with careful articulation of the heritage values of a site, followed by an elaboration of the particular attributes, features or elements which carry or express those values. (We have seen the beginning points of this process before in the application of the World Heritage Test of Authenticity).

But here the process is taken a bit further. The book asks readers to look at authenticity for materials, design, setting and workmanship in turn, and to assess the degree of authenticity present. If authenticity is high, then conservation interventions are guided toward retention (stabilisation, consolidation, maintenance) of important attributes defined. If authenticity has suffered with time, then conservationists are guided to either subtractive actions ("revealing" underlying

states or materials) or additive actions ("restoring" missing materials, elements, patterns or features), based on definition of actions which are understood to enhance authenticity. This approach can not actually be defined as offering guaranteed scientific certainty about conservation decisions, but at least it offers an orientation which can bring consistency to intervention across the many aspects of a site to be dealt with in conservation analysis.

4. CONCLUSION

As yet, there are no clear cut answers to the questions posed here. Authenticity analysis and applications are slowly being led toward greater consistency by the use of the Nara discussions within the World Heritage framework. At the same time, there remains great scope to fit and shape the Nara conclusions to the relevant cultural circumstances in many regions and settings. The greatest value of the Nara Document in fact lies both in its stimulus to adapting the universal or global to the local (the Nara Document offers a distinct anti-globalising stance), and in the encouragement it has offered to local and regional debates in this area.

This debate is not closed, inside World Heritage or beyond. All readers of this article who harbour the desire to explore these points further (or to document doubts and suspicions) will find encouragement within the international bodies to do so. I would personally be delighted to hear from readers who wish to pick up any of these points and to challenge my interpretation or to ask for advice in carrying this debate further in their own jurisdictions■

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¹³ Feilden, B., Jokilehto, J., "Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites", UNESCO-ICCROM-ICOMOS; 1993. In particular, these concepts are developed in Chapter Eight on Authenticity and Treatment..

CONSERVATION: RE-BUILDING AN URBAN CONSCIOUSNESS

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ABSTRACT

This research has been devised as a critical analysis of the aspects of conservation in the urban environment for any study of conservation. It is necessary to thoroughly investigate the changing socio-cultural dynamics of the society, which seeks to reveal the changing social and cultural meanings and ideologies in the production of the physical environment. In that sense, any conservation process needs to be a conceptual exercise concerned with both spatial and social processes. In other words, a conservation process is made up of a complex dynamic system in which spatial form and social processes are in continuous interaction with each other. To neglect one of these two processes would change the progressive angle of conservation, which aims to emphasize the conveying of significant messages from past to present.

Lefebvre defines the complex and contradictory nature of space in terms of social relations: space is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations, every society in history shapes its distinctive social space and spatial environment (Lefebvre, 1993). Since the urban landscape is a social construct, it follows that understanding the man-landscape interaction is also a cultural bond. This meaning also helps as a constituent element in changing the cultural practice in the urbanization of cities. Therefore, for an accurate a proper conceptualization of space, we must look back at

human practice with respect to it. In this way, spatial forms are seen not as inanimate objects within which social processes unfold, but as things which "contain" social processes in the same manner that social processes are spatial (Harvey, 1973: 10-11).

To understand the spatial form of any place or site to be conserved it is necessary to define the architectural quality of that space the social processes with reference to some social activity as well as the symbolic qualities of that form. Any successful strategy must appreciate that spatial form and social process are different ways of thinking about the same thing (Harvey, 1973: 26).

Architecture, with a specific function, defines and arranges spatial units in terms of actual spatial relationships interwoven with the social identity and culture of the people. In addition, there is an aesthetic quality of that spatial form: something creative, conceptual, imaginary and artistic carrying various symbolic meanings. According to Harvey, the shaping of space which goes on in architecture and, therefore in the city, is symbolic of our culture, symbolic of the existing social order, symbolic of our aspirations, our needs, and our fears. Therefore, if we are to evaluate the spatial form of any urban landscape we must understand its creative meaning as well as its mere physical dimensions (Harvey, 1973: 31). This creative-symbolic meaning and its complex impact upon behaviour, as it is mediated by a cognitive process, helps construct a "public memory".

The urban landscape has a specific power to enhance the social meaning of public places, to develop new public relations / processes and nurture citizens' public memory. Identity is intimately linked to memory: both our personal memories and collective or social memories are interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbours and communities. Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories (Hayden, 1997: 9). It follows that the urban landscape is a social and spatial arena that stimulates visual memory to enhance urban consciousness and public history, like a museum of public culture.

In that sense, the meaning of conservation should cover not only the preservation of the material substance of the ground (that is, the material substance of the physical environment) but also the social and symbolic meaning of it. This paper will attempt to explore some of the ways that social history is embedded in urban landscape and within this conceptual framework, the conservation of a specific urban landscape also re-constructs public history and re-builds an urban consciousness.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study concentrates on the conservation of a vanishing urban public life which was once the symbol of Turkish Modernism and Turkish Republican Ideology in the new capital of Ankara. After the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Ankara, until then a small Anatolian town, was planned to reflect the modern, future-oriented intentions of the young Republic of Turkey and of a nation being re-born. Republican ideals, which aimed at radical social change, could not have been successful unless at the same time a conscious spatial change took place (Uludag, 1998: 270). The first and most significant urban decision of the era was the establishment of a large agricultural and recreational area at the centre of the city. The national leader of the Turks, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, initiated this process with the establishment of a 'Model Farm' ("*Orman Çiftliği*" – literally, "*Forested Farm*" – later known as the "*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*"), an area for the

cultivation of agricultural crops and the development of forested land, essentially for the education of the modern citizens and the introduction of the new concepts of leisure and recreation. Atatürk personally supervised the maintenance of the tree-shaded promenades and the management of the parks, restaurants, cafes, swimming pool and zoological garden, all contained within the farm's grounds. (Bozdoğan, 2002:93). In the first years of the Republic of Turkey, the Atatürk Model Farm, with its two significant public parks and pools "*Karadeniz Havuzu*" [Black Sea Pool] and "*Marmara Havuzu*" [Marmara Pool], played a significant role in the establishment of a new public life and a new public culture in the city. This paper will focus on the conservation of these two significant urban pools which were once the symbol of modern Turkey and also the power and ideology of the State, with their physical shapes which resembles the geographical position of the Black Sea to the north of the country and the Marmara Sea to the north-west¹.

Further more, this paper aims to reveal the unique spatial meaning embedded in the social context of the 1930's in Ankara to rebuild public memory and urban consciousness for future generations.

"Ankara has always given the impression to me as a warrior that merits a legend. And the geographic position of the city deserves this. What strikes you in the distance is the sight of a natural defense position with a passage way through the two flat hills. This feeling hardly changes with very slight differences around the city and from the hills dominating the city. The ridges of Çankaya, the Farm, the Dam roads, Etlik, the Keçiören vineyards, and in short wherever you view, you can see that this fortress, under a light as sharp as glass, dominates the horizon with the same calmness, which contains all the elements of soil. Sometimes, it floats swiftly and strongly in the sea of time and events just like a warship sailing against the wind, sometimes it is the inside of a fortress that is the last shelter harboring all the hopes, and sometimes it rises just like an eagle nest, which is impossible to reach." *A. H. Tanpınar "5 Şehir" (5 Cities)*

¹ The Marmara Pool, as mentioned later, was opened simultaneously with the farm. However, there is no information about the Black Sea Pool in this matters (Authors' comment).

2. ANKARA (1923-1940): A MODERNIZATION PROJECT

In his novel "*Çankaya*", the Turkish author Falih Rifki Atay described the early years of the Republic Era in Ankara in these words:

"Towards the evening people dragged their feet to their houses. If it was dark, flashing lights were seen in the fire fields, which still smelt of ash. When it got dark, town people put their horse carts in stables, and retired behind the cages. The mountains, hills, roads and that entire desert were silenced and sulky, which resembled eternity. All Ankara was nothing more than a village made up of the station, then the swamp, then the graveyard, jerry-built fire place after Karaoglan and at the end of it confronted mud and timber streets with cobblestone pavements or without pavements". (Bilgen, 1985: 17)

The rural people described by Atay were not qualified as "urban people" yet. However, this did not mean that despite the miserable conditions, the pioneering actors of the not-yet-urbanized place and the intellectuals did not have the consciousness to design the order from the very beginning.

The intellectuals of the time not only made this consciousness come true, but also played a pioneering role in its representation². This pioneering consciousness introduced a new concept to the people living in Ankara: Modernization. Ankara went through a modernization period in the sense that Berman has mentioned, "in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, and, at the same time, threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are." (Berman, 1988: 15)

Ankara's urban modernization history should be examined in terms of two approaches. Firstly, one must examine the physical planning process of Republican Ankara, as proposed by Prof. Herman Jansen, winner of the competition for an Ankara Master Plan held in 1928³. Secondly, one must examine the epistemological fundamental situational change related to the existence and thinking process of the city users (Tanyeli, 1997: 81)⁴. Within the framework of these two approaches, Ankara is the first urban modernization project of Turkey and also one of the few such projects in the world⁵. The conceptual infrastructure of the latter approach will be the focus of this study.

In order to comprehend the significance of the pools better during this period, it will be useful to map the free time practices of the daily life in that period, which today we call "leisure". Atay describes the characteristics of that period in this way:

"During the day time there were no places but the National Assembly for us to spend our time. At nights we waited hopefully to be summoned by Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk]. If we were not invited, we used to come together in a restaurant nearby the National Assembly, where we could drink.

The shopping district was so primitive that one couldn't find the same glasses, goblets and plates and put them on the table. Beyoglu [in Istanbul] looked like a boulevard in Paris compared with the Karaoglan shopping center [in Ankara].

At nights we had no fun but to chat at the table until late hours. There were no women at meetings or in houses, hotels and streets. I

² Representation is understood in the sense of representation of space, as used by Lefebvre. See Henri Lefebvre, "The Production of Space", (D. N. Smith, trans), Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1993.

³ For detailed information about the Jansen plan refer to "The Construction of a Capital City", G. Tankut (Istanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993).

⁴ U. Tanyeli, "Turk Modernlesmesinin Kentsel Sahnesini Yeniden Düşünmek" [To Reconsider the Urban Scene of Turkish Modernization]. *Arredamento Mimarlık* 1997/3 (1997): 81-88. Which of the two defines the urban modernization? Tanyeli leaves this question unanswered, to be answered by architect-historians.

⁵ *Ibid.*, In asserting this view, Tanyeli refers to all scales, from city-dweller to the structure of the city and from the public to the individual. Two other examples to create planned and new capital cities are Washington (1792) and Canberra (1913).

couldn't help thinking whether women were as scarce in the USA during their first immigration [period] as was the case in Ankara during its first foundation time." (Atay, 1969: 352-353)

The only shopping district of the city was composed of primitive shops and coffee houses (Bilgen, 1985: 17). The first European style restaurant in Ankara was "Sehir Lokantasi" [City Restaurant], overlooking the inner yard of Tashan, a caravanserai-like complex providing visitor accommodation. Next, there was Karpiç Restaurant, which was situated in a private, one-storey building built by The Ankara Municipality near the Ankara Palace Hotel on Ulus [Nation] Avenue. The owner, Karpiç, nicknamed "father", served until 1953, and it was named as a "state

restaurant" by Atatürk (Tanrikulu, 1985: 23-27). A hotel and Istanbul Patisserie, built by an Ankara citizen named Hafiz Bey, were the gathering places of intellectuals and deputies. These places were all located on Ulus Avenue (Nalbantoglu, 1981: 297). In 1925, at a point where Bankalar Street met Ulus Avenue, there was the Fresko Bar. In 1926, the nearby Alhamra Bar was also a popular place (Nalbantoglu, 1981: 296). Another pastime practice was to spend time in the "Millet Bahçesi" [National Garden], where, on special occasions, young people used to dance accompanied by music played by a small orchestra. During the summer months, work places generally closed at 2:00 pm due to the heat, and people would spend their afternoons in their "vineyard houses" [bag evleri], small weekend houses out of town usually surrounded by vineyards or orchards. On the



Figure 1a: View from the Train Station at Ataturk Model Farm



Figure 1b: View from the Train Station at Atatürk Model Farm

weekends, there were marriage ceremonies on the promenade (Tanrikulu, 1985: 25).

During the 1930s, the social life of Ankara became livelier. The state-run Ankara Palas Hotel, the first hotel in Ankara to provide Western-style accommodation with en-suite bathrooms, running water and central heating (rather than wood-burning stoves), began to organize concerts in their Garden Pavilion, where foreign stars often performed. There were only three movie theatres in Ankara during this period. Upper class members of Ankara spent their time at the Jockey Club [Atlı Spor Kulübü, literally "Horse Sports Club"], the Hunters' Club, the Tennis Club and/or the Swim Club. Apart from these, other social activities which enriched the life of Ankarans were the Gazi Horse Races, football matches, the Gazi Club, dance competitions, and art exhibitions (Tanrikulu, 1985: 26-27). During the winter months, people in Ankara went skiing at the nearby "Elmadag" [Apple Mountain]. Except for these activities, the most striking recreational urban places in late 1930s were the Youth Park ["Gençlik Parki"], constructed 1936-43, a public park, (not a children's playground as its name implies), the 19 May Stadium and the Çubuk Dam Casino/Night Club (1936), designed by the Italian architect Paola Vietti Viola (Bozdoğan, 2002: 91-93).

Before the 1930s, a period when Ankara's social life began to improve, the Model Farm, which was initially intended during the 1920's to realize modern scientific farm methods, also served as an

excursion place outside of downtown Ankara. Later, its role as an excursion place was strengthened with the Marmara and Black Sea Pools. An encyclopedia of the period describes this role in the following words:

"People in Ankara satisfy the necessities of park and promenade in the facilities of this farm with the Marmara and Black Sea Pools. There is a nice casino/night club around the Marmara Pool. You can get to the farm by car, by primitive mini-bus . . . and mostly by train". (Tanrikulu, 1985: 26).

3. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE MODEL FARM (ATATÜRK ORMAN ÇİFTLİĞİ) AND THE MARMARA AND BLACK SEA POOLS

In order to scrutinize the Marmara and Black Sea Pools, the context of the pools should first be elaborated. Consequently, the history of Atatürk Model Farm gains importance. The meaning and interpretation of the farm and pools are inter-related and sometimes juxtaposed within their historical context.

Following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, efforts to develop Turkish agriculture and to put the labour of Turkish farmers to good use occurred (Köksal, 1996: 10). This was done for the purposes of agriculture (vineyards, orchards, vegetable gardens, poultry and dairy farms), of industry (brewery, wine, mineral water and ice cream) and of commerce (Bozdoğan, 2002: 93). In the spring of 1925, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk sent



Figure 2: Atatürk Model Farm in the end of 1920s.



Figure 3: View from Ataturk Model Farm.

Orman Çiftliği
Satış Mağazası Salonu
 Temizlik ve zarafetle Ankaramızın en büyük bir
 ihtiyarını karşılamaktadır.
 Fuar fiyatlarla:
 Eski bir kaliteyi ve seçik et yemini, 40 ve
 50 gramdan başlayarak, aynı yemleri her zaman sarımsık
 bir lezzetle.

for well known agricultural experts to find an appropriate land nearby Ankara to set up a modern farm (Çaglar, 1986: 106).

An expert on the team narrates his memories:

"We thought it was useless to search for an appropriate land at length. The reason was simple. [Ankara was] a middle age city in the middle of a barren steppe. There were no trees, no water, nothing. How could we find an appropriate land under these circumstances? While we were searching for an appropriate land near Ankara, the present area of the farm was the least considered location. This area was neglected and sickly, and it made one dreary. After we had completed our search, we presented the outcome of our studies to the Great Chief (Atatürk). Then, Atatürk pointed the location of the present farm (and asked) "Have you considered this area?" We told him that our joint decision was that the area was barren, swampy, and poor, not suitable to set up a farm. Atatürk replied "Here is (exactly) the place where we have been looking for. It is near Ankara. It is swampy, barren and a terrible place. If we don't improve it, who will come and improve it?" (Altıntug, 2000: 17)

A law numbered 583 was passed on 24 May 1925, that enabled the swampy areas inside the city to be improved⁶. First, the land where the present administrative headquarters is situated was bought, and then the owners of the surrounding lands voluntarily sold their property. The total area grew to 20,000 acres. Lands from various sites of Ankara were also included in the farm, and on a total of 102,000 acres of land⁷, an entity called the Gazi Model Farm ("*Gazi Orman Çiftligi*") was set up, privately owned by Atatürk⁸.

A German company, Philip Holzman & Co., was assigned for the foundation of the farm (Altıntug, 2000: 22). Work began on 5 May 1925. A tent

put up in Yassidere became Atatürk's working centre, and another tent served as the administration centre of the farm (Köksal, 1996: 17). In an article by Huy da R.G. in the Gazette, the works are described as follows: "more than one million saplings were distributed to forest the city. On a barren hill nearby Ankara, Gazi Çiftligi was set up a couple years ago (Akgün, 1996: 270-71).

On 11 June 1937, Atatürk, at a meeting in the farm's [Marmara Pavilion] "Marmara Köskü" accompanied by Sükrü Kaya, the Secretary General of the Republican People's Party, Faik Kurdoglu, the Minister of Agriculture, and Nevzat Tandogan, the Mayor of Ankara, declared the farm transferred to the Turkish State (Çaglar, 1986: 107). The news hit the headline of the Aksam Newspaper on 13 June, 1933 stating that "Atatürk Bestows All His Farms to the State". The newspaper went on to say: "The National Assembly expressed its gratitude to Atatürk with great enthusiasm" and "The Prime Minister [Ismet İnönü] in his speech said: Atatürk, who holds his country above his personal interests, is a national entity and will remain so⁹."

With a law numbered 3309 and dated 7 January 1938, an entity called the State Agriculture Enterprises was founded, and the farm was taken over by this institution (Çaglar, 1986: 107). After the death of Atatürk in November 1938, the farm's Beer Factory was sold to the State Monopolies Institution, and a general loss of land began. This was the beginning of a fragmentation of the farm (Köksal, 2000: 61). On 1st March, 1950, the farm was affiliated with the State Production Farm system. However, this turned out to be a wrong decision, and with a law numbered 2823 dated 24th March 1950, the farm became a judicial body, affiliated with the Ministry of Agriculture under the name of Atatürk Orman Çiftligi [Atatürk Model Farm], or "AOÇ" (Çaglar, 1986: 107). With a law

⁶ This law concerned the improvement of marshland and the confiscation of land for the farm. Altıntug, A., "Ataturk Orman Çiftligi" [Ataturk Model Farm]. Unpublished Master's Thesis Istanbul University 2000.

⁷ Ibid., p.21. According to Altıntug in a source published one year after the foundation of the farm, the total acre of the land is stated as 80,000 acres.

⁸ "Gazi", literally meaning "war veteran", was the title of Mustafa Kemal before he took the surname of Ataturk in 1934.

⁹ "Atatürk Butun Çiftliklerini Hazineye Devretti" (Atatürk Bestows all his Farms to Treasury) Aksam Newspaper, 13 June 1937, front page.

numbered 2823 dated 5 May, 1983, the AOÇ lands were allowed to be sold and taken over (Köksal, 1996: 34).

4. ATATÜRK MODEL FARM IN THE MASTER PLANS OF ANKARA

There is no clear explanation of the AOÇ in the First Master Plan of Ankara, also known as the Jansen Plan (1928). The reason for this was that the farm had just been founded and the works were underway. Also, the farm was the personal possession of Atatürk and it was a planning approach not to mention about the right of utility. Meanwhile, the lands were used as data. The Jansen Plan intended to create organic and green areas and included the 19th May Stadium and the Hippodrome in the green area of the AOÇ from its western side. (Köksal, 1996: 47).

With an international competition held in 1955, a Second Master Plan of Ankara was prepared by Rasid Uybadin and Nihat Yücel, winners of the competition. This plan was authorized and put into effect in 1957, but it failed to protect the AOÇ lands (Köksal, 1996: 55).

With a resolution by Ministry of Culture, Department for Conservation of the Cultural and Natural Heritage, Ankara Section, numbered 2436



Figure 4: The Opening Ceremony of Atatürk Model Farm and the Marmara Pool (7.6.1928)

¹⁰ Interview with N. Dogramaci, June 2003 (Mr. Dogramaci is an employee of the Prime Ministry who has guarded the Marmara Residence and Pool since it was closed to the public).

and dated 6th June 1992, it was ruled that due to the historical, cultural and national characteristics, the AOÇ was entitled to be a natural and historical site. With this resolution, the maintenance of AOÇ site was taken under conservation (Altintug, 2000: 72).

5. THE STORIES OF THE MARMARA AND BLACK SEA POOLS

"The Great Conqueror is relaxing after he has won victories and put his sword in its sheath. He ornaments his farm with seas as a witness for his victories". (Rose Lea quoted in Atatürk Çiflikleri, [Atatürk Farms] 1939:7)

As the American journalist Rose Lea puts in the above, after the victories were won, it was required to celebrate these victories with monuments. The Marmara and Black Sea Pools, in the shape of each respective sea, were the monuments to these victories. (Çaglar, 1986: 107).

Although the initial purpose of the pools was to irrigate the farm, it could be claimed regarding the locations of the pools, the surrounding buildings and the physical characteristics, that these pools were given a meaning beyond more water storage pools.

5.1 The Marmara Pool

The meaning of The Marmara Pool is significant for the AOÇ. The opening ceremony of Gazi Model Farm coincided with the first filling of Marmara Pool, done by subterranean water through dikes and canals with the aid of centrifugal pumps. The pool contained 1000 m³ water (Çaglar, 1986: 108).

The fact that the Marmara Pool was used for the purpose of a cistern is confirmed by the pipes in the residence, the water softening station near the Marmara Hotel and the water distribution centre in the farm. These pipes carried the water from Beytepe to the pool and from there to the rest of the farm¹⁰.

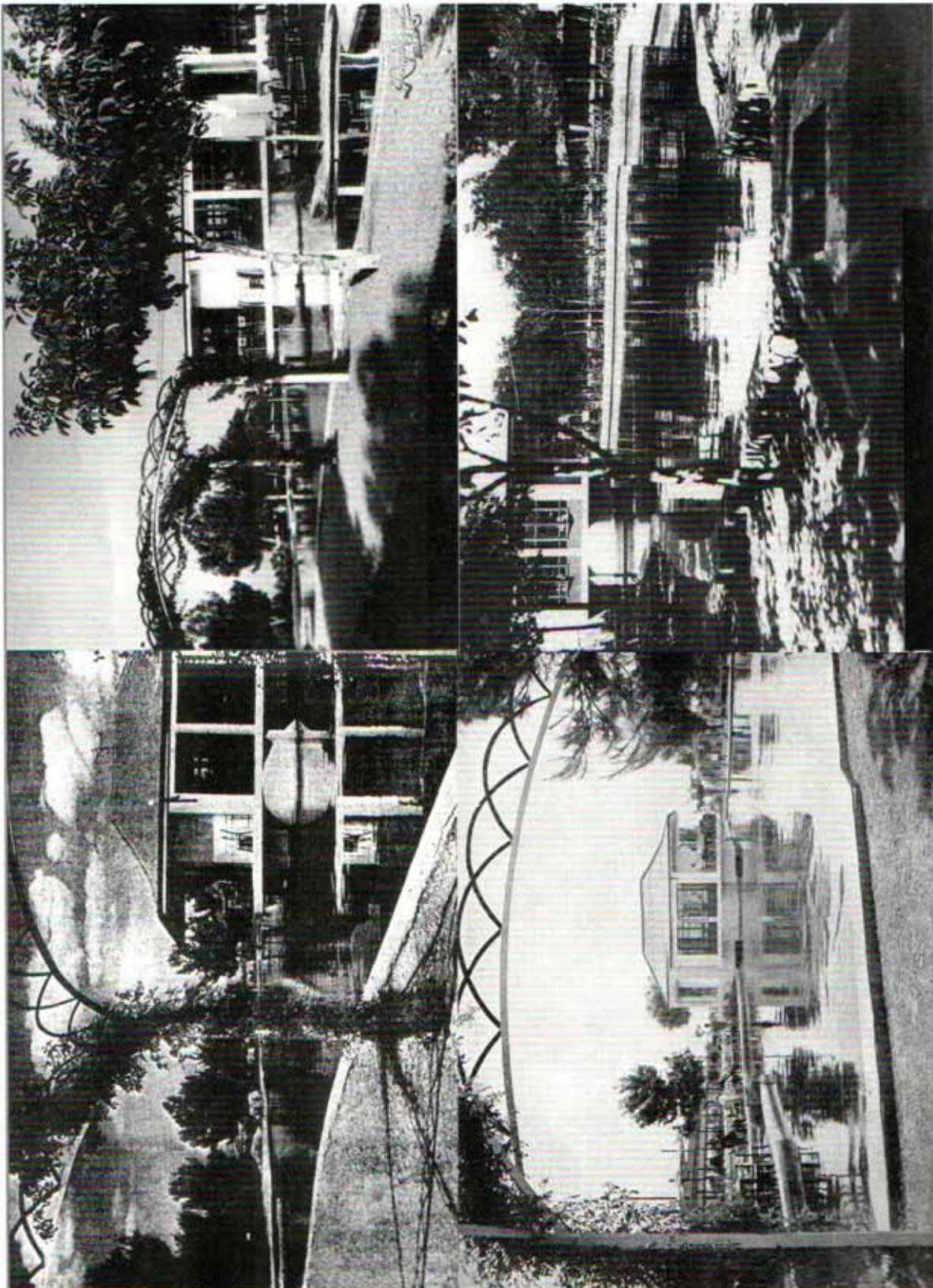


Figure 5: Views from the Marmara Park and the Marmara Pavillion



Figure 6: The Marmara Residence (1930 Ernst Egli)

In light of the visual materials from archives, it is possible to establish that the official opening date of the Marmara Pool (and the Gazi Model Farm) was 7th June 1925. The architect of the pool is unknown. There are, however, two possibilities. The first possibility is the Philip Holzman Company, which also constructed the farm, and the second possibility is Nafia Velayeti Construction Firm [Yapi Fen Heyeti] which constructed the telecom building (PTT) in the farm (1934) or Nafia Velayeti Building Department [Insaat Dairesi] which built the *Gendarme Station* in the farm (also in 1934).

In time it might have been thought that the Marmara Pool was too much for irrigation and it was converted to a recreational pool. For this purpose, the Marmara Park and the Marmara Pavillon were constructed around the pool. Later, the Marmara Residence was constructed and the Marmara Pool Complex was completed.

The architect of the Marmara Residence was the Swiss architect Ernst Egli, who had escaped from the Third Reich by coming to Turkey in 1927¹¹. According to the information supplied by N. Dogramaci, the residence was built for the purpose of relaxation after Atatürk swam in the pool¹². The external front of the residence was mosaic and the roof was brick. According to one story, the residence was built over the houses of the employees of the stable, which was also a part of the complex.

The residence had large halls and rooms, and it was made up of two sections. The first section was built during Atatürk's period, and the second section, to the rear of the building, was built by the Democratic Party between 1957-58. The construction of the residence in the farm supports the view that Atatürk personally supervised the parks, restaurants, cafes, pools and the zoo inside the farm (Bozdogan, 2002: 98)¹³. This attitude is

to do with Atatürk's desire to be closer to the public. We can also infer from the visual materials that the residence was a prestigious place where feasts and meetings were held.

The Marmara Pool, park and casino/night club served as a recreation centre for the people of Ankara. At this point, according to visual archival data and statements of N. Dogramaci, the Marmara complex was used by the upper class members who dressed elegantly, although it was open to the general public. It is thought that the reason for the absence of more ordinary citizens could be that everyone might not have had the courage to be in the presence of Atatürk.

Interest in the Marmara Pool during the 1930's and 1940's – a period when the Kemalist [Atatürk] ideology was dominant – began to diminish during the 1950s – a period of multi-party system – evident by the negligence of the pools (Çaglar, 1986: 108). The lack of maintenance of the pool was to do with the ideological preferences of the political actors of the time. According to N. Dogramaci, this period was concluded with the abandonment of the pool in 1943¹⁴. In addition to the lack of maintenance, the fact that Atatürk was no longer alive influenced the public who may have initially wanted to utilize the pool in order to be in the presence of Atatürk. From this fact, it is possible to understand how the meaning of the pool has been influenced from the context of its place.

The complex, protected by a watchman for a long time, was transferred to the Turkish Prime Ministry with a 5,000 TL monthly rent, on 1st September 1962, and it is still used by the Prime Ministry. The Marmara Pool was used as a coal discharge reservoir during the 1980's. At the instruction of the President at the time, the Prime Ministry started to restore the pool and the surrounding area (Çaglar, 1986: 108). Within the framework of these works, the residence and the pool were repaired. For

¹¹ Unfortunately an architectural drawing of the residence is not available. Egli also designed a beer factory (1933-34), houses for the factory workers, and a bath (1936-38) within the boundaries of the farm. When we consider that Egli only came to Turkey in 1927, it is a weak possibility that the designer of the pool was Egli. (Authors' comment)

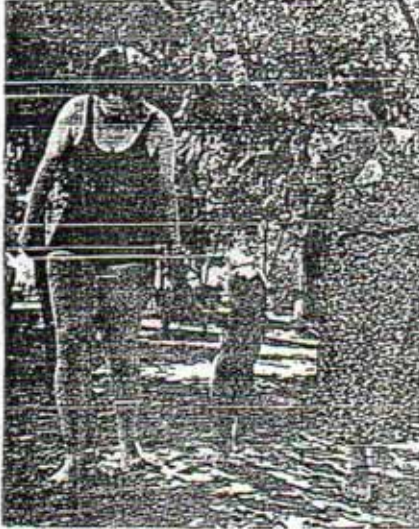
¹² Interview with N. Dogramaci, June 2003.

¹³ Ibid. It is significant to note that the Democratic Party did some repair work to the residence but neglected the casino/night club.

¹⁴ Interview with N. Dogramaci, June 2003.

Sıcak tatil gününden

Karadeniz ve baraj



Bu büyük serpen ankaralı Karadeniz havuzunun en hareketli müdafilerindedir. Havuzda banyosunu aldıktan sonra çirçiplak güreş banyosunu almaya başlar.



Çiftlikteki Karadeniz havuzu, din serilemek isteyen ankaralıların dolu idi. Yukarıdaki resimde bir deniz kıyısı z'lim hiç de aratmayan havuzun kenarında dinlenenleri görüyoruz.



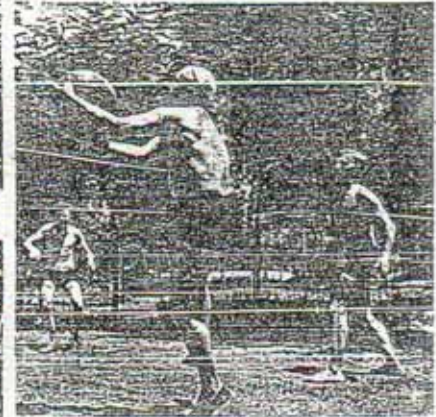
Dün burada işte ağaçların sarısı ve kokulu gülleri altında dinlenenler çıktı. Bir tarafta piyazları, içecekleri ile gelenler gırtlak yavaş oturmuş eğleniyorlardı.



Diğer tarafta barajın gazinosu da hiçabıncı haldeydi. Burada dinlenenler biraz sonra yukarı çıkıyorlar ve oradan akan suları seyrediyorlar ve bir tar yapıpaki geri dinliyorlardı.



Yukarıdaki resimde gene Çiftlikte Karadeniz havuzunda yüzülüten sonra zıncırdı dinlenenleri görüyoruz.



Havuzda banyodan sonra açık havada top oynuyorlar tekiler veya girip serilenmeye başlıyorlar.

Figure 7: Ulus Newspaper. (12.7.1937).

example, the roof of the residence was repaired and a supporting wall was erected to prevent the building's sliding. Atatürk's personal belongings were kept there until 1968, after which they were transferred to the Presidency Residence. A boat found there was donated to the Istanbul Sea Museum. According to information obtained from the current guard, the pool is closed to the public and the maintenance of the pool is done by the farm staff themselves¹⁵.

5.2 The Black Sea Pool

The Black Sea Pool, like the Marmara Pool, was constructed for the purpose of irrigation. It is not possible to find information in archives about the construction date of the pool, but it was probably constructed just after Marmara Pool. One source has stated that the Black Sea Pool was converted to a swimming and water sports facility after the summer of 1928 (Çağlar, 1986: 114). This matches with some visual material dated 1929 which shows that some children were swimming in the pool.

However, a decree numbered 11133 and dated 17 June 1931 obtained from the Prime Ministry archives states that the Black Sea Pool was commissioned from architect Asım Bey, and could not be completed due to adverse weather conditions. In an article that appeared in the *Hakimiyeti Milliye* newspaper on 23 July 1931, it states that "Green Ankara wants a swimming pool. It is time to construct a swimming pool in the park, if there is enough water."¹⁶ The article goes on:

"Only shadow and greenery is not enough. Water, beach, and pool are no longer a desire but a necessity ... Everywhere in the world in such a plateau city they built a pool after they had obtained water. If our water level is so high, it means that we have found enough water for the pool. We have to think that a swimming pool is not only a recreation center but also a means of health in hot weather. It is expected from the municipality to initially

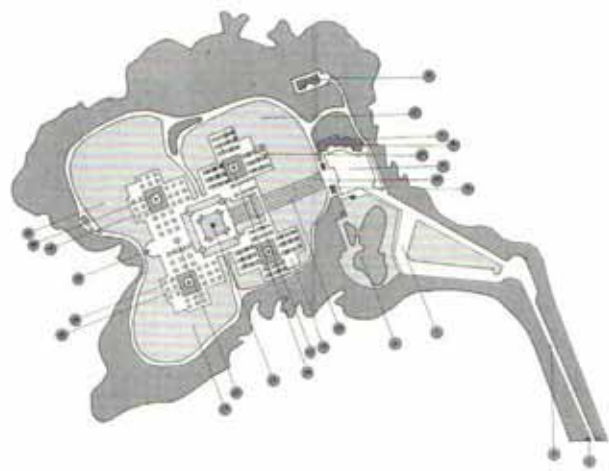


Figure 9a: The Black Sea Pool Site Plan and Aerial View.



Figure 9b: The Black Sea Pool Site Plan and Aerial View.

*build a swimming pool, and after that the remaining luxurious facilities.*¹⁷

These quotes indicate that the Black Sea Pool may not yet have been converted to a swimming pool in the July of 1931.

After the pool was constructed, daily newspapers broke the news in this way: "Ankara has filled an important gap. Mustafa Kemal has had a swimming pool constructed for the people of Ankara. People will be able to spend hot summer days swimming in the pool."¹⁸

¹⁵ Interview with N. Dogramaci, June 2003.

¹⁶ "Yesil Ankara Bir de Havuz Istiyor" [Green Ankara Wants a Pool]. *Hakimiyeti Milliye* (newspaper), 23 July 1931, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁸ *Ulus* newspaper, 4 July 1938.



Summer in Ankara
 Été à Ankara
 Sommer in Ankara

Figure 8: Swimming Practices in the Black Sea Pool.

In time, swimming and diving competitions were organized in the pool, so the activities of the pool became enriched. It is possible to see the effects of these competitions in the minds of people from the newspapers dated 1938:

"Yesterday the first swimming competitions were held. In recent days the Black Sea Pool has been full of people due to the hot weather. The competitions especially attracted

*a lot of people to the pool. Next week, as scheduled, encouragement competitions will be held".*¹⁹

"Yesterday in the Black Sea Pool the fifth encouragement competitions were held. This week, the competitions did not attract much attention because of the lack of an award for the competitions. In the meantime, some competitors went mountaineering.

¹⁹ "Karadeniz Havuzunda Yuzme Musabakalari" [Swimming Competitions in the Black Sea Pool]. *Ulus* newspaper, 4 July 1938, p. 7.

*Nevertheless, the schedule has been followed with great care”.*²⁰

It can be understood from the above quotations that the competitions were held regularly every weekend. From the perspective of daily life, the actors of the Marmara and Black Sea Pools were different from each other. While the Marmara Pool attracted the elite, who wanted to be closer to Atatürk, the Black Sea Pool served more as a public beach. The furniture around the Marmara Pool (tables, chairs, even the table covers) was chosen very carefully for its modern design. On the other hand, the furniture around the Black Sea Pool was more of a rural type.

The fate of the Black Sea Pool was not different from that of Marmara Pool, except that it was abandoned much later. Caglar, who mentioned the abandonment of the Marmara Pool during the 1950's,²¹ does not mention the Black Sea Pool during this period. She says that it was rented out to private enterprises in the 1970's, and was not abandoned until after this period (Caglar, 1986: 114). In the light of this information, we can conclude that the reason why the Marmara Pool was abandoned so early was due to the ideological parameters. The Marmara Pool was a landscape element of the Marmara Pavilion and Residence, where Atatürk resided when he visited the farm. For this reason its ideological meaning was very powerful.

The Black Sea Pool was assigned to the State Graveyard Commission with a law numbered 2549 dated 10 November 1981. The National Defense Ministry held a competition for a State Graveyard in 1982, won by architect Özgür Ecevit and agriculture engineer and landscape architect Ekrem Gürenli, and implementation to their design started in August 1988. During the construction of the

State Graveyard, the Black Sea Pool and its environment were restored as well.²²

6. READING THE POOLS

Having examined the history of the pools up to the present time, we can see the process of simple history writing. From the archival materials examined, it is possible to reach the ideology of the period, the projects of this ideology and the subjects and objects of these projects. The pools themselves were not the subjects of history writing, they were merely mentioned under the topics, which we have mentioned above.

Despite the variety of visual material²³ the pools themselves were not the topic of evaluation. This does not mean that the pools had insignificant historical meanings and values within the general framework. However, in order to understand the social meaning of the pools correctly, we should have a general historical outlook of the period. The most important fact about this issue is the problematic ideological representation of the period.

Kemalist ideology means the conscious expression of civilization changes accordingly, (Göle, 1992: 48). Atatürk defined the necessity of this change in this way, “The people of the Republic of Turkey who say “I am civilized”, should display this through his family life, lifestyle and with his general outlook” (Göle, 1992: 52). This view shows that Kemalist ideologies not only referred to the change of the appearance of the state but also to the change in daily life.

At the beginning of this essay, it was mentioned that the Ankara Project was a modernization project. It would not be wrong to say that Kemalist ideology is an ideology of modernization (Belge,

²⁰ “Karadeniz Havuzunda Yuzme Musabakalari Musabakalarinin Besincisi Dun Yapildi [The Fifth Encouragement Competitions Were Held Yesterday], *Ulus* Newspaper. 25 July 1938. p. 7.

²¹ This date is given as around 1943 by N. Dogramaci.

²² “Milli Savunma Bakanligi Devlet Mezarligi Brosuru (Brochure of the State Graveyard of Ministry of Defense). p. 1-3. The total area of the graveyard is 536. 124 m². There are also three groups of statues by artist Rahmi Aksungur depicting Turkish War of Independence, as well as a museum containing some belongings, pictures and documents of the commanders of the War of Independence The museum was designed by architect Ozgur Ecevit.

²³ Variety used here is a relative expression, and refers to both textual and visual documents.

1983: 260).²⁴ Tekeli (1998) defines this project, which is a project of Kemalist ideology, within four dimensions.

The first dimension is that knowledge, morality and art should be incorporated within the context of logical and universal illumination. The second dimension is economy, where capitalist development has a special role in the industrialization and institutionalization of private possessions. The third dimension is the institutionalization of the nation-state and representative democracy. The fourth dimension is the creation of free citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities in the society in the face of law (Tekeli, 1998: 61).

Except for the second dimension, the ideological urban places that were created by the Marmara and Black Sea Pools contain all dimensions of the Kemalist ideology. The pools, with swimming practices, were intended to create universal, illuminated Turkish youth. The emphasis here is the youth. For, the burden of the young ideology was on the shoulders of the youth. In the meantime, this daily activity "is a part of the cultural education of the new generation" (Uludag, 1998: 111). Secondly, the principle of nation-state and representative democracy is represented by the pools. This will be discussed in more detail later. Thirdly, the emphasis of the concept of equal citizens is represented by the pools. As Uludag has pointed out, "the nation-state has been founded on the basis of freedom, participation and equality" (Uludag, 1998: 104). In modern nation-states, the understanding of citizenship is based on "universality" and "equal treatment for the individuals". In other words, all citizens are meant to participate equally in all universal rights and activities (Keyman, 1998: 57).

The meaning of the pools in this ideology is that they created a "neutral space" for each citizen in

the public domain. As Mahçupyan puts it "a public area enables socio-psychological relations among people and groups. These pools reminded people that they are one of the citizens of the state, in other words, when they come across other citizens in a public area, the identity of others reminded them of their own identity." (Mahçupyan, 1998:27).

Kemalism attaches a great importance to education in the building of a nation during the process of modernization. However, instead of focusing on the conceptual transfer of the project²⁵ we should concentrate on the social practices of the project. Daily life, as defined by Lefebvre, should force the boundaries of the possibilities of the places (Tekeli, 2000: 45). In this sense, Kemalist ideology attached importance to strategies in the planning of spaces (Aki, 2001: 82)²⁶ and the country was converted to a nation-state concept (Tekeli, 1998: 61).

According to Lefebvre's trio theories (Lefebvre, 1993:3 8-39) (spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces) the pools are the representational spaces of the Republican ideology, and in this ideology the pools play the role of "practices of space" for the actors using them.

In this sense, as Mardin has stated, the main tool of representation will be "symbols". According to Mardin, symbols are parts of the learning process, they create the map of a society, and they also are the carriers of associations stirring up the society (Mardin, 1992: 91). Within this context, the pools were the symbols in the representation of the daily life. According to Bozdoğan, the fact that the efforts are the objects of representation within the context of the farm is expressed in this way: "Scientific farm methods, the construction of an ever-green forest in a plateau of barren Anatolia, and the irrigation of the forest were things that we were proud as a nation during the 1930s. These

²⁴ The Modernization Project did not begin in the Republican Period; it began with the Westernization Movement during the Ottoman Period. However, the modernization understanding and ideology of the Republic Era was different from that of the Ottoman Period. (authors' comment)

²⁵ Conceptual transfer means the transfer of the modernization concept to the public. (Authors' comment).

²⁶ Aki translates from Certeau that he states that strategy is a political means of social actors who would like to be dominant and is implemented by force, through suitable means which was considered and devised before, and it is different from tactics and it needs a place or institution.

efforts were to domesticate the wild nature and to dominate nature and finally to own earth as a national property.²⁷

Adam mentions “two different plays” in dealing with the representation of Kemalist ideology:

“But the Ankara which is the capital city and the Ankara which is prior to being a capital city, put on two different roles on the same stage both from the point of view of their social structures and their physical structures. One of the plays has an official identity. This play is staged with a scenario using the elements of the organizations of space and society to re-shape themselves and to spread the official ideology resulting from the future projects of the dominant actors during the process of foundation of the state and the Republic.

The second role contains a lot of plays in it. The number of them is the same as the layers of the social groups living in the city. And the shaping of these social groups as an object and ideology is realized within daily life. The future symbols of each social group determine the operation of re-shaping mechanism”. (Adam, 1985: 28)

The second play mentioned here by Adam has an important role for our objects, the pools. Adam emphasizes that the second play transfers the strategies of spaces into daily life. In other words, the second play is the projection of the organizations of space in daily life.

Apart from the physical examination of the pools, we will focus on the daily life that was intended to be constructed by the pools. According to Lefebvre, daily life are those activities that constitute materialistic culture such as feeding, clothing and accommodation. On the other hand, Certeau enlarges these activities to include speaking, reading, moving, shopping, etc (Tekeli, 2000: 42). Starting from these definitions, it will

The scope of daily life changes according to various definitions. In addition to the activities mentioned above, we should also include work and leisure into the definition of daily life. In Lefebvre’s “dialectics of work and leisure”²⁹, the pools are the modern interpretation of leisure. Lefebvre defines this in this way: “With the fragmentation of labour, modern industrial civilization creates both a general need for leisure and some differentiated general concrete needs” (Lefebvre, 1991: 32). That is due to the contrast of modern daily life daily activities which seem to be independent facts. In this sense, daily activities have a modern meaning. When we look at the Early Turkish Republic from this perspective, the Kemalist founders constructed institutions and the organizations of these institutions that defined and concretized ordinary daily life.

Belge defines this dialectic relation in this way:

“With the exclusion of economic, political and ideological events of a social life, one thing remains-and this thing is quite vague. We can call this the daily life of a society. This daily life is separated from other parts and levels of social life intellectually. For, these levels are interwoven. (Belge, 1983: 836)

In fact, at first sight such projects forming a large ideology – in our example the Marmara and Black Sea Pools – might seem ordinary. However, the followers of the Kemalist ideology were aware of “the complexity of daily life” and that “politics contains the criticism of daily life and need, or the reverse of daily life contains political criticism.” (Lefebvre, 1991:89)

This awareness was a driving force in the construction of daily life. Here, we must focus on the concept of construction. The starting point is how the existing relations will be changed, what are the daily practices that will lay the foundation of these relations and how will these practices

²⁷ Bozdogan (2002), p. 98. Bozdogan enlarges these efforts with the inclusion of the improvement of Agro Ponting swamps in Fascist Italy and the settlements of the Zionists by cultivating the soil. See also Adam, M. “Ankara’da Kentsel Yaşam” (Urban Life in Ankara) Mimarlık 1985/2-3 (1985): 28-30.

²⁸ Tekeli considers an individual intersecting point and the determination of relations influence each other. What is important is the relations rather than the subjects.

²⁹ Lefebvre, H. Critique of Everyday Life. London and New York: Verso 1991:43.

create the places of practices from nothing? If we turn back to the example of the pools, in fact we can not mention a creation from nothing. When we look at the Ottoman daily life, we can see that the activity of swimming, which is a special daily practice, does not reflect that period.³⁰ The reason is that religion surrounded all social activities in Ottoman times, and as a result of this, a “content” attitude prevailed. However, if we deal with this subject from the point of Ankara, we can say that water was a new *fact* for the city of Ankara and the people in Ankara.

Continuity of a social system depends on continuous repetition of life itself. If a daily activity in a society is not produced again, it means that the society is in crisis (Tekeli, 2000: 43). For the ideologies of the Early Turkish Republican Era, the construction of daily life was very important. Apart from the fact that daily life enables continuity, it also enables to shape a social mind with a different ideology.

The creation of a new nation is synonymous with the creation of a new mind. This new mind, which was intended to be shaped by the pools, was the separate social and individual minds. In parallel with the theory of Halbwach, we can say that the social mind stands at a different point from the individual mind (Connerton, 1989: 37). An individual mind is intersected compulsorily with the social mind. In other words, the social mind is above the individual mind.

The social mind demands continuity and is passed from one generation to the other. This mind which is defined as a “social construction” will be reconstructed in the public sphere. Such a reconstruction needs new places and new relations in these places. According to Yalim, the mind is both the source and the result of social identity (Yalim, 2001: 85). In other words, the construction of an identity depends on the construction of a

mind. In the meantime, this new social identity will produce the mind in the process of reproduction. The social continuity mentioned by Tekeli will repeat itself in this cycle.

The pools constructed by the nation-state of Turkey carry meaning beyond just mere urban landscape elements that take place in daily life by serving as leisure elements.

In that sense they contain monumental properties. The monumental characteristic of the pools are separated from the point of their functions given within the environmental wholeness, and their physical shape. They stand as the abstraction of the Kemalist ideology. The fact that Marmara Pool was constructed in the shape of the Marmara Sea, and in the same way, the Black Sea Pool was constructed in the shape of the Black Sea is something beyond the functions they contained³¹. These pools, which contained functions and have geographic boundaries, they can also be classified as “space” independent of their environment. The pools can be defined as monuments, given the fact that the ideological associations can be commented upon through structural fineness and through sub-reading. In this sense, according to Saussure’s sign-signifier-signified theory, the pools are signifiers. The meaning they contain, in other words, what is signified, is the domination of nation-state expressed by the Marmara Sea and Black Sea, which are a part of a geography dominating the Turkish Republican ideology.

Ankara was always criticized because of its dry climate, remote geographic location and barren soil. Also, it was a capital city far away from the sea. Gradually, as a product of the victory of the Turkish Republican ideology, Ankara was to be blessed in a concrete way with monuments by choosing the Marmara Sea and Black Sea – half of the water boundaries of the nation³² – as signified. Bringing a sea into the middle of a plateau is also

³⁰ For Ottoman daily life, refer to “Osmanlılarda Gundelik Hayat” [Daily Life of the Ottomans]. Istanbul Encyclopedia, Istanbul: Agac Yayincilik, 1994.

³¹ The region where the Marmara Pool is situated is called the Marmara Plateau. However, we do not have any information about whether the pool or the plateau was named first. (Authors’ comment)

³² The other two water boundaries of Turkey are the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. In both cases it would be politically dangerous (internationally) to claim them for the nation of Turkey. The Black Sea, although not wholly owned by Turkey, was less politically charged (authors’ comment)

a way of legitimacy of the dominant ideology in the eyes of the public. In this way, the public was to come face to face with the fact of a remembering-reminding process, producing itself through the symbol of sea in the daily practices.

"The act of remembering is connected with the re-production of symbols. The mind enables that perception. The moment when we have perceived a fact is limited with the representation of the fact, with the way of perception of the society and also with language. In this way, remembering reproduces the way of societal perception. The perceived reality is comprehensible through a symbol produced by the way of perception of the society. So, the symbol is the abstraction of ideas and the relations of individuals. In other words, the representation of the remembered reality is approved by the value system of a social environment and is the basis of remembering and perceiving". (Yalim, 2001: 188)

Symbols, constructed by the pools, have two important dimensions. The first one is the modernization symbol, which was created together with women. Women began to appear in the society due to the Kemalist ideology. The pools public enabled women to appear in urban places and they were freed from isolation and began to take part in social life (Göle, 1992: 57). The fact that women began to appear in society is an important part of the modernization process. The appearance of men and women together in the pools is more radical than their appearance in other public places. The second dimension is also connected with the first one, and it is the new social symbol created through the body (Göle, 1992: 64).

"The goal here is to re-construct the bodily practices of the elite class by creating appropriate places in the way of "modern" "habitual mind" and "body mind". The class mentioned here was to be the first carrier of the habitual behaviour of modernization and they were to be the symbol of modernization for the rest of the society through their bodies" (Yalim, 2002: 188).

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Marmara and Black Sea Pools were ideological spaces. The pools were "the representative places" of the Kemalist ideology. The photograph taken during the opening ceremony of the Marmara Pool is the example of representation which supports this ideology and concept.

We are of the opinion that ideology was used in a positive meaning in the example of the pools (Guess, 1981: 22). Ideology in a positive sense enables individuals to gain consciousness about the world and themselves (Rossi-landi, 1990: 91) and to gain an identity and construct a life in accordance with their culture (Guess, 1981: 22). The pools were the places to help individuals gain an identity and were also a kind of public education places in the process of modernization. Despite these positive properties, the pools were unable to succeed in completing the process of "societal mind" and their meanings were lost in history and they disappeared completely from daily life. For, as we mentioned before, mind demands continuity.

As we have observed in the transformation periods of the pools, the changing of meanings led to different practices of places. Today, it is impossible to access the Marmara Pool. The Black Sea Pool, with the new restoration within the scope of the State Graveyard, has been transformed into a new urban landscape element, which serves as a relaxation area on a visual level for graveyard visitors³³.

The questioning of this transformation is the topic of another study. Here, it is enough to draw the conclusion that the reason of the transformation of the pools was due to the fact that the Kemalist ideology lost its dominance. Although the pools have the potential of re-producing their former meanings, the potential can not be used properly. Merely the sight of a pool is not enough to renew itself in the mind of people. Instead, the activity of swimming must also be reproduced.

Within this context, what is needed is visual and

³³ Although the State Graveyard is officially open to the public, it does not readily present itself as such with its massive closed gate and armed soldiers which, in the rest of Ankara, normally signify "not open to the public". However, visitors simply need to ask the guards to open the gate and they do so. (authors' comment)

written materials which will re-produce the former meanings of the pools. Since life is a dynamic structure, it is inevitable that there will be transformations in every place constructed by life even without political interventions. However, if the condition of being a society is to have a mind, if place has an important part in the creation of that mind, and also a society owes its existence (not only materialistic but also moral existence) to this ideology, then this mind must be re-produced with the construction of places.

Public history, architectural preservation, urban conservation, environmental protection and public art can take on a specific evocative role in helping to define a city's history if, and only if, they are complemented by a strong community process that establishes the context of social memory (Hayden, 1997: 76)■

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SUSTAINABLE POST DISASTER RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH INTEGRATED RISK MANAGEMENT - THE CASE OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH ASIA

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ABSTRACT

Ensuring sustainability of interventions undertaken as part of post disaster reconstruction is one of the crucial challenges confronting the developing world. There are enough examples to show that in many cases, reconstruction serves to reinforce and sometimes-even increase the vulnerability of local communities. This is well exemplified in India by the case of reconstruction following Latur earthquake in 1993, Orissa super cyclone in 1999 and Gujarat earthquake of January 2001.

In the light of these challenges, the paper will elaborate on the methodology, tools and techniques for integrated risk management, which is readdressed from a holistic and dynamic perspective. The term 'risk' is redefined in an integrated manner with respect to exposure to one or more hazards as well as other factors determining vulnerability in developing countries. The term 'vulnerability' is assessed not only as product of hazard exposure but in a progressive manner resulting from social, economic and underdevelopment processes, before, during and after disaster situations.

The paper will further attempt to redefine disasters as a continuum where actions taken during various phases have an impact on each other, thereby emphasizing the need for establishing various backward and forward linkages while deciding different actions and interventions at various stages.

The paper will conclude by elaborating on the proactive tools, techniques, strategies and actions for risk assessment and control at various stages with respect to a disaster situation and thus address various types of risks in an integrated and dynamic manner.

Keywords: Reconstruction, Disaster Vulnerability, Local Knowledge and Capacity, Disaster, Risk, Risk Management, Cultural Heritage.

1. INTRODUCTION

South Asian sub-continent is exposed to various natural hazards leading to disasters, which cause immense loss of life and property. This includes irreplaceable loss to the rich cultural heritage in the region, both of tangible as well as intangible nature. The Orissa super-cyclone of 1999 and the Gujarat Earthquake of 2001 are enough to substantiate this argument. Such an immense destruction requires massive schemes for post disaster reconstruction, requiring not only provision of shelters but also rehabilitating social and economic structures which are badly mutilated as a consequence of these disasters.

Ensuring sustainability of interventions is certainly one of the crucial challenges while undertaking post disaster reconstruction. There are enough examples to show that in many cases,



Figure 1: Historic Town of Bhuj Devastated by 2001 Gujarat Quake in India

reconstruction serves to reinforce and sometimes even increase the vulnerability of local communities. This is well exemplified in India by the case of reconstruction following Latur earthquake in 1993, where 'city-like' grid ironed layout for villages and import of 'modern' technology for construction of rural housing has failed to reduce peoples' vulnerability to future earthquakes. On the contrary, these have increased physical as well social and economic vulnerability of the local communities (Jigyasu, 2002)¹.

1.1 Reducing Disaster Vulnerability – Key Issues and Challenges

The underlying causes for increasing disaster vulnerability, both in pre and post disaster situation are essentially linked to the existing social, economic and political context and existing policy approaches for managing disasters. This in many instances is a result of existing development processes, whose implications on rural communities in the region are in the form of social and economic poverty and inequity, market economy and lack of proper education. Five main issues and challenges are evident in the context of rural communities of South Asia for reducing their disaster vulnerability through building local knowledge and capacities. These are:-

1. Loss of Material and Land Resources (from rural communities)
2. Loss of Traditional Skills
3. Cultural Incompatibility of External Interventions
4. Increasing Social and Economic Inequity
5. Weakening of Local Governance (Jigyasu, 2002)

With respect to the above-mentioned issues and challenges, various dilemmas of dialectical nature emerge in the case of these communities, which

are discussed in the next section while revisiting the existing theories on disaster and vulnerability, the role of local knowledge and capacity and the paradigmatic base for disaster management, particularly through post-disaster rehabilitation. However, one must acknowledge that most of these theories though good to know, are applicable more to Western ideologies.

2. REDEFINING DISASTER VULNERABILITY

2.1 The Complexity of Relationships between vulnerability and Capacity

Vulnerability is essentially a set of negative conditions within a community, which may be a consequence of several factors. This may be due to inherent weaknesses of these communities or a consequence of external threats. In contrast, local knowledge and capacity is a result of positive conditions in a community. It represents the internal strengths of these communities and their external opportunities.

However, these negative and positive conditions do not make vulnerability and capacity as mutually exclusive. In fact disaster vulnerability is both the cause and effect of degenerating local knowledge and capacities and of conditions of poverty. This brings us to a critique of the capacity and vulnerability analysis Matrix by Anderson (1989)², which does not explore the relationships between vulnerabilities and capacities as mutually influencing conditions, rather it looks at them independently.

Disaster vulnerability is complex in the following respects:-

- It can encompass various aspects such as physical, social, attitudinal, economic, etc.).
- It may hold true with respect to one hazard or multiple hazards.

¹ The author makes this conclusion on the basis of his doctoral research titled 'Reducing Disaster Vulnerability through Local Knowledge and Capacity' undertaken at Norwegian University of Science and Technology from 1999-2002. The Research analysed the long-term impact of reconstruction in Marathwada, India, following a destructive earthquake that struck the region in 1993. The transition phase from relief to reconstruction was also analysed in Gujarat, India, following 2001 earthquake.

² Mary Anderson in her matrix defines vulnerabilities and capacities as two mutually exclusive terms, which are described in terms of three main aspects, namely physical / material, social/ organizational and motivational/ attitudinal. She further makes strict division between vulnerabilities and capacities on the basis of gender and economic status.

- It may hold true for the whole community or certain sections of it.

While exploring the inter-linkages between vulnerabilities and capacities, a significant aspect is their dynamic nature. This implies that vulnerability does not remain the same over a given time period, especially after a natural hazard such as earthquake. On one hand, certain aspects of vulnerability before the hazard form the context or setting for the disaster. On the other hand, reactive actions (as relief and rehabilitation process) may help in eradicating or reducing certain kinds of vulnerabilities, changing certain vulnerabilities to different kinds and reinforcing or compounding or strengthening or even increasing others. The vulnerability conditions can also change with time on their own through certain inherent community coping mechanisms or other practices.

Vulnerability to natural disasters can therefore be understood as 'products'³ and 'processes', existing before as well as after a disaster. Certain aspects of disaster vulnerability precede a disaster, and thus create a setting for the disaster, thereby contributing to its nature and severity. These can get reinforced and changed after a disaster as a result of various response decisions, as well as the overall social, economic, political and institutional context. In spite of good intentions, certain aspects of vulnerability are carried forward since the underlying causes remain.

Also local knowledge and capacity that have potential for disaster mitigation are accumulative, continuously updating or changing (in positive or negative direction) in response to various situations, which are taken as part of learning processes through local initiatives. The internal world-views or perceptions dictate these learning processes and communication mechanisms, which develop over time, leading to creation, reception and accumulation of new knowledge.

Considering the dynamic nature of vulnerability and local knowledge and capacities, it is important to reflect on Mary Anderson's Matrix, which takes a static view on these terms. Communities are

always in transition and as such, their vulnerabilities and capacities increase or decrease accordingly. Besides, there may be some hidden capacities and vulnerabilities, which may not be linked to one hazard or another but nevertheless characterize the strength and weakness of these communities in general. Moreover, in many situations, vulnerabilities and capacities pertaining to various hazards may compliment each other.

When seen in a time continuum, disaster vulnerabilities and capacities in the context of rural communities in India and Nepal can be described as the processes, which are the 'products' of;

1. Inherent social, cultural and economic transformation processes within communities.
2. Normal (under) development process.
3. Immediate and long-term disaster response, including those of emergency relief models by various NGO's.

These three factors affect the vulnerability and capacity of rural communities, and also affect each other.

In the following discussion, each of the above aspects of disaster vulnerability and capacity are elaborated in detail, highlighting the nature, dilemmas and challenges in the context of rural communities in South Asia.

2.2 Vulnerability as 'Product' of Social, Cultural and Economic Transformation Processes within Communities

The rural communities in South Asia have traditionally been coherent (to quite an extent!) entities with distinct social hierarchy but well-defined roles and relationships. However these communities are transforming in many respects, one of which relates to inherent structural changes in traditional patterns and relationships within communities, which determine their mutual support systems. These contribute to lessening their vulnerability, although one must admit that some of these patterns and relationships are exploitative

³ The term 'product' is used here in a non-physical sense.

2.4 Vulnerability as Product of Immediate and Long-Term Disaster Response

We have examples from Marathwada and Gujarat to show that vulnerability is not only a pre-disaster condition. It is also a product of external human interventions and myths or perceptions of decision makers, undertaken as post-disaster decisions or actions, both immediate relief and long term rehabilitation, that in fact are originally intended to reduce vulnerability against such natural events. This is either because of wrong official policies for undertaking relief and rehabilitation or in many instances, a result of emergency, relief and rehabilitation models by NGOs. Many of these policies and models are dictated by the dominant paradigm of development, which is explained in the previous section. Take the case of Marathwada and Gujarat, where during post disaster rehabilitation, the decision-makers perceived provision of 'modern' and 'city like' layout and housing for the villages, as benchmark for their development. The negative consequences of these in the long run are evident in the Marathwada case. Also in these areas, provision of reconstructed houses is thought of as an end product for development of villagers.

Besides wrong policies, the ineffectiveness may be due to the overall social, economic and political context, within which disaster management takes place. For example, the forced displacement of the people after a disaster due to 'relocation' policies initiated by the Government may cause the loss of family kinship, which is very important in this region where there is lot of emphasis on extended families. Therefore, it is very important that the socio-cultural values are not destroyed through such wrong policies.

In fact, existing context shapes disaster management, which in turn also shapes the context. In fact wrong policy approaches can reinforce and in some cases, even increase existing resource dependencies, social inequity and at the same time, overlook local knowledge and capacities. Moreover, community participation in disaster management depends largely on the local power structure, which ironically, is reinforced by existing social segregation. Theoretical discussion on this issue will be done later.

Another significant issue pertaining to disaster management practiced in South Asian Subcontinent is that it has become a highly specialized discipline and various professionals and decision makers perceive various approaches for mitigation and rehabilitation within their own disciplinary field. For example, policy makers perceive relocation as a safe option based on the technical criteria of seismic safety, without considering the relationships to land, culture and livelihoods. Similarly, housing reconstruction is seen as a physical end product, without paying heed to the process of rural housing and its link to social structure, way of life and local economy. Similar issues emerge on the questions of transferring technology, which can make the structures highly resistant to earthquakes, but throw open questions on their affordability, cultural compatibility and sustainability in the context of rural communities in the region.

3. REDEFINING 'RISKS' AND 'DISASTERS' – A HOLISTIC AND DYNAMIC APPROACH

The above discussion throws light on the perspectives to the fundamental question; What is a disaster (Quarantelli, 1998). Conventionally, we tend to categorize various phases in relation to disaster (as pre, emergency and post disaster) for the sake of management. However, one needs to question whether disaster is a 'reality' or a

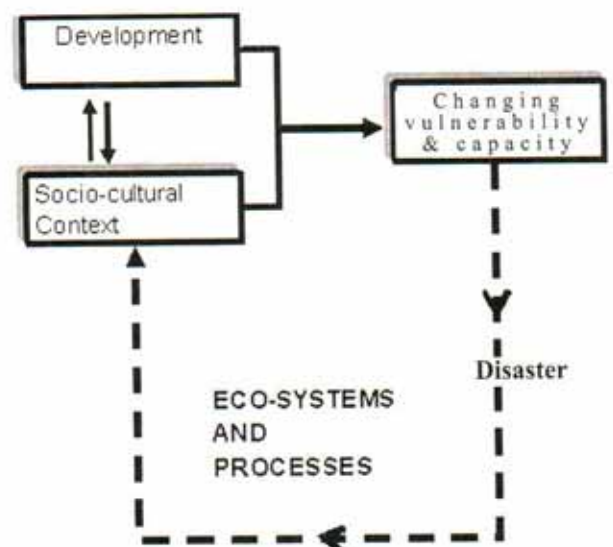


Figure 2: Relationship of Disaster, Vulnerability and Development.

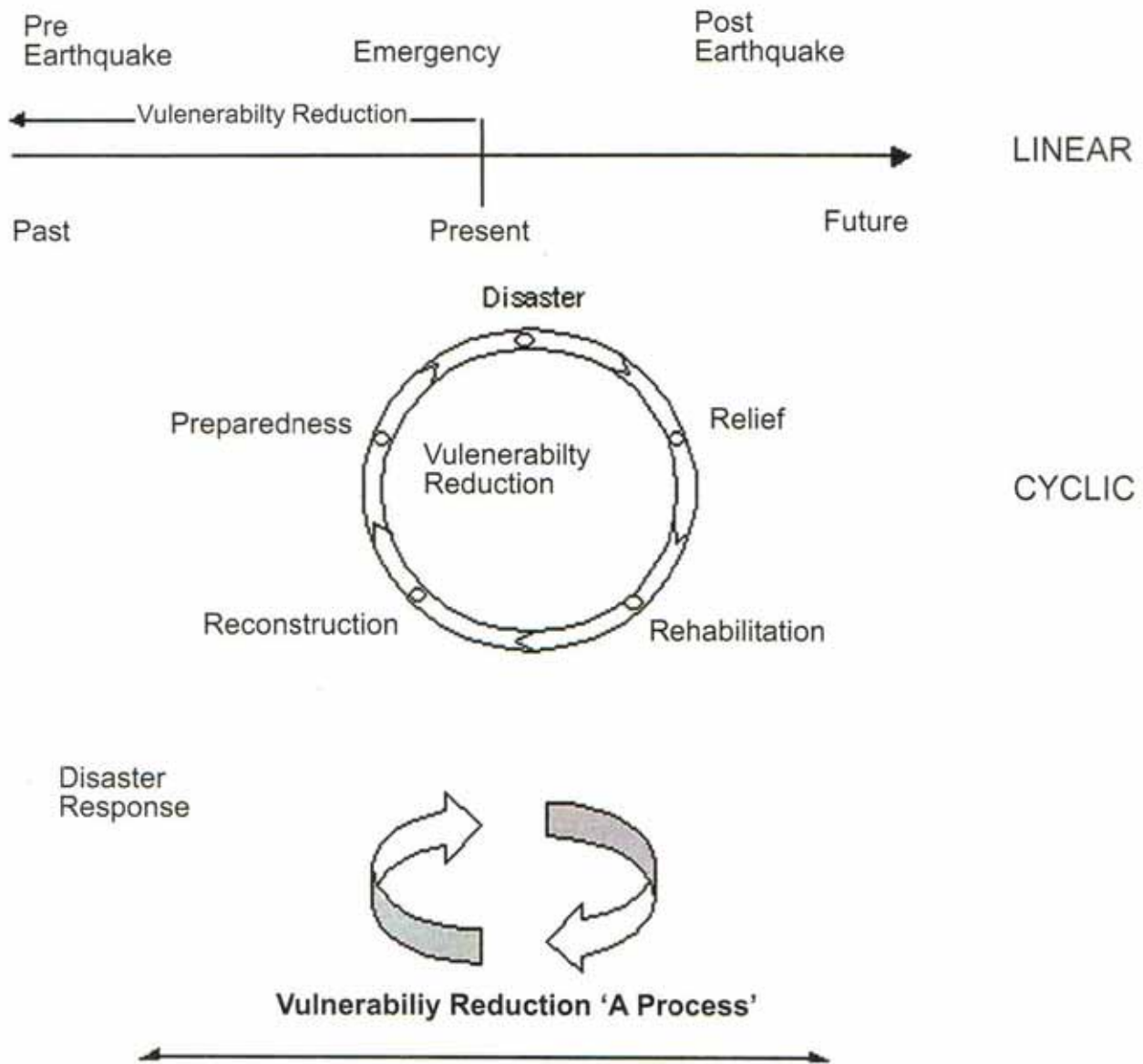


Figure 3: Vulnerability Reduction - Linear or Cyclic or Cyclic loop?

'construct' as it has been made out to be through these categorizations (Jigyasu, 2004).

The complexity and dynamism of vulnerabilities and capacities, makes 'disaster' a very loose and vague denomination, which does not have a starting or an ending point as these points can only be measured by developing objective indicators. Therefore, disaster situations need to be looked in a continuum, as actions taken during various phases

have an impact on each other. This means that we need to establish backward and forward linkages while deciding various actions and interventions at various stages.

This also implies that disaster can only be measured for the phenomenological discussion of the nature and the increase and decrease in vulnerabilities and capacities before and in response to specific natural hazards.

Therefore, discussion of phases as pre-disaster or post disaster will not be appropriate. Rather, the shifts in magnitude, scale and severity of vulnerabilities and capacities need to be looked at various stages with reference to the particular hazard event, that catalyses these processes into disaster situation. These stages are:-

1. In the normal situation (without impact of natural hazard).
2. In the emergency situation (when the natural hazard has struck, extending to a few days or months after the event)
3. In the transition phase from relief to recovery (extending to a few months to a year after the event)
4. In the rehabilitation phase (over the years, when the rehabilitation process takes place).
5. After the rehabilitation phase in the long run (to assess the impact of post natural hazard interventions)

The above discussion also prompts a reflection on PAR and Access Model by Blaike (1994)⁵. This model essentially describes how vulnerability situations develop by elaborating on the causal relationships. However, the model is linear in its conception and conceives disaster as an end product.

In the above discussion, development is a

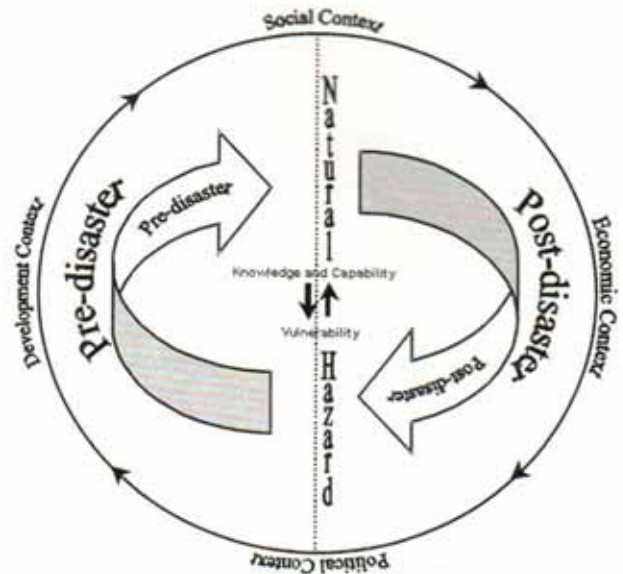


Figure 4: Vulnerability and Capacity as a Dynamic Process.

fundamental context within which all the above situations are intervened and take shape on the ground. Such a development is either externally driven or driven by the local communities. Therefore, in the disaster management cycle, development is not a phase in itself, rather it interacts and affects separately, each of the above situations and in turn, each of them are affected among themselves, ultimately shaping the developmental context itself.

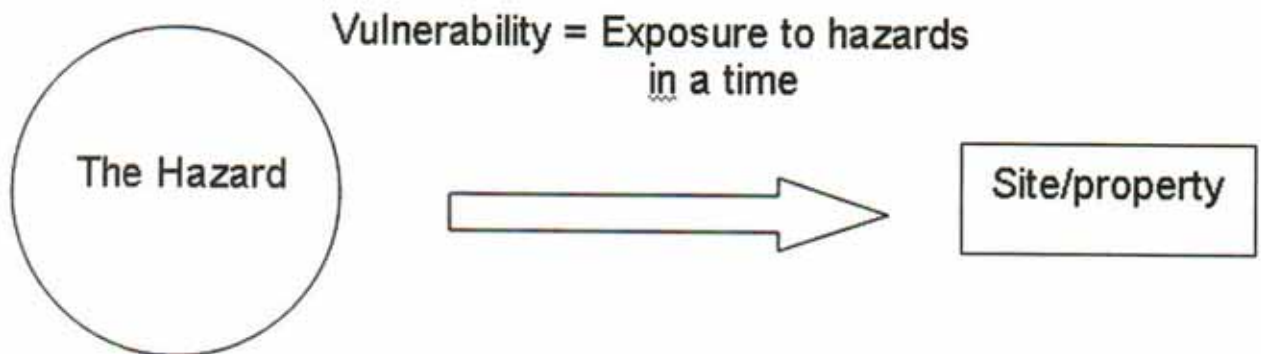


Figure 5: Conventional Method of Assessing Risks.

⁵ 'PAR is a simple model of the way in which 'underlying factors' and 'root causes' embedded in everyday life give rise to 'dynamic pressures' effecting particular groups, leading to specifically 'unsafe conditions'. The access model is a more magnified analysis of how vulnerability is generated by economic and political processes.

3.1 The Understanding of Risks

However, disasters are very much a part of the overall risk framework. The term 'Risk' is understood as the product of Hazard and Vulnerability. In conventional terms, the risk of a site or a property is understood in relation to one hazard such as earthquake, floods etc. and vulnerability is understood as exposure of that site or property to that particular hazard in focus at one particular time. Moreover, vulnerability is understood mainly in physical terms.

Contrary to conventional means, the integrated method of understanding risks to a site or property may stem from exposure to one or more hazards and other determinants. This implies that we need to facilitate a holistic understanding of risks from various hazard sources (fires, earthquakes etc.) as well as to understand vulnerability processes, and at the same time, to incorporate specific actions or strategies for specific kinds of hazards. This also implies that we need to link physical vulnerability of both movable and immovable aspects of a site or property to that resulting from social, economic and under development processes. For example, the risks to the physical fabric are not only linked to the structural weakness but are also inherently linked to the social, political and economic context in which they are located.

Besides, the local meanings and perceptions are also worth taking into account, while understanding risks and disasters.

4. INTEGRATED RISK MANAGEMENT

'Risk Management' is a well-developed subject with well-defined components and universally accepted terms and definitions. It includes various proactive tools, techniques, strategies and actions for risk assessment and control at various stages with respect to a disaster situation. Therefore, we need to organize the subject of risk preparedness, primarily under the universally accepted phases of risk management (e.g. risk identification and analysis, risk evaluation, monitoring, prevention/mitigation, disaster preparedness, emergency response, long term recovery etc.) and then address the various types of risks.



Figure 6: Relationship between Risk Management and Disaster Management.

The risk management framework is a prerequisite for a disaster management framework. This implies that various activities undertaken during preparedness, response and recovery phase of disaster must be subject to risk identification, analysis, assessment and control. However, such a framework primarily advocates a preventive approach through forward planning / preparedness, so as to reduce the affect of momentary hazards such as earthquakes, floods and even slow ones such as droughts, and thus control the magnitude and intensity of disasters in the first place.

Various activities, tools and techniques for risk management in post disaster situation need to be part of the integrated risk management, so that their interrelationship with activities undertaken in pre-disaster and emergency situation can be explicitly articulated, besides the implications of the actions in the long-term perspective.

4.1 Integrated Risk Assessment

Risk Assessment undertaken, as part of integrated risk management will involve integrated vulnerability analysis on one hand and integrated hazard mapping on the other.

Integrated vulnerability analysis involves taking into consideration social, political, economic and attitudinal aspects of vulnerability along with

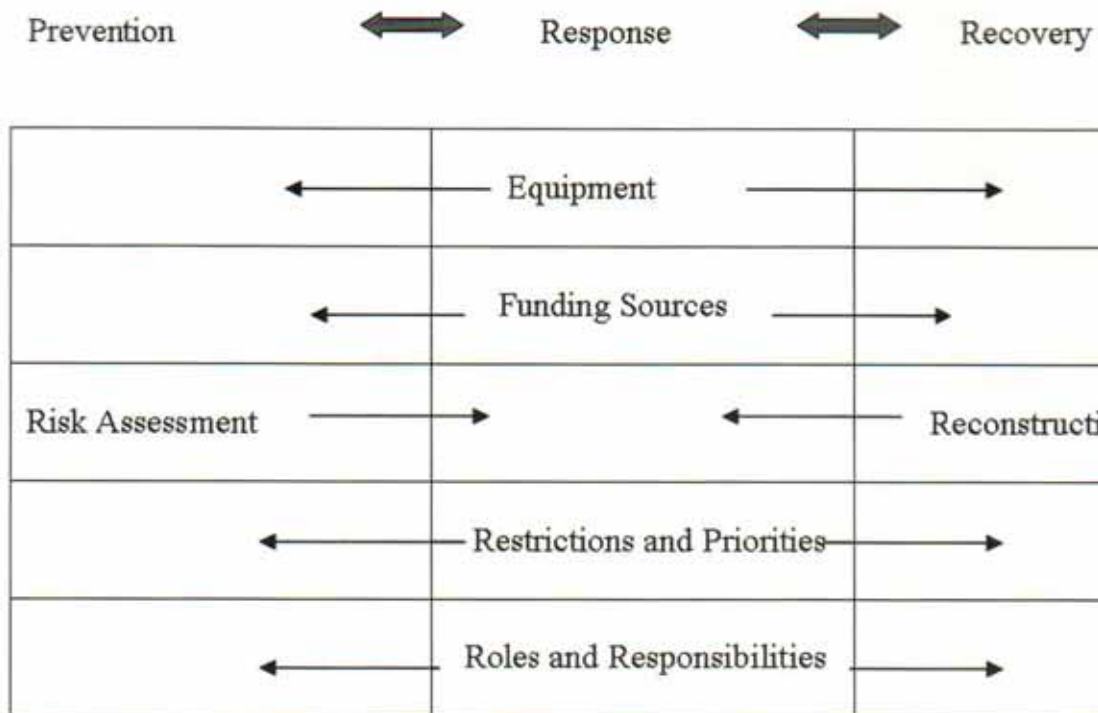


Figure 7: Forward and Backward Linkages Between Activities in Prevention, Response and Recovery Phases.

physical aspects for their impact on each other. Moreover, vulnerability is not only considered as a product in the form of exposure to one or more hazard at a particular time but also as a process over time.

5. REDUCING DISASTER VULNERABILITY THROUGH LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND CAPACITY

5.1 Lack of Cultural Continuity & Compatibility – A Key Issue

Lack of cultural continuity and compatibility is certainly a key issue resulting in increasing disaster vulnerability. As discussed before, in the existing notions of development, decision makers as well as local people consider ‘modernity’ and ‘urbanization’ as panacea for development. However, these ‘images of development’ are seldom comprehended in reality because of the four main reasons: -

1. Ignorance of the local people on what ‘modernity’ implies in reality.
2. While the images are created, culturally

deep-rooted thinking processes may remain unchanged, thereby creating a mutually contradictory dichotomy.

3. Lack of education, because of which local people may not be conscious and confident to be aware of their assets(resources), rights and duties.
4. Inability of the local people to afford and sustain whatever is perceived as ‘modern’.

Essentially ‘development’ has no fixed frame of reference and is very much dependent on local cultural context. The definition of culture is well articulated by Rapoport (1984; 50-51), who highlights three important aspects of culture

1. “Culture as a way of life typical to a group, a particular way of doing things...”
2. “...As container of symbols, meanings and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic order...”
3. “...As a set of adaptive strategies for survival related to the ecological setting and its resources.



Figure 8: Key Variables for Integrated Risk Assessment.

The above definition demonstrates the all-encompassing nature of culture, in terms of what it implies for the rural communities. One of the main challenges is reinforcing cultural continuity through development opportunities that are afforded through post disaster rehabilitation, so that one does not end up with cultural incompatible solutions, which prove unsustainable in the long run.

In the context of post disaster rehabilitation strategies, cultural continuity and compatibility is not just the factor in perceiving overall development, but also needs consideration in vital aspects of 'earthquake safe' technology transfer. There are interesting references on the relationships between technological knowledge, and the qualitative aspects related to community relevance, social acceptance, etc. besides economic viability and long term sustainability.

5.2 Integrating Living Dimension in the Understanding of Cultural Heritage

A part of the strategy for bringing out cultural continuity and compatibility will be dictated by following the integrated approach in understanding the cultural resource itself which is the carrier of local knowledge and capacity. This clearly implies, three important elements of the cultural heritage, which are worthy of consideration (in themselves and for their interrelationships), namely local

communities (the bearers), environment/ecology (human-environment relationships), built heritage including museum object and collections (the physical interventions). So cultural heritage at risk implies putting one or all of these elements at risk. Interestingly, this holds true for all the typologies of cultural heritage, even monuments / museum building, as they also exist in a definite context, which defines specific relationships to these three key elements.

Specific understanding of the impact on the cultural heritage of the place, which needs to be understood in the extended scope and definition to include not only monuments or historic buildings but also cultural landscapes and vernacular or other living traditions. The Living Dimension is one of the most important aspects of cultural heritage especially relevant to the rich civilizations in South Asia. The living heritage approach takes into consideration risks to the continuation and evolution of cultural heritage in terms of usage patterns and crafts/skills to meet changing needs and socio-economic context. Such an approach will also provide an important interface for bringing together cultural resource management, disaster management and development challenges.

5.3 The Paradigm of 'Risk Preparedness for Living Cultural Heritage'⁶

First and foremost, this implies that instead of

⁶ The author has been involved in developing training kit on 'Risk Preparedness for Cultural Heritage' in his capacity as an independent consultant to the International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) since January 2003. The kit was recently tested in a training course held in Delhi from 16th to 20th March 2004. The course was organized by ICCROM in cooperation with Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).

hazard we put local knowledge and capacity in the centre. Cultural heritage is no longer representative of the dead remains from the past but symbolises the local knowledge and capacity developed indigenously by the local community over time, based on their own personal / collective experience.

Moreover, the integrated risk preparedness for living cultural heritage will involve:

- Community preparedness through awareness and training.
- Environmental management (this also involves efforts in preventing natural hazards themselves).
- Mitigating risks to built heritage (physical fabric) through physical interventions.

6. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Following implications and conclusions can be drawn from the discussion that has been initiated in this paper:-

- Integrated Framework for Risk Management implies addressing larger forces (and not merely hazards), which put cultural heritage at risk.
- It implies proactive (and not merely reactive) approach, which implies not only reacting to the risks from disaster but also addressing the underlying causes, which create the disaster itself in pre as well as post disaster situation.
- "Risks are a shared reality – spanning individual, village, block, district, state, nation and even region – and have to be responded

with a multi-prong approach. "In the complex Indian reality, it also implies involving diverse group of stakeholders and integrating their concern in the overall policy initiatives. Considering the complexity of cultural heritage both in its scope and nature as well as the present reality, there can be no single policy initiative to address risks to cultural heritage. Rather, there have to be multiple initiatives at various administrative levels through involvement of multiple stakeholders (public as well as private). This requires a dialogue and subsequent collaboration and coordination.

- Risk preparedness initiatives for cultural heritage can be strengthened by integrating the concerns / needs for living heritage in the existing disaster management systems at national and state level. This requires re-addressing existing development policies and their impact on the risks to cultural heritage.
- It implies establishing / strengthening the management systems of both tangible and intangible, 'historical' and 'living' dimensions of our cultural sites and properties and establishing systems which address risks to the site and property in an integrated manner through preparedness before, during and after disaster situations. After all, integrated risk management of living cultural heritage is about addressing the knowledge and skills accumulated in the past, surviving in some form in the present with a potential for reducing disaster vulnerability and increasing capacity for the future. It is about managing the change in order to link past, present and future■

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AN ASSESSMENT OF SHIFTING THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND APPLICATION OF THE REGULATIONS IN URBAN CONSERVATION PROJECTS - THE CASE OF MARDIN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

In Turkey, the late 20th century was the period when need was felt for proper legal measures, required in the conservation of cultural and natural entities. It was realized that the conservation of traditional architecture is a fundamental issue as it is in developed countries.

This has resulted in setting up policies, organizations and legal arrangements in accordance with our national conditions, to transfer our cultural and natural wealth to coming generations through conserving, revitalizing and renewing them.

The law of 1973 marks the beginning of contemporary and scientific conservation activities, which is quite late when compared to European countries. But since that period due to increasing awareness of issues to do with conservation and the renewal of the historic / traditional environment, with the implementation of law 2863 and article about the execution of the Conservation and renewal plans, the Ministry of Culture accelerated the planning process by commissioning the preparation of conservation and renewal plans for traditional urban sites, to be prepared by multi disciplinary teams.

Since then about thirty conservation and renewal plans have been realised by the Ministry of Culture. One of these is the Mardin Conservation Plan approved by the relevant regional committee in 1993.

This paper discusses the legal and organisational aspects of conservation and the renewal of cultural and natural entities in Turkey, the related responsible bodies and the approaches to the application of building regulations of the Mardin Conservation and Development Plan.

Key words: Building Regulations, Shifting Responsibilities, Urban Renewal, Urban Conservation.

1. BACKGROUND TO THE LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS

The first decision mechanism / authority in the conservation of permanent cultural entities is the Supreme Committee for Permanent Historic Works of Art and Monuments, which was established in 1951. This committee is responsible for the conservation, repair and maintenance of historic monuments and for establishing principles and making scientific decisions for their restoration.

The central administration established in 1960, guarantees the conservation of cultural properties at the constitutional level as a matter of state policy.

In 1973 awareness began to increase regarding the preservation of the historic environment and in the same year the first definition of the term 'site' was given in the Law for Historic Works of Art. With this law the conservation issue shifted from a single building approach to an environmental scale. The responsibilities, authority and mission of the supreme committee increased as a result of this law. This fact also increased the kind and number of sites with the result that the effective measures in place for conservation and renewal of urban areas were not efficient.

Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property was drawn up in 1983 with the aims of defining movable and immovable cultural and natural property to be conserved, regulating relevant procedures and activities, instituting and defining responsibilities for the organization that would be in charge of setting essential principles and taking

operational decisions.

With this law a new structural formation was established and power shifted from centralised authority to local authority. The central authority was represented by the Superior Committee for Permanent Historic and Natural Property answering to the Ministry of Culture. The local authority is represented by the Regional Council of Permanent Cultural and Natural Property based in various regions in Anatolia designated by the Ministry of Culture and established to scientifically guide the interventions in permanent cultural and natural property, that take place within the country as per the scope of the above mentioned Legislation.

This legislation was clearly insufficient and new legislative articles were introduced in 1987.

All the cultural properties in cities are protected by this law and by various other laws (municipal law, building codes) and regulations concerning monuments, civil architectural buildings and archaeological sites. Unregistered buildings and empty plots that are not adjacent to registered buildings fall under the municipal regulations.

A number of codes in municipal law number 1580 of 1930 and the management code of the Greater Municipality address authority in the renewal, rehabilitation and expropriation of the buildings, license new buildings in empty lots and give authority to approve plans and as well as the projects.

The South East Anatolia Project (GAP), that came into force in 1990, has been influential and a source of expertise in management techniques in the region as the state entity responsible for co-ordinating all regional development activities, including the promotion of tourism.

The relevant written decree, applied only in the south east region, gives the rights and responsibilities in the municipal and building laws to the municipalities in the GAP-RDA (Regional Development Administration).

In 2003 a reorganisation of the Law of Municipalities and the Legislation for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property was initiated and proposals were prepared for both of these laws. In the proposal of the new Municipal Law the conservation and renewal rights and responsibilities shifted to the municipalities. In the proposal for the updating of the Legislation for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, only the Conservation of Cultural Property was addressed. In this proposal besides the existing responsibilities of the municipality, supervision of simple repair and renewal of buildings was given to the municipalities.

1.1 Agencies with Management Authority

In constitutional terms the central administration is primarily responsible for the conservation of cultural properties. When the body of current legislation regarding the environment is analysed it is that conservation action is the responsibility of many institutions and foundations. The Ministry of Culture is the representative of the central administration. The principle decisions concerning the means of conservation are the shared responsibility of the Ministry of Culture. Besides, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing as representatives work of the central administration. The Directorate of Pious Foundations is responsible for the conservation, revitalization and maintenance of historic monuments.

The Mayor and, especially, the Municipality are the local administration in control and responsible for cultural properties.

Since 1990 Non-Governmental organizations have played an active role in raising consciousness of conservation issues and renewal of the architectural heritage, maintaining means of financial aid, etc. Owners and architects individually have responsibilities for maintenance, conservation and renewal of historic entities as well.

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY

Mardin is situated on the plateau at the top of the Syrian plain in the south east of Anatolia and is at the crossroad of historical routes. Those roads were used for trade purposes between the east and west and between the south and north for centuries.

The entire old city, which is surrounded by the State Highway adjacent to the old city walls to the South and the archaeological site to the North, is nominated for preservation. This designated area is 97 hectares. The proposed buffer zone is the archaeological site and the surrounding military zone on the North and the cemetery expanding to the South of the city.

The buffer zone, which is 35 hectares, protects the old city, as it is impossible to settle either in the military zone, in the cemetery or in the archaeological site.

According to the census of 2000, Mardin's population is 65,789 (44,106 people live in the historic urban centre and 5,300 people within the buffer zone).

2.1 Historical Background

Numerous civilizations including the Chaldean, Assyrian, Hittite, Old-Persian, Hellenistic and Roman, which sought their wealth from the "fertile crescent" of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, settled in Mardin, the legendary city of upper Mesopotamia.

It was under Byzantine rule until 692 AD. with the Omayyads and Abbasids; Mardin became a Muslim city with an important Christian presence. Being on the Silk Road, the city prospered both culturally and commercially between 885-990 AD. The Seljuks conquered the city in 1089. In 1105, Mardin became the capital of the Artukids. During this period, which lasted for 304 years, a great number of monumental buildings were constructed and a number of them were restored.

During the Turkish Principalities Period, and after the Ottoman conquest in 1516, the city became an important fortress and commercial centre. In the Republican Period, Mardin became a provincial centre and an important frontier city (Alioglu F., 2000).

Christians and Muslims were the most recent



Figure 1: Historic Centre of the Mardin city
Source: I. Nural, I. Aksulu

settlers of Mardin. Mardin's history and heritage are therefore inseparable from the cultures of migrants, herders, traders and armies.

Having embodied all those civilizations throughout history, Mardin displays very rich architectural, ethnographical, archaeological and historical values. The city has a distinctive silhouette with fine churches and minarets. The current social structure of Mardin reflects this multicultural heritage.

2.2 Authenticity

The Mardin cultural pattern meets the requirements of authenticity in setting, architectural style and outstanding stone artwork. The old city, with its traditional religious and vernacular stone architecture and its terraced urban pattern, houses

some of the best-preserved examples of upper Mesopotamian Art.

Mardin has been able to retain its unique character to date; it has been continuously inhabited without intervals and continues to have a traditional lifestyle. Given this continuous inhabitation, the city has a high degree of authenticity. Although the residents of the old buildings have made some unattractive modifications to meet their needs, the urban structure can be considered as intact. These unacceptable alterations can be restored and replaced with original materials.

The urban, architectural and archaeological texture of Mardin, which is perfectly harmonized with the landscape, is a very good example of the interaction of humans with nature over the centuries.

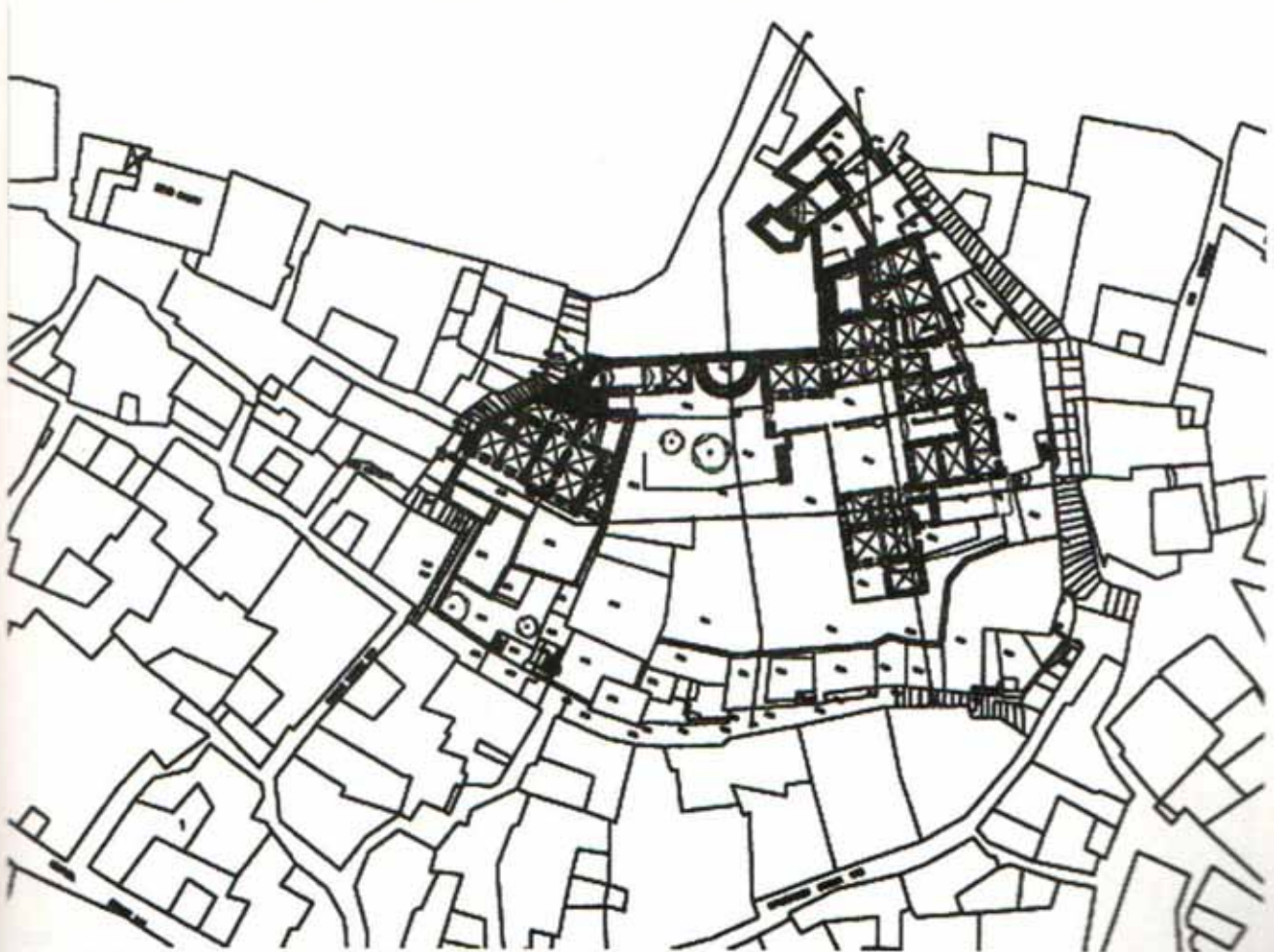


Figure 2: Traditional Pattern of the City.
Source: Archives of the Mardin Research Centre

Mardin is a city in a rocky region. The old city is situated on the slopes of a rocky hill, crowned by a citadel, extending towards the south with terraced buildings constructed in accordance with the topography.

The settlement is divided by an access road at the east-west direction, which allows motor traffic. Another vehicular access road is located in the same direction at the south end of the site. The inner streets are quite narrow allowing only pedestrian or animal carriage access, some of them built in steps according to the topography. Many streets have 'abbaras' building over streets. The urban topography has a very compact and organic form, with terrace roofs forming courtyards for the upper level, and with south oriented facades.

Buildings are constructed in an introverted style, with nearly no opening to the outside, reflecting all features of an inward looking life-style. The buildings are surrounded by 4m high walls, and are isolated from the street. However, they are

very airy inside with grand openings to courtyards. The houses have separate sections for males and females. They mostly do not have a kitchen. The most important feature of these houses is the stone craftsmanship called "Midyat Work". Doors, windows and facades are ornamented with rich stone craftsmanship and the small columns are dressed with arches and with various motifs (Alioglu F., 2000).

Most of the buildings have two stories, built in acquiescence with the topography of the city. Three or four storey buildings are rarely encountered. The main construction material is limestone. Spaces are covered with vaults or domes. The Citadel, including the bastion and the walls, was built in harmony with the rocks and looks more natural than man-made. Now a military radar base is located to the south of the Citadel adjacent to the bastion. The Byzantine historian Ammianus Marcellinus first told the story of the Mardin Citadel in the IVth century, which is famous for not having fallen throughout history (ALIOGLU,

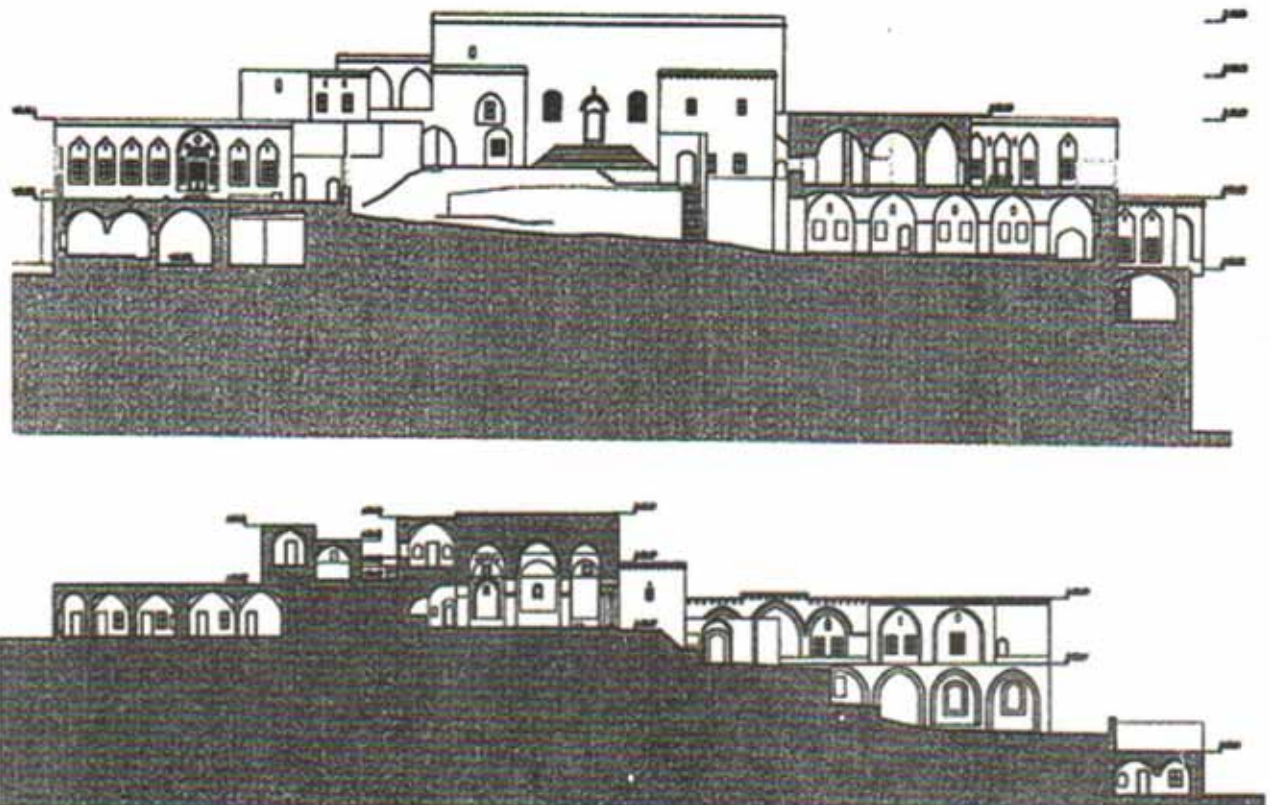


Figure 3: Topography and Settlement Form
Source: Archives of the Mardin Research Centre

F. 2000).

The architectural style and materials used in Mardin can be compared to those in other southeastern Turkish cities such as Sanliurfa, Gaziantep or Diyarbakir where there are genuine masterpieces of stone artwork. However, Mardin's terraced urban pattern, formed in response to its natural setting is truly unique. In Mardin, the influences of various religions and civilizations have formed a unique harmony.

The old city of Mardin can be compared to the World Cities of the Ancient, City of Aleppo and the Old City of Jerusalem, as all three similarly reflect the harmony of different religions and cultures. In particular, the Ancient City of Aleppo displays a unique urban fabric like Mardin with its 13th Century citadel, its 12th Century Great Mosque and various 17th Century madrasas, palaces, caravansaries and public baths.

3. THE LEGAL STATUS AND MANEGEMENT OF THE AREA

3.1 Ownership

Mardin is an urban historical site and most of the buildings are privately owned. The Directorate for the Foundations owns many religious and old monumental buildings like caravansaries, madrasas, hammams etc. The Christian communities also own a number of shops and houses besides churches and monasteries. In addition, many buildings such as schools and public buildings are owned by the State and by the Municipality.

3.2 Legal status

The Superior Council registered the old city centre as a conservation site in 1974 by Decree no. 8051 dated 14. 9. 1974 on the Preservation of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments. The first development plan of Mardin was prepared in 1976. In this plan, the historic centre is marked but excluded from the plan as being a special conservation area to be planned later.

The first decision on the area as a site was taken in 1979. (Decision of Supreme Committee, 1979). With this decision the religious, military and architectural properties were listed in 1985

(Decision of Supreme Committee, 1985), the area registered bought as archaeological and urban site. The archaeological site covers the citadel as well. In the archaeological sites, according to the principle designated by the Superior Council of Immovable Cultural and National Property, no kind of construction is allowed. (Decision of Supreme Committee, 2000).

The Conservation status of the area in the designated principle urban site is defined as the areas with urban and vernacular specifications reflecting the social, economic, architectural characteristics and way of living of their time and displaying harmonious patterns. Having these specifications, the old / traditional part of Mardin City is listed as an urban site, where the principles of the existing conservation plan are in force. (Diyarbakir Regional Committee, 1993).

The area demarcated to unite the urban site with the city itself is defined as the buffer / transition / contact zone. In Mardin the designated area, as a buffer zone, is 50 meters apart from the limits of the urban site. In this area the decisions of the conservation committee are in force.

The municipality is responsible for the application and assessment of all matters in both the urban site and the buffer zone.

3.3 Conservation and Renewal Plans

The first conservation plan for the historic city centre was completed in 1985. However, this plan remained inadequate for the proper conservation of the site. The re-examination of this plan led to a new study in 1985 and Decree no: 1425 dated 31.5. 1985, made some amendments to the list of properties to be protected in Mardin.

In 1990 an additional analytical study and a 1/5000-scaled master plan were prepared. These formed the basis of the current 1/1000 conservation plan, which was prepared in 1991. This plan provides detailed documentation, physical analysis and a thorough study of all aspects of the site. The plan was approved by the Diyarbakir Regional Council for Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage on 13.5.1993 by Resolution No: 1239. It came into effect with the approval and implementation of the Mardin Municipality.

As in the case of all other registered sites, Mardin's urban and archaeological sites fall within the scope of the "Law for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage 2863 and 3386". In accordance with Article 17 of the Law, a Conservation Plan was prepared for the old city. This plan imposes measures to control the height, size and materials used for new constructions. Projects and applications proposed in Mardin may only be implemented if approved by the Diyarbakir Regional Council for Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage.

Mardin Municipality is responsible for the development, control and conservation of the whole city. The Mardin Museum has a direct role in the control and supervision of registered cultural properties.

The Mardin Urban Development Master Plan, approved in 1990 by the Municipality, has a direct influence on the area. This plan covers all the development areas and newly developed quarters of Mardin. The basic principle of the plan is to form a new town extension (Yenisehir) that will lessen the development pressures on the conservation area. To achieve this goal, the plan proposes new developments, new public buildings and a new city centre outside the boundaries of the conservation area. Since the entire historic site is fully occupied, building up a new town extension will facilitate conservation activities.

Existing public buildings are insufficient in capacity and functionality, and therefore a move to new buildings is warranted.

From above explanation it is apparent that as in all other cities, in Mardin there are two different plans relating to the city. The Master Plan and the Conservation Plan. Instead of having an integrated plan, Partial planning results in ill implementation and chaos in the management stage.

4. THE APPLICATION PROCESS OF THE PLAN

The application process of the existing conservation plan accumulates different institutional relations. To achieve appropriate results in conservation, the relationship of the municipality concerned and the regional committee, which has the final role in

producing decisions on conservation, is very important.

Locally the main actor is the municipality, which is in charge of conciliation, execution and control of the historic property. It is expected that the municipality will manage to set policies and organise the implementation of the conservation plan. Unless, in almost all cases, the municipality lacks the technical staff and organisation to fulfil such responsibility.

The other actor is the Regional Committee of Permanent Cultural and Natural Property, based in various regions designated by the Ministry of Culture to scientifically guide interventions in cultural and natural property (Legislation, 1987).

The committee is composed of five representatives among which are experts on architecture, conservation, archaeology, an art historian and an urban planner. Three of them were chosen by the Ministry of Culture and two by the Council of Higher Education.

Representatives join the regional committee according to the topics under discussion. When the topic on the agenda of the conservation committee is concerned with issues within the borders of the municipality, the Mayor or technical representative attends. If it is outside the municipality a technical representative chosen by the governor attends the meeting.

If the topic on the agenda concerns the Ministry of Public Work and Urban Development, two representatives from the Ministry attend. If the topic on the agenda concerns the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, the general director or his technical representative attend. If the topic on the agenda concerns the General Directorate of Forestry, a technical representative, or, if the need arises, a counsellor expert is invited to the meeting, but with no voting rights.

The regional Committee is assigned and authorised to register the cultural and natural property to be conserved which is determined by the Ministry of Culture; group the cultural property to be conserved; determine the construction conditions of registered site areas within a month; examine and approve the zoning and construction plans

and every kind of alterations of these plans: stabilise the conservation areas of the permanent cultural and natural property to be conserved; abolish the registration record of the permanent cultural and natural property to be conserved in the event that it has lost its peculiar character and lastly, take implementation decisions concerning permanent cultural and natural property to be conserved. (Legislation, 1987)

Public institutions including municipalities and individual and corporate bodies are obliged to abide by the resolutions of the Regional Committee.

The Mardin city control commission is also in charge of the traditional area of the city.

Since 1993 approval of the conservation plan, almost 50 subjects have been discussed by the committee (Diyarbakir Regional Committee, 1993). Between 1993-1997, repairs, parcelling requests were evaluated, legal investigations realised and decisions taken regarding illegal construction. Between 1997- 2002 simple repairs, parcelling out/ allotment, restoration and rehabilitation projects, plan alterations were discussed in the meetings and decisions taken.

In the second five years, an increasing number of restorations and rehabilitation projects materialised and licenses were given for new constructions.

5. ONGOING PROJECTS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

The UNDP supported GAP RDA/ITU Participatory Urban Rehabilitation Project entails the development of a guideline and an implementation strategy for an urban rehabilitation plan for the Mardin urban centre. This project aims to create the platforms for the civil society and interest groups to ensure that their priorities and concerns find adequate reflection in the resulting urban rehabilitation plans. The project focuses on creating the participatory mechanisms for urban rehabilitation planning and facilitates the participation of national and international stakeholders and interested parties in project implementation and financing.

CATOM (Multipurpose Community Centre) directs various social development activities in Mardin.

The GAP-RDA is close to signing an agreement on Heritage Management in the Southeast of Turkey with the European Union. Mardin is a strong candidate for this program.

The European project "From One Street to Another" is another case in point. The project is designed to raise pupils' awareness of local streets by strengthening the ties between them and their streets, raising awareness of the European dimension, and enabling them to form links with the European cultures.

The Mardin Youth Project is another GAP RDA/UNDP joint project with activity groups in many cities in the South East of Turkey, aiming at developing a series of participatory programs of cultural interest.

The History Foundation of Turkey has already produced various publications on the cultural values of the cities.

Mardin Foundation for Culture and Art KEDV (The Foundation for the Development of Women's Labour) has an active working unit in Mardin. It is getting prepared to contribute to urban conservation activities in households and in neighbourhoods.

MERDINAR Centre (Mardin Studies Centre), founded as the local premises of the UNDP/GAP RDA/ITU Participatory Urban Rehabilitation project, presently hosts many NGOs and shelters all research, information activities and meetings regarding cultural, urban and conservation/development matters.

6. CONCLUSION

Application Problems and Proposals: Application problems are in technical, organisational, economic and public consciousness dimensions. Technically, from the application point of view, there is no problem in the conservation plan.

Restoration activity at the single buildings and monuments is less than expected. Today, craftsmanship is vanishing in the area. The CEKUL Foundation (Environment and Culture Foundation- a non-governmental organization) has offered a

stone craftsmanship-training course in Midyat.

Organisational Problems: In the application process of the conservation plan the participants are the institutions of the central government with their representatives as the Director of the local museum and Director of Culture, Regional Conservation Committee, and the Local administration representatives being the governor and the municipality. At this point, the relationship between the local administration and the regional committee is especially important.

As in the municipality the lack of trained technical staff (there are two engineers and an art expert) results in misapplications of the existing conservation plan and bad relations with the conservation committee which affects the conservation act negatively. Thus the problems which could be solved in a short time are prolonged. To solve these problems, in the short term, the municipality needs to employ experts as architects and city planners.

In the long term, due to the political process the mayors in charge change periodically. Therefore, to sustain conservation a stationary organisation as a unit or a committee should be established to uphold the conservation process and renewal projects.

The co-ordination of the public committees is insufficient in Turkey. A national Co-ordination committee should be set up as an umbrella organisation to co-ordinate the works of private organisations as in Holland. In 1975, the National Coordinating Committee for the protection of Monuments (NCM) was set up as an umbrella organisation to coordinate the work of private organisations in Holland (Fact sheet, 1990).

At the organisational level, as in most European countries, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing as well as the Ministry of Health should also be responsible as representatives of the central administration in conservation and renewal of the buildings.

Economic Problems: Despite the fact that the Mardin Municipality is the responsible body for planning and implementation, the Ministry of

Culture has financed the conservation plan for the city, but the plan cannot be properly applied due to the lack of finance. The credits achieved by the government or local administration are not adequate. The owners have low incomes, so they can not be expected to restore or even maintain their buildings. Mardin with its authenticity and identity financially can benefit from international sources. In the conservation plan foreign financial aid was addressed, one source of which was from the relevant unit of UNESCO.

In recent days the GAP RDA has financed some of the detailed conservation plans. NGOs as the MAREV Foundation (Mardin Foundation for Education), founded by wealthy Mardin dignitaries who presently reside in large Turkish cities in the west, participates in and supports the recent conservation projects.

The World Bank, the Ministry of Culture and the UNDP are currently developing a tripartite project in Mardin. The project aims to improve the physical conditions of a large number of houses and small-scale enterprises, the rehabilitation and improvement of streets and outer spaces, the restoration of public buildings, public spaces and of monuments, as well as community development, training and capacity building, public information and site presentation.

The Ministry of Culture is currently in discussions with the World Bank for a loan that will enable large scale restoration and rehabilitation of the old city of Mardin.

Public Consciousness: The conservation of the historic environment is part of protecting the historic consciousness of the nation and achieving the historic and cultural sustainability of the public good. So its advantages can not merely be measured economically. Unless property owners have a high level of income, economic speculation leads them to prefer demolition of their buildings in favour of new constructions instead of restoring them. To put an end to this speculation cultural organisation and public consciousness is required. To achieve this, conservation plans should be introduced; the economic benefit that the conservation plan presents should be explained. For the past two years, public awareness has started to be created by ongoing new projects, a newly

developed awareness on the part of the administrators, the formation of the Citizens Council of Mardin and the implementation of Local Agenda 21. Local Agenda 21 is accepted by Turkey as well as the other European countries in 1992 at the United Nations Development and Environment Conference (UNCED). The Citizens Council and Local Agenda 21 platform are increasingly creating an efficient public participation on behalf of conserving, rehabilitating and renewing their architectural heritage.

In conclusion, besides, regulations and policies planners have a great role to ensure that the character of an historic area is protected and the new buildings will complement its integrity.

Understanding of the old, plays a fundamental role in establishing correspondences between new buildings and their context.

Each individual site demands special attention and what is successful in one context may not be appropriate in another. The design guidance must be flexible to enable innovative new designs (BROLIN, 1980) so it is possible to lay down objective design guidelines for any kind of urban setting by a comprehensive analysis achieved by multi disciplinary teams ■



Figure 4: Traditional Pattern and an Irrelevant Building, Built According to the Building Codes before Conservation Plan.

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INFLUENCING FACTORS ACTING UPON MUSLIM SHRINES AND THEIR IMPACT ON BUILT ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

Shrine complex has remained an important feature of urban settlement since its inception. For *Zaireen*, it is a place of blessings of saint, point of power for political authorities and source of income for *Waqf* administration.

In first part of this paper, three types of influences acting at Muslim shrines have been studied to explore the charisma of life and institutional arrangement at *Khanaqah*. Ideological influences are purely concerned with *Shaykh* and his cult, devotees and their beliefs. Political influences deal with *Waqf* administration at government as well as private level and third, the Economic influences deal with sources and management of income from all sources at *Dargah*. The manner in which these three types of influences affect the building form and spatial configuration at shrine complex is focused in second part of the study.

1. INTRODUCTION

Shrine in a Muslim society is a great cultural and religious phenomenon in both urban and rural settlements¹. It needs to explore the charisma of life and changes as occur in shrine complex as the time ahead. This can be studied at two levels. One is religious, cultural and political level; that is social environment, whereas second is the space where this phenomenon happens; that is the built environment. Shrine of a Sufi has been declared here as a "Religious Magnet"² in urban settlement. It is the of the *Shaykh* that takes into control the *Zaireen* and attracts them when their wills and wants are fulfilled. In the magnetic field, the force

or *Shaykh* has his own sphere of influence with a pull force that grips the visitors. This magnetic field of the Sufi is not bound to geographical limits. *Zaireen* and attracts them when their wills and wants are fulfilled. In the magnetic field, the force acts and attracts the particles. Similarly, the Sufi The actions and reactions of these forces create the drama of life at shrine complex that is created



Figure 1: Devotees at the Shrine

¹ Shrine has been taken here as social phenomenon in Muslim society.

² The term "religious magnet" is used for shrine because of its characteristic pull force and magnetic field.

by *Zaireen* who pay their visitation and perform the rituals and ceremonies at shrines daily, weekly monthly and annually.³

2. INFLUENCING FACTORS

Three types of influencing factors in urban settlements control these activities.

Ideological Influences, that includes *Shari'at* and *Tariqat*. *Shari'at* is the guideline as given by *Quran* and the *Sunnah* of Holy Prophet (SAW). *Tariq'at* is the way of living as adopted by the Sufi and Saint in Islamic mysticism that makes the cult of the Saint.

Political Influence includes the *Waqf* administration such as the Auqaf Department, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Religious Purposes Committees, *Sajjada Nasheen* and religious organizations.

Economic Influence deals with the money matters related to the shrine. This includes income from cash boxes placed at shrines, income from lease contracts i.e. *Waqf* agriculture land, shoe keeping *Taharat* Fairs, etc. Rents received from commercial units built on *waqf* land and the *Nazrana'jat* bestowed by *Zaireen*. Shrine has become source of power for political people⁴ and source of income for *Sajjada Nasheen*⁵ or *Waqf* administration.⁶

3. IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

To study the phenomenon of Ideological influences, we have to know what is *Shari'at*, *Tariqat* and the cult of the *Shaykh*? *Shari'at* refers to *Quran* and *Hadith*. *Tariq'at* is the way of the Sufi, as he adopted⁷ during his life time. It also elaborates the

education system and practical following of the path of the *Sheikh*. Lastly, is the cult of the *Shaykh*. It is the individual method of the *Sheikh* to achieve the ultimate divine reality (*Haqiqat*). *Shari'at*, *Tariqat*, Cult and beliefs are the controlling forces of all activities happening at *khanaqah* and nothing can go beyond their limitations. *Shari'at* is the same for *Shaykh* and the devotees. *Tariq'at* is related to the Sufi himself and cult/beliefs are more related to *Zaireen*.

3.1 Shari'at

Quran and *Hadith* are the two major sources of guideline for Muslims in Islamic world. *Quran* is a comprehensive book, revealed through our last Prophet of Allah, Hazrat Muhammad (SAW). *Sunnah* is the way and path followed by Hazrat Muhammad (SAW) through out his life. It is the way of living of Holy Prophet as described for us by his closest colleagues. Where the details of certain Quranic issues are to be obtained, *Hidayat* (Guide) is sought from *Sunnah* and *Hadith*.

3.2 Tariq'at

Mysticism accelerates the generally dormant and latent faculties of man with the support of intuition and spirituality, through the training under guidance of *Shaykh* who himself has already achieved the divine reality (*Haqiqat*). This training assumed as "Traveling the path" (*Salook* or *Tariqa*) aims at dispersing the veils that hide the self from the real and become transformed or absorbed into undifferentiated unity.

³ Daily activities like opening and closing of shrines, weekly activities mean Thursday and Friday visitation, monthly activities mean like first Thursday of moon or 11th day of every month and annual activities means 'Urs' celebrations, etc.

⁴ After taking oath, it has become a tradition for Governor or Chief Minister to come to shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* at Lahore, Even, when Prime Minister visits Lahore, he also visits the shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri*.

⁵ The annual income from shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* is more than 1000.00 million rupees. From shrine of *Hazrat Sultan Bahu*, 4.20 million rupees were collected during 5th to 10th of *Muharram al Haram* in March 2003.

⁶ Annual Budget of Punjab Auqaf Department for year 2004-05 is 5600.00 million rupees.

⁷ These individual paths of life gave rise to different Sufi orders like *Chishtiya*, *Suhrawardiya* and *Qadiriya*.

J. Spencer Termingham⁸ writes,

"Sufism developed mystical techniques to enable the seekers to arrive at Ma'rifa (esoteric knowledge). Ma'rifa, therefore, is no intellectual gnosis but direct perception of God". P-147

A *Tariqa* is a practical method to guide a devotee through thoughts, feelings and actions (physical and spiritual way), leading through a succession of stages to experience the divine reality (*Haqiqa*). Contrary to the Arab Islamic World, Indian *Khanaqah* established and flourished around a holy man, called *Shaykh* and became associated with his particular *Tariqa* and method of discipline and exercises. Professor R. Nicholson has discussed this at length in his book about the concept of personality in Islamic Mysticism.

J. Spencer Trimmingham writes about the beginning of Sufi *Tariqa* [orders],

"Two contrasting tendencies came to be distinguishable as Junaidi, and Bistami, or Iraqi and Khurasani (cannot be called as school of thought), after two men, Abul Qasim al-Junaid (910 AD) and Abu Yazid Taifur al-Bistami (874 AD) who captured the imaginations more than any other of their contemporaries. These two are held to embody the contrast, between the way based on Tawakkul (Trust) and that on Malama (Blame). Ali al-Hujveri refers to Bistami's teaching, which he calls Taifuri." (p-04)



Figure 2: Shrine of Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri at Lahore.

⁸ Trimmingham, J. Spencer (1971); 'The Sufi Orders in Islam' Oxford University Press p. 147.

Punjab was the earliest which received three Sufi orders first as under:-

- a) *Chishti* at Pakpattan.
- b) *Suhrawardi* at Multan & Uch Sharif.
- c) *Qadiri* at Lahore and Uch Sharif.

3.3 Beliefs.

Belief is the faith of devotee in *Shaykh* or Sufi. This along with Sufi orders, ceremonies and rituals, forms the cult of the saint. Dara Shikoh writes in *Sakeena-tul-Auliya* that, "if some-one pays visits to the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri for consecutive 40 (Thursdays, Days), he will get what ever he will wish." Similarly the female visitors of shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu believe that if a leaf falls on the cloth, spread under tree, located at western side of shrine, she will get a male child. These beliefs are the scaffoldings for the visitors and



Figure 3: Shrine of Hazrat Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan... Representative of Suhrawardi Order.



Figure 4: Shrine of Hazrat Baba Farid at Pakpattan... Representative of Chishti Order.

devotees that support their mental and psychological dispersions until they do not get what they wish. These beliefs give the balance to their personalities.

4. POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Today, Shrine has been established as a source of power. It is believed that Politicians will support what the public supports and venerate what the public venerates. Our history is a witness to popular aphorism, "the religion of the King is the religion of the people", and it applies both ways. At one hand, the Politicians need the support of *Sajjada Nasheen* or *Mutwallis* and at the other, it seems to have been common practice for *Mutwallis* to approach the political authorities. Sufis had also made their contribution towards the militant advance of Islam. The role of *Babas* in inspiring Ghazi warriors is significant.

After establishing as *waqf* property, shrine complex has gone through the long experimentation of *waqf* administration. At the level of individual shrine, *Waqf* Property Ordinance has given birth to Religious Purposes Committee, that looks after the affairs and performance of ceremonies and rituals at shrines. Being a religious and cultural centre, the role of local, religious and social organizations becomes more effective. Sometimes, these religious organizations stand against the decisions of *waqf* administration, if these go against the cult of the *Shaykh*.

J. Spencer Trimmingham writes,

"We find Sufis aspiring to political power, revolting against established authority and some time actually successful in founding a dynasty. Normally, Shaykhs were pillars of society but Zawiya and Khanaqah were local hagiocracies and it has been sometimes the fate of the leaders of these institutions to aspire to rule in this world." (p. 239).

Further he elaborates;

"There was always the possibility of direct interventions in affairs of the state. Consequently, the political authorities, well aware of their potentialities rooted as they were in the lives of the masses, sought to control, regulate and conciliate them rather than to suppress." (p 239).

Chishti Sufi Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auliya's succession certificate contained;

"Do not accept any village or stipend or favour from the kings and officials, it is not permitted to a Dervish."

Gisudiraz,⁹ himself is reported to have rejected the offer of village and gifts from Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani saying that to accept them was something contrary to the *Chishti's* ideology.

Shaykh and shrines were always very important for ruling authorities through out the ages. Mughal Emperor preferred to have blessings of *Shaikh* if they planned to attack certain territory. Similarly, when their wills and wishes fulfilled, they awarded the *Shaykh* with land, money or kind. When prince Saleem was born with the blessing of *Hazrat Khawaja Mo'en-ud-Din Chishti* of Ajmer Sharif, Emperor Akbar came to the Shrine barefooted¹⁰ and donated generously to the *Khanaqah*.

The Sufi shrines were also well looked after during the British Colonial administration, barring a few exceptions. The same trend contracted after Pakistan came into existence. President of Pakistan, Muhammad Ayub Khan made and promulgated the "West Pakistan *Waqf* Properties Ordinance" 1959" for better control, administration, maintenance and management of shrines. President Zial-ul-Haq accepted the chairmanship of the Design Selection Committee and also showed his keen interest and financial contribution for construction of Shrine Complex of *Hazrat Ali*

⁹ Hussaini, S. Shah Khusroo (1983) 'Gisudiraz on Sufism' Idara Adebayat, Delhi (p. 7).

¹⁰ Currie, P. M. (1989); 'The Shrine and Cult of Kh. Mo' en al Din Chishti of Ajmer', Oxford University Press, Bombay (p. 174-180).

being Prime Minister of Pakistan provided Rupees 120.00 million for construction of new mosque at shrine of *Hazrat Baba Farid-ud-Din*, at Pakpattan. During his visit, Prime Minister Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali on 18-September 2003, made contribution of rupees 15.00 million for re construction of shrine of *Hazrat Baba Bulleh Shah* at Kasur and also directed the Chief Minister Punjab to contribute additional rupees 15.00 millions for Phase-III of the shrine complex. All the political forces influence the social environment of the Shrine Complex. Instead of *Mutawalli*, now political authorities give the annual *Ghusal* (Bath) to shrines on *Urs* day.¹¹

4.1 *Waqf* Administration

To run the day-to-day affairs was not as much complicated during the lifetime of *Shaykh* because he was the ultimate controlling authority and his words were like a command that were obeyed without questioning at any level. Even then, for better administration and control at *Khanaqah* of *Baba Farid ud Din* during his lifetime, the duties were distributed among his sons regarding the arrangements of Langer (Free Kitchen), *Taweez* writing, for *Zaireen*, collection and distributions of endowments etc. After the death of *Shaykh*, when number of visitors and income increased, the administration of *Khanaqah* became more complicated. At one hand, matter was to administer the day-to-day affairs and at the other, to distribute the income received from *Khanaqah*, among the successors. When the *Shaykh* nominated his *Khalifa* during lifetime, fewer problems occurred. For the distribution of income from the shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana*, Lahore, Noor Ahmed Chishti, the author of "*Tahqiqat-e-Chishti*" (1867) gives very interesting details.

In *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*, different affairs of *Waqf*, its administration, income, expenditure, criteria for *Mutawalli*, etc. in concept of Islamic

teaching has been deliberated.¹² Any property once declared as "*Waqf*" goes into the ownership of Allah permanently and can never be sold or transferred or gifted to any one under any circumstances. This makes *Waqf* property different from other non-*Waqf* properties. While writing the *Waqf* deed, one should be very careful and all such aspects should be comprehensively covered in documentation.

4.2 *Waqf* Administration at Government Level:

When India became the colony of the British Government, they administered the religious monuments of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in their own way.¹³ According to Bengal Code 1810, the powers were delegated to the Board of Revenue for administration and looking after *Waqf* properties in India. The income from these *Waqf* properties was spent for projects of public welfare like construction of Bridges, *Serais*, etc.

According to 'Religious Endowment Act 1863, Board of Revenue was directed to hand over the *Waqf* Property to Trustee, Manager or Superintendent related to *Khanaqah*. To supervise the Manager, Trustee or Superintendent, a committee comprising of three or more persons was constituted. Every Trustee, Manager or Superintendent was directed to keep regular account of his receipts and disbursements in respect of endowments and expenses on such religious establishments. Basic spirit of this committee was to open the opportunities for local residents to participate in the affairs of management of their religious establishments. In spite of all above, the religious endowments remained under control of *Mutawalli* and *Gaddi Nasheen* and they steered the cart in their own way.

After independence, when Pakistan came into

11 Governor or Chief Minister Punjab celebrates the Ceremony of Urs and Ghusal Sharif at Shrine of *Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri*.

12 In *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*, almost hundred pages have been reserved for subject of Islamic concept of *Waqf*.

13 Religious Endowment Act 17863, deals the religious properties of Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs under same rules and regulations.

being, the matter of administration of *Waqf* establishments once again came into focus in late fifties during the period of President Muhammad Ayub Khan. On his behalf, Governor of West Pakistan made and promulgated the West Pakistan *Waqf* Properties Ordinance-1959 for the first time. According to this, the Government appointed a Chief Administrator of Auqaf for the provinces of East and West Pakistan separately. Chief Administrator was delegated powers to appoint Administrators and Deputy Administrators. He was given endless power to takeover and assumes the administration, control, management and maintenance of a *Waqf* property.

This was replaced by "Punjab *Waqf* Properties Ordinance 1979". According to this ordinance, if a property has been used from the time immemorial for any purpose recognized by Islam as religious, pious and charitable is called *Waqf* Property. Where the *Waqf* is under administrative control of government, the main controlling force is "Religious Purposes Committees" instead of *Mutawalli* or *Gaddi Nasheen*.

4.3 Religious Purposes Committee

The concept of this committee evolved when British Government realized that there should be some public participation in administration and maintenance of religious establishments of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. So according to Religious Endowment Act 1863, the committee was elected but members were given lifetime membership.

According to section 6 of Punjab *Waqf* properties (Administration) Rules 2002, Chief Administrator *Auqaf* has been authorized to constitute a "Religious Purposes Committee", separately for shrines and mosques administration in Punjab. The number of members and power to constitute a Religious Purposes Committee is as under:-

- i) Seven to ten members, where the shrine has an annual income of rupees one

million or above.

- ii) Five to seven members, where shrine has an annual income of 0.5 to 1.0 million rupees.
- iii) Five members where the shrine has an annual income of less than 0.50 million rupees.

Religious Purposes Committee for category (i) is constituted by the Chief Administrator Auqaf and for category (ii) and (iii), concerned Zonal Administrator Auqaf is authorized to constitute.¹⁴

The tenure of committee has been kept one year, from the date of its constitution, provided it is not rescinded earlier. Zonal Administrator Auqaf or Manager is declared as secretary of the committee. Zonal Administrator appoints one of the members of committee, as chairman of Religious Purposes Committee. The aim and objectives of Religious Purposes Committee is to organize and perform the rituals and ceremonies held at Shrine on *Urs* days, and on the eves of years.

Today, the status of membership of Religious Purposes Committee has become so important that devotees use all the ways and means to become member or chairman of the committee.

The chairman of committee for *Data Darbar* is usually retired Justice of High Court. Devotees give time and money for the up keep and maintenance of shrine to become member or chairman of committee. This rank has become a status symbol in religious community.

4.4 *Waqf* Administration At Private Level

Chief Administrator Auqaf has been delegated powers¹⁵ to take over and assume the control and administration of any shrine in Punjab. Up till now, more than four hundred shrines have been taken over by Chief Administrator Auqaf since 1960, whereas, hundred and million thousand

¹⁴ Punjab *Waqf* Properties (Administration) Rules 2002.

¹⁵ Section 7, Punjab *Waqf* Properties Ordinance 1979.

shrines are looked after and maintained at individual, personal or private level in Pakistan. Major shrines include; "Shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu, District Jhang, Shrine at *Golra Sharif* Islamabad etc.

Income/Expenditure Account is not maintained at these shrines and no one is answerable to any one for income and expenditure. This is totally private enterprise. Even no income tax is deducted from the money collected at shrines. The *Gaddi Nasheen* or *Khalifa* is the ultimate authority for any decision. He looks after the arrangements for *Langer* (Free meal), availability for public amenities, *Urs* arrangements and the other festivals associated to the *Dargah*. Because of having a number of devotees around, he enjoys the status in the state affairs of political constituency of his area. He has established his role in religious as well as political scenario.

Other close members of *Shaykh's* family either start confronting the announced *Gaddi Nasheen* or they declare themselves as *Gaddi Nasheen* or representative of the *Shaykh* or *Pir* and starts collecting the money and other benefits associated with the *Khanaqah*. This creates some time law and order situation for the Government.¹⁶

4.5 The *Sajjada Nasheen*

The "*Sajjada Nasheen*" is the living representative of the *Shaykh*. He is also called "*Diwan*". *Shaykh* himself selects, among his followers or disciples, his representative called *Diwan* or *Sajjada Nasheen*. There are different symbolic representations for transference of spiritual authority to the successor. In *Chishti* order, it is the prayer rug (*Sajjade* or *Musalla*), the staff (*Asa*), the cloak (*Khirqah*) and less importantly sandals and a begging - bowl called *Kushkole*.

The *Sajjada Nasheen* has spiritual power as well as political power for upgraded social status. In private *Waqf* administration, *Sajjada*

Nasheen enjoys the authoritative dictatorship whereas in Government *Waqf* administration, the status of *Sajjada Nasheen* is symbolic and not influential. Chief Administrator is announced legal *Mutawalli* for such shrines. *Diwan Masood Mauood* is present day *Sajjada Nasheen* of *Hazrat Baba Farid's*. He opens the *Baheshti Darwaza* on 5th and 6th of *Muharram* every year at shrine of *Hazrat Baba Farid ud Din* at *Pakpattan* and performs all the *Rasoomat* (rituals) on *Urs* days. Otherwise, he has no authority to interfere in the affairs of administration of *Khanaqah*. The *Sajjada Nasheen* of *Dargah Golara Sharif* has all the powers to collect the money, to perform the *Rasoomat* and to administer the day-to-day affairs of Shrine.

4.6 Private Religious Organizations

The Shrines located in urban settlements, attract more people and as a resultantly, people with different objectives come to the shrines. Will for blessings of *Shaykh* or *Fateha Khawani* is the major objective for visitation.

These private Religious Organizations collect the money in the name of *Khanaqah* and spend on maintenance, addition/ alteration or renovation works, and for public amenities to facilitate the *Zaireen*. As a result, they take their bread and butter through these activities.

During the construction of *Data Darbar Complex*, these religious organizations like *Anjuman Khadim ul Auliya*, played an effective role in decision of building large size prayer hall of the mosque. If these organizations resist, it become almost impossible for Government to implement any development scheme or any change in social and built environment of the Shrine.

5. ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

Sufism and economics stand poles apart. One is focusing its attention on the afterlife and next world, and the other is concerned with the material

¹⁶ At shrine of *Hazrat Sultan Bahu*, there are three claimant of *Gaddi Nasheeni* and for many times they times they have exchanged firing resulted in murder of devotees.

	%age	Income	%age
1	Rents	5,60,96,373/-	15.73
2	Lease Money	4,89,86,684/-	13.74
3	Cash Box	19,45,13,221/-	54.54
4	Shoe Keeping	2,62,24,139/-	7.35
5	Flower Contract	22,65,036/-	0.64
6	Misce.	2,22,14,494/-	6.23
7	Darbar Hospital	19,00,054/-	0.54
8	Recovery Advance	17,48,251/-	0.50
9	Sale of Books	1,91,749/-	0.05
	Good will of Shops	25,45,000/-	0.72
	Total	35,66,85,001/-	100

Table 1: Annual Income of Auqaf Department for Year 2002-03
(Source: Auqaf Department)

life of this world. The *Khanqah* has broadly two kinds of men in its fold, the permanent residents and the temporary ones. To meet the daily requirements of permanent residents,¹⁷ *Kasb* and begging were the two practices, whereas for temporary residents or visitors, *Futuh* came into existence. *Futuh* means, unsolicited charity. An earning activity - like *Kasb*, brings a Sufi into contact with public and places him in a position of subordination before the authority of

administration. This limits his freedom. Begging was another way to fulfill the need without *Kasb*. *Futuh* became the main source of financial support for Sufis of certain *Silsalas*. This concept, initially evolved in Baghdad and Khurasan and its application was institutionalized mostly in South Asia.

Futuh made the Sufis independent in basic needs of life. *Futuh* became an established practice well

Income from Cash Boxes

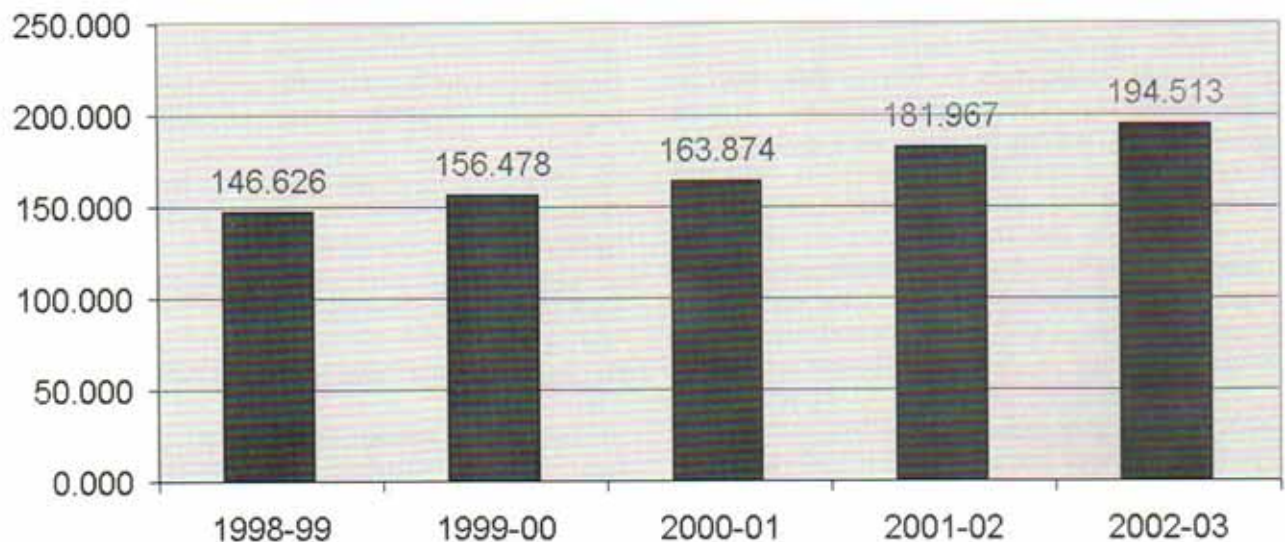


Chart 1: Income from Case Boxes (in millions) for 5 years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

¹⁷ Riazul Islam has discussed in detail about begging, *Kasb* and *Fatuh* in Islam in his book "Sufism in South Asia" (2002) VANGAURD Lahore.



Figure 5: At shrine where Gaddi Nasheen is politically strong authority, Cash Box of Auqaf Department is covered and Nazranajat are collected by representative of Gaddi Nasheen.

before the end of the 10th century. During *Ghaznavids* and Mughal period, Kings and Emperors dedicated the land revenue of dozens of villages or sometime in the form of coins, construction etc., they contributed.

For the devotees, shrine is always a source of blessings of *Shaikh* and main objective of visitation is to request for blessings to fulfill the wants and wills of devotees. During the lifetime of *Shaykh*, it was strictly observed that *Nazranajat* collected every day, might be given away to needy before the sunset, and these were the strict instructions of Baba Farid-ud Din. During the lifetime of *Shaykh*, there was no accumulation of money in any form. After the death of *Shaykh*, shrine became a major source of money for *Waqf* administration. *Shaykh*, in fact, do not agree to bow before any one except Allah.

Annual income from all sources, at shrine of Hazrat Data *Ganj Buksh Ali Hujveri* is rupees 100.76 million for year 2003-04. During days 5-10 of

Muharram, the Managing Committee of Darbar Hazrat Sultan Bahu collected more than 4.10 million rupees in March 2004.

The actual income of Punjab Auqaf Department reached up to rupees 460.00 millions for the year 2003-04. This is achieved mainly from cash boxes (55 %), lease money from agricultural land (14 %), rents from commercial units (16%), annual contracts of shoe keeping (7.50%), *Taharat khana*, fairs etc. Today Shrine is a great source of income for *Waqf* administration and they are all the time planning to increase this income from sources relating to shrine.

5.1 Cash Boxes

To run the *Langer* at *Khanaqah*, during the lifetime of *Shaykh*, is not a difficult task. *Zaireen* were in habit of giving coins and in kind to distribute to the poor. At the time of departure, it was normal practice that devotees would put some money under the carpet of *Shaykh*. After the



Figure 6: Zaireen donate money and toys when their need is fulfilled after their prayer at shrine of Hazrat Sakhi Sultan Bahu, District Jhang.

death of *Shaykh*, people started putting money on grave. In the beginning, no one dared to take that money and *khuddam* were present there round the clock. For more security and protection, a locked wooden box was placed to collect the money that later on converted into steel box of specific size and design so that no one can take away the money even from the slit opening of Cash Box.

The major part of income (almost 55%) from a shrine comes through the Cash Boxes. Auqaf Department has announced a schedule for cash opening at shrines, for whole of the year, where time and days are fixed. Zonal Administrator for major and Manager Auqaf for other shrines themselves open the cash boxes and after counting, deposit the money in the prescribed bank that finally go to Central Auqaf Fund.

Each cash box has three locks and keys remain with,

- Manager / Administrator Auqaf
- *Khatib*
- Bank Officer.

Moreover, an official seal is fixed each time when cash box is locked after official opening. For every opening, the presence of above three members is essential. To open the cash box (i.e. every day, every week, fortnightly, once in a month) depends on income received from shrine. Schedule of Cash Box opening for year is published for all concerned. On Friday, no cash opening is carried out. At Shrine of Hazrat Data *Ganj Buksh*, 39 Cash Boxes are placed at different points in Shrine Complex and on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, cash opening is done, i.e. three days in a week. During the *Urs* Days, daily cash opening is done at shrines

Income from Lease Non

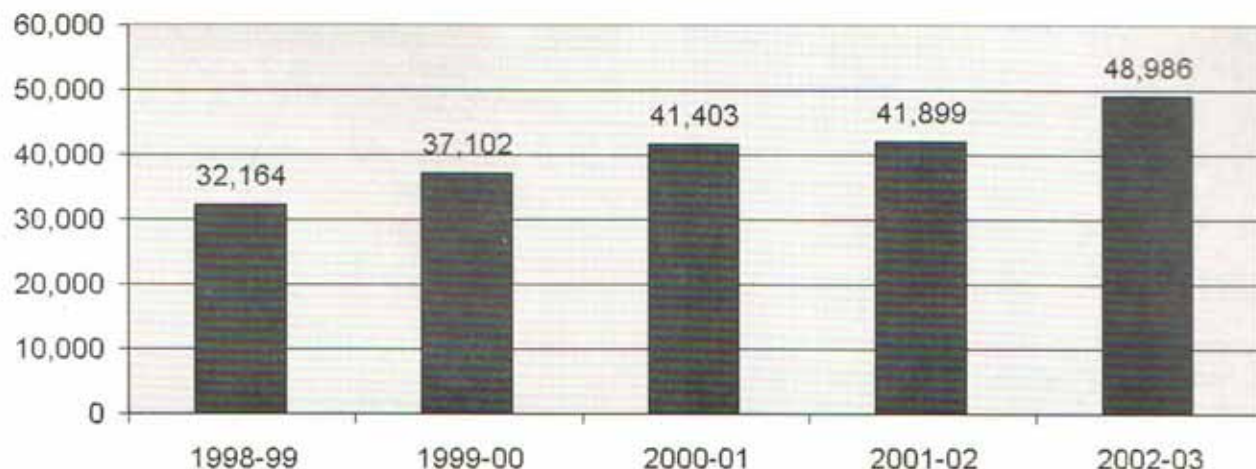


Chart 2: Income from Lease Money (in millions) for five years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

of Hazrat Data Ganj Buksh and Baba Farid.

There are few shrines where cash box is placed on annual contract to private party as the recurring expenditure of shrine becomes more than income of Shrine. There are some shrines located at roadside and *Waqf* administration awards annual contract called '*Chalti Traffic ka Thaika*' [contract of running Traffic].

According to *Waqf* law, all the income from these cash boxes is deposited in the Central Auqaf Fund from where, spending is made, as reflected in annual budget.

5.2 *Waqf* Agricultural Land

To meet the expense of *Khanaqah*, Mughal Emperors were enough generous to allocate the land, income from villages and provide coins to the *Dargah* of *Shaykh*, (Khawaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti). Second major source of income from the Shrine Complex is the lease money received from the annual contract of agricultural land.

To regulate or revise the contract of agricultural land, Punjab Auqaf Department has constituted

Rules for the lease of *Waqf* land. To lease out the agricultural *Waqf* land, following directions have been issued by the authority.

- The lease contract shall be in writing.
- The period of lease shall be three years and shall not exceed five years with the following breakup.
 - a) The first year's money to be determined in the open auction.
 - b) Second year 10% increase.
 - c) Third year 10 % increase.



Figure 7: Governor Punjab and other Ministers on Ceremony of *Chader Poshi* at Shrine of Hazrat Data Darbar at Lahore.

Head	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Rents	33.434	42.112	47.078	50.665	58.641

Table 2: Income from Rents (in millions) for five years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

	Zaildar Road	Darbar Road
1	Deg Cooking20	Deg Cooking35
2	Tabarrakat17	Tabarrakat31
3	Music/ bangles18	Music/ bangles18
4	Dall Roti02	Dall Roti24
5	Hotel01	Hotel08
6	Books06	Books04
	Total 64	120

Table 3: Nature and Number of Shops at Shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri at Lahore.

Further it has been declared that the lease shall be extendable subject to the approval of Zonal Administrator Auqaf for further two years with 10% increase in each year. Chief Administrator Auqaf has been authorized to grant a lease for longer period, if in his opinion such auction is necessary in the best interest of *Waqf* property.

The lease is granted through open auction after due publicity through national press, by distribution of handbills on spot and also on beat of drum. Manager along with the assistant of Revenue and Administrative Field Staff of Auqaf Organization can do fresh "*Lot bandi*" of *Waqf* land and forward it to Zonal Administrator for approval and to Director Estate for intimation.

This fresh "*lot bandi*" is kept in Manager office in printed or cyclostyled form. Copies of "*lot bandi*" is sent to the Town Committee, *Tehsil* Council, District Council, Deputy District Officer (Revenue) and concerned District Co-ordination Officer. The land to be auctioned for lease can not be more than fifteen acres for irrigated land, and that of *Banjar* (Barren) not more than seventy five acres. Schedule of auction is prepared by Manager in consultation with Zonal Administrator and is intimated to the Director Estate. The Rate of lease money is taken as of "*Illaga Rate*". In case of Tube Well lots, *Bangar Qadeemi* (Barren land) can be leased out for seven years. Area for single lot is not increased more than 75 acres, but not more than one hundred acres each. Such lease is extendable up to 10 years by the Chief Administrator.

5.3 Commercial Units

It is the duty of *Waqf* administration to make arrangements for best utilization of *Waqf* property as it was dedicated for the purpose. *Waqf* property, in the urban settlement mostly has the commercial potentials. *Waqf* administration mostly constructs the shops in urban areas and rents out to collect the money. Punjab Auqaf Department collects almost 16% of total annual income, from the rents of commercial units.



MASTER PLAN OF SHRINE HAZRAT BIBI PAK DAMAN AT LAHORE

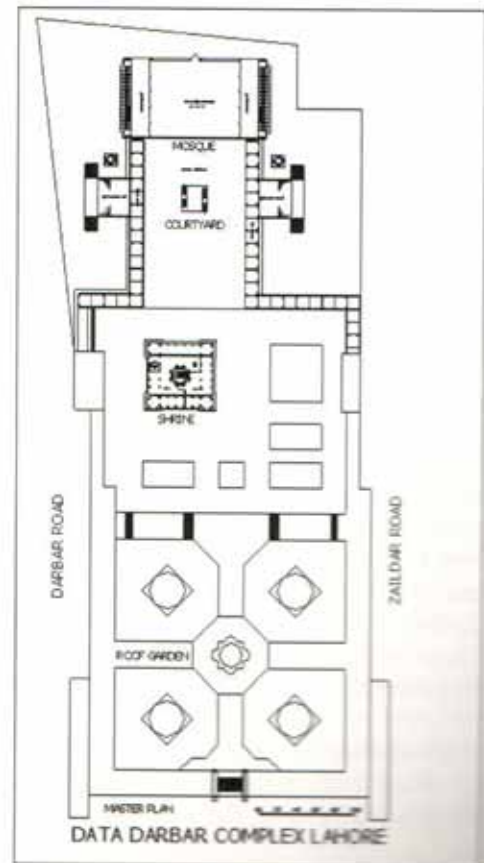
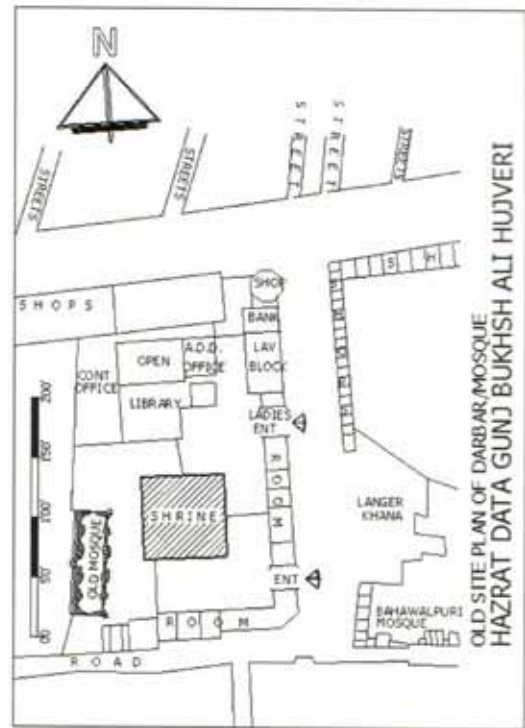
The shops are the necessity at each shrine. *Zaireen*, coming for the visitation, need to buy *Tabbarkat*, *Chaddar*, *Mukhanay*, *Langer*, Sweet, Salt, flowers etc. So it is natural that on the way to shrine, business of such item flourish.

When land was acquired to expand the Data Darbar complex at Lahore, there were 138 existing shops that were vacated by Auqaf Department. In the complex, originally 148 shops were planned to construct. On the *Zaildar Road* (64 number) and on *Darbar Road* (120 number) shops presently exist.

Three hundred feet long street giving access to Shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana* at Lahore, is flanked by shops on both sides. These shops are the regular feature of shrines in sub continent. During the *Urs* days, temporary shops are established in hundreds for few days and rents are collected. There are certain shrines, where every Thursday and Friday, a bazaar is established. Local people visit the shrine and also purchase the households items. At shrine of *Hazrat Imam Ali-ul-Haq Sialkot* and *Hazrat Deewan Chawli Mashaikh Burewala*, every Friday a big fair is held. *Waqf* Administration collects monthly Rs. 1,45,000/- from shrine of *Hazrat Imam Ali-ul-Haq* and Rs. 65,000/- from Shrine of *Hazrat Deewan Chawli Mashaikh* from the Friday shops. For the lease, relating to house or shop, it should be in written form and period does not exceed more than Three years.

Previously, it was common phenomenon to rent the *Waqf* shops comparatively at low rent from market but now, the rent of shop or residential unit is kept close to the market rate. Preference is given to the old lessee. Lessee deposits two months rent in advance. If lessee fails to pay rent for two months, he is liable to be ejected on one-week's notice. The rent of urban properties, commercial units and rural properties is enhanced at the rate of 25 % after every three years. If it is found that occupant is other than the lessee, case for cancellation is taken up.

For the transfer of tenancy, it is required to deposit the rent at old rates for fifty months and lessee also accept new rent according to the market rates in writing. In case of death of tenant, the change



of tenancy in favour of his widow or legal heirs is processed without charging fifty months rent.

If the tenant, during his lifetime applies for transfer of tenancy in favour of his wife / legal heir, fifty months advance rent is charged. Chief Administrator Auqaf approves fresh allotments and fixation of rents for shops and houses, on the recommendation of Zonal Administrator through Director Estate.

5.4 Annual Contracts

To provide the facilities to *Zaireen* for better administration and maintenance, there are two patterns as practiced by the *Waqf* administration.

- To do on his own: For that purpose, *Waqf* administration employ the people and hold them responsible for certain specific jobs. Like Zonal Administrators, Assistant Director for Estate, Finance, Administration, Religious Affairs etc. a proper hierarchy is developed in service structure and prescribed rules for government servants are followed.
- To Let on Annual Contract Basis: Sometimes, it becomes feasible for *Waqf* administration to let on contract certain services on annual basis like agricultural land, shoe keeping, cleanliness, weekly and annual fairs, etc. To appoint a person where one can get hot cash directly, it becomes risky and difficult to control the embezzlement. So such services are mostly given on contract and without any recurring expenditure, *Waqf* administration gets a handsome amount from the contractor.

From the Shrine Complex of Hazrat Data Gunj Buksh Ali Hajveri, *Waqf* administration gets rupees 14.70 millions annually from the contractor for shoe keeping contract on the eight entrance gates of the complex. Similarly, on the Shrine of Baba Farid Pakpattan and Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana at Lahore, the annual contract for shoe keeping is rupees 1.40 million and rupees 1.14 million (Source: Auqaf Department) for the year 2003-04 respectively.

In a way this has become a major source of income for *Waqf* administration. Similarly, the contract for *Taharat Khana*, Flowers, Animals etc are made

on annual basis and *Waqf* administration gets income in collective form without any recurring expenditure. According to Punjab *Waqf* Properties (Administration) Rules 2002, where lease relate to contracts at various shrines, the contract is done in writing and period of contract is one year; that is extendable for another two years subject to an annual increase of 25 % and advance payment of lease money. Director Estate, grants the extension on recommendation of Zonal Administrator, before 31st December of every calendar year.

The schedule of auction of contract i.e. Running Traffic, Cash Boxes and *Nazrana Mutfarraqat* is advertised in the press, at least in one National Daily Newspaper of repute. Schedule of auction is prepared by the Manager and is approved by Zonal Administrator. Zonal Administrator accords the approval of auction if increase in lease money is 20% or more.

5.5 Nazranajat (Donations)

When wills and wants of devotees are fulfilled, in response, the devotees pay off in the form of *Nazranajat* to the *Waqf* administration. That may be in the form of coins and kinds. In the coin form, it goes to the cash boxes placed at shrine by the *Waqf* administration whereas in kind form, that may be animals like goats, sheep, chicken, etc. these are handed over to the *Waqf* administration and receipt is issued as record. These are mostly used in *Langer* [Free Meal] and sometimes, a contract on annual basis is made to dispose off these animals and money collected is deposited in the Central Auqaf Fund.

6. IMPACT ON BUILT ENVIRONMENT

6.1 Ideological Influences:

In its simplest form, a shrine is a burial place; sometimes open to sky, but mostly enclosed in four walls and casually roofed with domical structure. This is not a grave of an ordinary or common person but of a Sufi or saint, a spiritual guide, belonging to Islamic Mystics- the *Tasawwuf*, who is near and dear to Allah. After the death of *Shaykh*, his shrine is constructed. The building form and spatial configuration follows the Sufi

order or *Tari'qa* of the saint. *Chishties*¹⁸ have their shrines as very simple building form, material and construction techniques. No extra decorative motifs are found whereas shrines of *Suharawardi*¹⁹ saints are huge in volume, massive in scale, rich in surface decoration and dominate the *Zaireen*. *Chishties* and *Qadiries* are fond of *Sa'ma*. So their *Khanaqahs* have a place for *Sa'ma* – Sufi *Sangeet* near the shrine in the form of platform or Veranda. *Jam'at Khana* is another distinctive feature of *Chishty Dargahs*. *Suhrawardies* always remained near state or Government and they accepted high ranks, shared and enjoyed ruling powers. Their shrines were constructed at prominent locations of the city like mounds or forts i.e. shrine of Hazrat Baha ul Haq Zakariya and Shah Rukn-e- Alam in Multan and shrine of Jalal ud Din Bukhari in Uch Sharif. Those who were related to *Suhrawardies* were not buried in community graveyards but in the same shrines. Resultantly, *Suhrawardy* shrines have dozens graves whereas *Chishties* or *Qadireis* have one or two graves enshrined. Shrines of *Chishties* or *Qadiries* were constructed by their devotees so these are simple and friendly as compared to the shrines of *Suharawardies*, those are grand in scale, massive in volume and with richly decorated wall surfaces. Ruling authorities or they themselves have constructed these.

Zaireen also create their impact by fixing marble or ceramics tiles on floors or wall surfaces of shrine or painting in their own way on eve of *Urs* of the saint.

6.2 Political Forces

Shrine, since its inception has been source of power for ruling authorities. So, mostly construction has been carried by rulers as gesture of their respect for the saint. A number of buildings were constructed by Mughal emperors like Akbar at shrine of *Hazrat Khawaja Mu'in ud Din Chishti*. Aurangzeb Alamgir constructed the shrine of *Hazrat Mian Meer* at Lahore. Ranjeet Singh also did repair and renovation work at shrine of *Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri* during his regime. President Muhammad Ayub Khan promulgated the West Pakistan *Waqf* Property Ordinance

to take full control at shrines. General Muhammad Zia ul Haq not only accepted the Chairmanship of Design Selection Committee for Data Darbar Complex but also made many changes in proposed design. He desired to copy the form of minaret of mosques in Turkey. He directed to change the form of arcade by adding domes and making more Islamic elements to Entrances of mosque. Similarly, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif made many decisions for completion of third phase of Data Darbar Complex. He directed to demolish the constructed waterfall as it was hiding the front view of shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri*. Federal Finance Minister Muhammad Ishaq Dar (being chairman of Construction Committee) and Minister for Auqaf, Sahibzada Fazal Karim dictated to consultant for many changes in proposed design of second and third phase of Data Darbar Complex. Similarly, Commissioner Lahore and Chief Administrator Auqaf Punjab made many decisions in proposed design. Today, eastern arcades of Data Darbar Complex are related to multifoil arches of *Ghulam Girdesh* of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* whereas western arcades are related to the newly constructed mosque. This has made visual division of complex. In original design, there were 144 shops at lower ground floor of Data Darbar Complex. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif converted this area into *Sa'ma* Hall. Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister not only approved the design of new mosque at shrine of *Baba Farid ud Din*, Pakpatten but also sanctioned rupees 120.00 million for its construction. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif directed the consultant to fix red sand stone on external surfaces of mosque at the shrine of *Baba Farid* and white marble at outer surface of the domes.

Prime Minister of Pakistan directed Auqaf Department to carry some development works at the shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana* at Lahore. Auqaf Department spent 4.80 million rupees and constructed Entrance Hall, *Musafer Khanas*, Police *Chowki*, *Langer Khana*, Administration office, courtyards etc. Governor Punjab not only approved the design of mosque at shrine of *Baba Bulleh Shah*, Kasur; but also laid down the foundation stone for its construction. Prime Minister Mir

¹⁸ Shrines of *Baba Farid*, *Mu'in ud Din Chishti* etc.

¹⁹ Shrines of *Shah Rukn e Alam*, *baha ul Haq Zakariya* etc.

Zafar ul Allah Jamali has sanctioned rupees 15.00 million for construction of the new shrine of Baba Bulleh Shah at Kasur, during his visit to the shrine on September 18, 2003.

6.3 Economic Influences

According to statement given by Khaliq A. Nizami, shrines became source of income for caretakers during the Mughal period. These Economic Forces influence the built environment of shrine complex to provide maximum facilities to *Zaireen* that resultantly, enhance the income from shrine. *Waqf* administration conceives development works at shrines under their control. Annual income from shrine of Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana was only rupees 1.934 million in year 1994-95 but after carrying development works, this income has reached up to 7.421 millions rupees in year 2003-04. The annual income from Data Darbar Complex has become rupees 100.76 million for the year 2003-04 after completion of complex.

Construction of shops on the way and at entrance to shrine has become an essential feature of shrine complex. This gives business to shopkeepers and rent to *Waqf* administration. Development and flourishing of shrine invites more visitors. This develops commercial potential of surrounding area and land uses are changed.

Waqf administration has added cash boxes in shrines to collect money that are normally embedded at prominent place. For collection of money at shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu, other than cash boxes, a water pond has been constructed in the courtyard of shrine. Contract of shoe keeping is also another source of income. At shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri, there are eight entrance gates where shoe-keeping contracts have been awarded. These contractors have constructed temporary sheds for shoe keeping. Ceremony of *Chader Poshi* is another essential feature of shrine. These cloth sheets are collected and disposed off.

7. CONCLUSION

In early years of twentieth century, first time, shrine was taken as social phenomenon. As assessed by Khaliq A. Nizami, during the Mughal period, shrines became economic source for *Waqf*

administration in Indian society. During the Sikh period, no care was taken for religious monuments of Muslims or Hindus. In British period, these religious monuments were given under control the of Revenue Board under Bengal Code 1810.

In year 1863, Religious Endowment Act was promulgated and management of shrines was given under control of Trustee, Manager and Superintendent. Translation of *Kashf al Mahjub* from Persian to English language in 1911 by R. Nicholson really opened the window of Islamic mysticism to the western scholars. P.M. Currie wrote "The Shrine and Cult of Khawaja Mu'in al-Din Chishty of Ajmer" and discussed the subjects like "the Role of Saints in Islam", "The *Khuddam*", "The *Sajjada Nishin*", "The Administration of *Dargah*" etc. for the first time. Other important book was of Christian W. Troll's "Muslim Shrines in India", that was collection of essays from different authors. This book made a great impact and Shrine Complex was taken as institution run by Administration with different objectives.

Recently, Riazul Islam's book "Sufism in South Asia" and K.K. Aziz's book "Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan" has really opened new horizon for scholars. The subject of *Piri-Muridi*, Shrine as Economic source, Role and interest of Politicians, Rituals and Ceremonies etc have been discussed thoroughly. Without investing a single penny, *waqf* administration receives billions every year. Today, shrine is not only a burial place of saint or Sufi but it is much more than that ■

GLOSSARY

Asa (عصا): Stick or Cane

Auliya (اولیا): Plural of *Wali* means saint

Banger Qadeem (بجر قدیم): Uncultivated land since long

Chadder Poshi (چادر پوشی): A ritual to lay the cloth sheet on grave of saint

Dargah (درگاہ): Shrine or burial place

Dewan (دیوان): Representative of *Shaykh*

Diwali (دیوالی): A Hindu celebration

Shaykh (شیخ): Saint or Sufi

Sunnah (سنت): Way of Holy Prophet

Tabarrakat (تبرکات): Relics related to saint

Taharat (طہارت): To purify the body with water before entering to shrine

Taharat Khana (طہارت خانہ): Toilet

Tasawwuf (تصوف): Islamic mysticism

Ta'weez (تعویذ): Written verses of Qur'an for treatment

Urs (عرس): Annual celebrations of saint on day of his death

Zaireen (زائرین): Specific visitors coming on Muslim shrines

Sangeet (سنگیت): Sufi song

Salook (سلوک): a stage in the way to Sufism

Saraae (سرائے): Guest house

Eid ul Ad'ha (عید الاضحی): A Muslim annual celebration

Eid ul Fiter (عید الفطر): A Muslim annual celebration

Fatuh (فتوح): Unsolicited charity

Gaddi Nasheen or Nishin (گدی نشین): Living representative of Saint or Sufi

Ghusal (غسل): Bath

Hadis (حدیث): Saying of Holy Prophet

Haqiqat (حقیقت): Devine Reality

Haveli (ہویلی): Home of bigger size

Holi (ہولی): A Hindu celebration

Ilaqa Rate (علاقہ ریٹ): Area rate decided by Deputy Commissioner of District

Kushkol (کشکول): Bowl

Khalifa (خليفة): Representative of saint

Khanaqah (خانقاہ): Shrine complex

Khatib (خطیب): Muslim Religious leader

Khirqah (خرقہ): Long coat

Khuddam (خدا م): People Serving at shrine

Langer (لنگر): Free kitchen for visitors

Lot Bandi (لاٹ بندی): Zoning of agricultural land

Mutawalli (متولی): Caretaker of shrine

Mutafarrakat (متفرقات): Miscellaneous

Mukhanay (مکھانے): Sweets

Nazarana jat (نذرانہ جات): Offerings

Qawwali (قوالی): Sufi song

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A COMMENTARY ON RECENT HERITAGE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN THE EMIRATE OF DUBAI

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ABSTRACT

Recent efforts at the preservation of cultural heritage sites have raised questions about the purpose of heritage preservation. Whether it is to preserve traditional material culture in a world where it is increasingly threatened or to create a new market for cultural consumption; heritage conservation efforts constantly struggle with the idea of 'authenticity.' This paper analyzes recent heritage conservation efforts in the Emirate of Dubai. It contextualizes these efforts with respect to their social meaning and relevance to the society they claim to represent.

BACKGROUND

The city of Dubai is well-known as the financial capital of the Middle East. Dubai's rise to financial and commercial success is upheld as an example for the rest of the region. Dubai's built environment is reflective of this commercial bonanza which is advertised and marketed in the region, and indeed to the rest of the world. Apart from projecting the values of capitalism and modernity however, the city is beginning to project another, contradictory image. An image which claims to pay tribute to the true and 'authentic' heritage of the region. It is a constructed image of a past which has, until recently, been completely absent in the built environment and architecture of the city.

The history of Dubai dates back to the mid-eighteenth century when it was a small fishing village. Later on, being a natural port it captured the lines of trade in the region. Early merchants from India and Iran settled in Shindagah and Bur Dubai, Dubai's oldest settlements. Dubai's subsequent development responded to the trading and commercial needs of its early inhabitants.

It was the discovery of oil in the 1960's that led to a major economic boom in the region in general with profound consequences for the economy of the Gulf Region.

The Emirate of Dubai, part of the United Arab Emirates, founded as a nation in 1971, became a trade and service hub in the Gulf region attracting migrant workers from Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka. Today the population of Dubai is 80% expatriate. This phenomenon also raises particular questions about the cultural identity of the place, the most important component of the claimed heritage of any place.

1. HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN DUBAI

Heritage conservation efforts began here in the early nineties and focused mainly on the restoration and subsequent reconstruction of identified heritage sites in the city of Dubai. These are mostly in the form of domestic architecture. Other identified heritage sites include forts and souks.

One of the most celebrated conservation projects has been that of the Bastakia District in Dubai. This was the site of one of the oldest settlements in the area whose history dates back to the 1890's. The old houses in the Bastakia quarter were built at the turn of the 20th Century. These houses were at that time homes of wealthy Persian merchants who came from the Bastak district in southern Iran. One of the most striking architectural features of these houses was the '*Birjeel*' or wind tower which gave the quarter its distinct character.

The process of heritage preservation has been more along the lines of reconstruction. For example, one of the old houses marked for conservation efforts is the Sheikh Sayeed house.



Figure 1: An Example of Reconstructed 'Birjeel' or Wind Tower that gave the Historic Districts its Distinct Character.

This house is not located in the Bastakia quarter but dates from the same period and shows the same features. The house has been systematically reconstructed after being dismantled piece by piece. All the salvaged parts were catalogued for use in the reconstruction work. For the reconstruction traditional building materials such as coral stone, lime and plaster were married with a modern, re-inforced concrete structure. Details consist of specially crafted Teak doors, plaster screens and comices.

These heritage efforts are presented as an effort to resist the otherwise global commercial forces shaping the city and indeed they do provide an alternative vision. The positive aspects of this project are that it does provide the only model of what used to be the traditional architecture of the region as well as setting an example of an



Figure 2: Specially Crafted Teak Doors, Plaster screens and Cornices used in reconstructed houses within Bastakia District.

alternative image for the city. The recreation of sustainable construction features such as the wind-towers provide a much-needed alternative to the wasteful and energy consuming construction practices in the region.

However, it cannot be ignored that the backdrop to the conservation of the Bastakia district and other similar projects has been the push to sell a certain alternative image of the city, namely its Arabian Heritage, for tourist consumption. Walking through the quarter, one is constantly reminded of this fact when looking at the exclusive boutiques and cafes which are housed in former residential quarters. It is not just the material aspects of the built form of the quarter which causes some food for thought but also the use it is being put to. Other forms of material culture which are promoted and sold here raise questions about the artificial nature

of this cultural image. For example, most of the paintings with traditional subjects and the craftwork being sold are the work of foreign or expatriate artists and designers which is very expensive. At the very least, an alternative approach could have been the encouragement and stimulation of grassroots involvement of local inhabitants in the production of the material aspects of their own cultural identity.

The Bastakia district, hence seems frozen in time, separate from what is otherwise happening to the urban fabric of the city. There is a lack of integration in terms of incorporating the heritage area with the everyday activities of the city through some kind of grassroots participation. This has resulted in the creation of a museum like environment in the heritage areas which seems to be completely at odds with the surrounding environment and somewhat inaccessible to the general public.

Another question which arises is, what does the preservation of heritage mean in a city where building projects are defined in terms of superlatives and exclusivity – the tallest hotel, the only seven-star hotel, the biggest Mall?

An interesting counterpoint to the 'authentic' heritage preservation efforts is the creation of environments which simulate cultural authenticity. Madinat-al-Jumaira is a newly constructed commercial complex in Dubai which mimics, almost all features having the characteristics of the Bastakia quarter. It is a simulated environment which shows the ease with which authentic cultural identity can be reproduced for consumption. The project expresses this not just with its architecture but its siting and location as well. Madinat-al-Jumaira is located at the foot of Burj-al-Arab, a skyscraper hotel which is the latest in the modernist experiments which dominate the skyline of Dubai. The building has rapidly become a symbol of wealth and power in the region which has invoked a kind of cultural pride in the Arab, and by extension, the Muslim world. Standing at 321 metres, it is the tallest hotel in the world which stands on its own floating island. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on its construction, which is redeemed by rates ranging between \$900 to \$15,000 per night. The city of Dubai now sports license plates bearing a sketch

of the tower.

It is in the shadow of this extraordinary construction that a simulated heritage environment has been created mainly for tourist and elite consumption. In terms of architectural styles and materials, the contrast between the Burj and the complex could not be more striking. In terms of the clientele and prices of goods on offer the difference is not that great. The question arises whether heritage conservation is mainly a matter of preserving or recreating the material aspects of culture or is there something else as well? What about the social and economic life of people which is indeed at the heart of cultural identity?

Although in efforts such as Madinat al Jumeira, these aspects have been completely ignored, more



Figure 3: Burjal Aras Hhotel with the Madinal al Jumeira Complex in Foreground.



Figure 4: Simulated Heritage Environment is Created in Shopping Areas for Consumption of Tourists and Elite.

'authentic' i.e. in comparative terms, projects like the Bastakia quarter are qualitatively better and far more desirable, despite their flaws. This should not detract from the fact, however, that it is the museum-like and tourist-oriented nature of such heritage conservation efforts which have spurred on and inspired commercial interests to simulate and mimic them for their own ends.

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Conclusion

What is common to both these projects is that the decision-making process is concentrated at the top resulting in the actualization of an elite concept of heritage. This concept feeds either into nostalgic and frozen images of the past or is oriented towards the tourist gaze which thirsts for the exotic. This is a problem which is not unique to these examples but has been raised again and again when considering the intersections between cultural heritage, tourism and consumption.

There should be an attempt to dissociate heritage conservation from an elitist and nostalgic notion of the past as well as tourist consumption. Otherwise the past will be reduced to these new urban museums in our cities which are disconnected from contemporary reality ■

This article is based upon information gathered by the author while participating in field visits which were part of the 9th International Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, held in Sharjah UAE, December 2005. The theme of the conference was "Post Traditional Environments in a Post global World." The conference was organized by the University of California at Berkley and the American University of Sharjah.

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“KARACHI: LOOSING ITS HISTORIC FACE”

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ABSTRACT

Karachi being a metropolitan city of population, more than 13 million, is usually seen and known to many of its inhabitants and visitors as a modern mega polis, which lacks an identity and a culturally rich historic background. Many who do not know the city too well would often exclaim “Does Karachi have a historic core?”; “Does Karachi have a history worth preserving?”. Surprising answers to these questions emerge when one tries to look into the historic background of the city and discover that there were times when Karachi scintillated with its richness of tradition and culture. Karachi certainly does not have a very long history to boast about, but its short colonial history does not lack anything that can be desired, thus making it comparable to many other colonized cities of the world that are today celebrated for their glory and richness.

Much has been written about Karachi and its rapidly vanishing historic fabric. Several reasons have been identified as the cause for the ruthless destruction of its historic core. Piecemeal efforts are made from time to time to give the city's historic fabric a protective cover. Yet the disturbing questions still lurk in the minds of those who really care for the city, “Why is our historic core constantly on the decline? Why are we loosing old buildings every day? Why are the existing masterpieces of architecture so badly maintained and mutilated? In spite of the existing legislation, how can people get away with the implacable destruction of heritage property?”. This paper aims at looking into some facts related with the listed heritage of Karachi, attempting at an analysis of the existing ground realities and their implication on the whole process of heritage conservation and issues related to it.

1. INTRODUCTION TO KARACHI'S HISTORIC QUARTERS¹

Before the British came to Karachi it was a small town controlled by the Talpur Rulers of Sindh. In 1839 Karachi (*Kurrache*) was annexed by the British Army and since then its rapid development and expansion started on formally planned lines. At the time when the British arrived in Karachi it had two distinct areas; the indigenous town and the camp areas (that later became the cantonment). The first of Karachi's division into quarters was done by Belasis (Collector of Karachi) in 1858. At this time the area of Karachi and its suburbs were divided into 14 quarters, excluding the Cantonment. In 1880's Baillie listed 26 quarters of the city in his book 'Kurrachee: Past, Present and Future'. Towards the end of nineteenth century more than one Cantonments were established in the city, each one of which acted independently having its own jurisdiction and authority. In 1905, five more quarters were added in Karachi's Municipality raising the number to 31 quarters. By 1941 the city grew into 44 quarters which were grouped into eight wards.

From among the 44 historic quarters of Karachi some are considered more significant and historically important. The oldest of quarters is the 'Old Town Quarter', which comprised of the 'Native Areas'. Almost all the historic quarters have been named after the most significant activity or building present within that quarter. Otherwise they were named after the important personalities (British Officers) who contributed significantly in the development of Karachi into an important harbor city.

Out of the 44 historic quarters of Karachi the following nineteen have been covered in the listings

¹ Summarized from the accounts of Karachi's historic quarters given in “*The Dual City Karachi During the Raj*” by Y. Lari.

prepared for protected heritage;

Saddar Bazaar Quarter	76
Serai Quarter	78
Artillery Maidan Quarter	13
Ramabagh Quarter	76
Market Quarter	48
Jail Quarter	36
Bunder Quarter	16
Macchi Miani Quarter	18
Railway Quarter	11
Karachi Cantt	52
Manora	06
Old Town Quarter	24
Ranchore Quarter	29
Preedy Quarter	09
Napier Quarter	18
Civil Lines Quarter	39
Frere Town Quarter	20
Clifton Quarter	08
Queens Quarter	04

2. EFFORTS AT PRESERVING THE HISTORIC FACE OF KARACHI

The recognition of heritage values and awareness for their worth is minimal in the context of Karachi. On a national level Karachi does not enjoy the same reputation in terms of historic value, as many other cities in the country. In the past only a handful of people have advocated for the protection of Karachi's Heritage. Most of the efforts and campaigns initiated in this regard have been through the private sector, which created pressure groups to persuade government involvement and support. But, in spite of these efforts and activities, a properly developed policy to safeguard the heritage of the city is still lacking. Many of the attempts at implementation of the existing heritage preservation law have resulted in incoherent decisions and much confusion among those dealing with such listed properties. Due to the non-existence of a pre-defined guideline and well established-practicable set of rules it becomes difficult for each successive administration to deal with different situations and cases at different instances in a justified manner. Thus several instances of contradictory decisions are known, which reflect on the fact that the present state of

affairs is rather shaky and bendable, as per desire of those in office.

2.1 Framing of Legislation

Legislation is an important tool that helps in supporting the cause of heritage preservation. But this particular tool becomes instrumental only in places where abiding the law is a must, and nobody can get away by not doing so. And, it works in places where the law stays constant for all. Pakistan unfortunately is a country reputed to offer options and possibilities. Thus the existing law, has not been able to make a significant impact on the critical condition of heritage preservation. Due to the lack of a national level policy that gives homogeneity to heritage issues throughout the country, it has become difficult to manage such properties with a nation-wide zeal and enthusiasm.

The earliest of legislation that gave a legal cover to heritage properties in Pakistan is the Antiquities Act of 1954. Within its definition of 'immovable antiquity' even this earliest of Act included "urban site, street, group of buildings or public squares²" as identifiable for preservation. However, this was never applied or understood by the departments involved, hence limiting it only to the archaeological sites and single buildings of historic value. In 1994 a separate law for the province of Sindh was passed by the Provincial Assembly of Sindh, named as the "Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, 1994". Although the passing of this Act was an attempt at updating and refining the existing legislation, but a close study of the two Acts does not show much difference. Even though these two were formulated forty years apart, ironically the vision and perception of heritage management remained much the same. The widely accepted concepts of "heritage neighborhoods" in a holistic sense, with all their tangibles and more importantly the intangibles completely ignored in this Act.

The Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act is applicable to the entire province of Sindh. Indirectly, several laws and consequent administrative decisions have affected Karachi. For example, Karachi Development Authority was

² Section 2.g.iii.6 of the Antiquities Act 1954.

created in 1957 by the Presidential order No. 5 of the same year. Among the various functions that were entrusted to it, the zoning control and planning of the historic areas over a part of KDA's responsibilities. However, for Karachi and its historic quarters an additional security is provided through the Karachi Building Control Authority's "Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations – 2002" in which a separate chapter deals with the "historic areas". The present regulations are a revised version of the earlier regulations of 1979, in which preservation aspects for buildings of historic and architectural interest were covered very briefly in chapter V. These included some definitions, authority for designation of buildings, emphasis on informing the owner, and methods for getting approval for alterations or demolitions. At this time a list of 44 buildings was included as an appendix to the document giving them protection. Under the KBTP Regulations the MP&ECD³ of KDA held substantial authority over these buildings, although some of them came under the ownership of the Department of Archaeology and Museums. However, the last clause still gave the owner the possibility to appeal to the government against their decision.

"If MP& ECD refuses to grant a person permission to demolish, alter or extend a structure of architectural or historical interest, and if the owner is unable to earn a reasonable return on the structure by reason of the refusal, the owner may appeal to the Government; and its decision shall be final".

Section 29.4; KBTP Regulations 1979

The 2002 revised version of Regulations, however are slightly more detailed, and cover the aspect of alterations and changes more elaborately. One clause that holds substantial weight-age in terms of real penalty is that;

In case of unauthorized or illegal demolition of declared protected Heritage Building no fresh approval of Building Plan on the said plot shall ever be permitted and a fine as permitted by the Ordinance as amended from time to time, shall be imposed by the Authority

in addition to any other fine that may be imposed by the Department under the provision of the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act-1994 or the Antiquities Act-1975.

Section 15-4-3; KBTP Regulations 2002

In spite of the existing law there are a substantial number of listed buildings which have been cheekily demolished by their owners, and there are several more that are clearly heading towards the same fate. A clear reason for this state of affairs is the fact that the penalties charged in the existing law are easily manageable. Therefore penalties does not mean much loss for the law breaking owner of the property.

2.2 Protected Heritage Listings

The first efforts of documenting historic buildings of Karachi was initiated by the Design Bureau - Karachi Development Authority (KDA) in 1984. The MP&EC list of 44 buildings was taken up as important 'historical' buildings and the listed heritage of Karachi. Most of the buildings included in this list were either public amenity or religious buildings, thus having a monumental scale and high degree of architectural and/ or historic value.

However, between 1995 and 1997 more extensive listings were prepared and more than 600 buildings within the historic quarters of Karachi were identified to be listed as protected heritage. These listings were prepared by an NGO supporting the cause of heritage protection in Karachi. The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Government of Sindh, officially adopted these listings through gazette notifications, giving all buildings included in these lists a legal cover under the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 1994.

Gazette notification for the first of these listings was done in **September 1995**, including **194** buildings in all. This list comprised of 76 buildings from Saddar Bazaar Quarter, 78 from Serai Quarter, 36 buildings from the earlier MP&EC – KDA list of historic buildings and 4 more buildings.

³ Master Plan and Environmental Control Department - Karachi Development Authority. After the enforcement of Sindh Local Government Ordinance, 2001 the KDA has ceased to exist. It is replaced by the City District Government of Karachi which is headed by an elected Mayor (Nazim).

However, 2 buildings were repeated twice in the same list,⁴ thus bringing the actual number of listed buildings in this first list to 192.

The second gazette notification of the same series was published **June 1996**, which had only **15** buildings in it. These were mostly from Manora and Keamari. Two of these buildings were already mentioned in the list of 1995⁵. With this an addition of only 13 buildings in the previous 192 was actually done, increasing the total number of Karachi's listed buildings to 205.

In **September 1997**, the third and longest list was announced through the gazette. This list comprised of **426** buildings in all. These included 13 buildings from Artillery Maidan Quarter, 76 from Rambaugh Quarter, 48 from Market Quarter, 36 from Jail Quarter, 16 from Bunder Quarter, 18 from Macchi Miani Quarter, 11 from Railway Quarter, 51 from Karachi Cantt, 6 from Manora, 24 from Old Town Quarter, 29 from Ranchore Quarter, 9 from Preedy Quarter, 18 from Napier Quarter, 39 from Civil Lines Quarter, 20 from Frere Town Quarter, 8 from Clifton Quarter and 4 from Queens Quarter. From out of these 426 buildings quite a few were however, repetitions from the first two lists. In all 19 buildings were repeated from the 1995 list⁶; 4 from the 1996 list⁷ and 2 that were repeated in both the lists⁸ previously. Thus the actual contribution of this list of 1997 was the addition of 401 buildings to the previous total of 205, bringing the final figure to a total of 606 buildings designated as Karachi's Protected Heritage.

Within a span of three years, 606 buildings were



Figure 1: Left out in the Protected Heritage List, because it lies on Bunder Road out of the Boundaries of the Historic Quarters Covered so Far; Although Unquestionably Deserving to be Designated.

declared as the Protected Heritage of Karachi and given legal protection under the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 1994. But the criteria on basis of which these particular buildings were chosen has not been defined clearly, leaving many questions unanswered. Why is it that many buildings within the vicinity of listed ones, having similar character and quality are not included? Why so many buildings belonging to the same period, having extraordinary architectural character, but located at places outside the boundaries of quarters covered in these listings are not given any importance? Do all the buildings included in these listings have equal importance thus treated in the same manner, or should there be a categorization on basis of their degrees of value? To be able to answer these questions a profound research based undertaking needs to be done that may give professional and logical solutions.

- 4 The two buildings repeated in the list are Parsi Dar-e-Mehr at #50 as well as #171 and Sindh Madrassah Building at #113 and #175.
- 5 KPT Head Office at #1 and St. Paul's Church, Manora at #4 of the 1996 list, previously mentioned in the 1995 list at #181 and #165 respectively.
- 6 Sindh Assembly Building at #1/97; #188/95; Sindh High Court at #3/97; #185/95; Hindu Gymkhana at #16/97; #184/95; Victoria Museum (presently Supreme Court) at #18/97; #177/95; Max Denso Hall at #94/97; #176/95; KMC Head Office at #143/97; #186/95; City Court at #153/97; #169/95; Flagstaff House at #180/97; #168/95; Methodist Church at #200/97; #172/95; St. Patrick's Church at #217/97; #158/95; Wazir Mansion at #262/97; #167/95; Jaffer Faddoo Dispensary at #279/97; #178/95; Khaliqina Hall at #323/97; #180/95; St. Andrew's Church at #337/97; #170/95; Katrak Mansion at #376/97; #191/95; Sindh Club at #379-380/97; #174/95; Bristol Hotel at #391/97; 192/95; Mohatta Palace at #415/97; #187/95; Clifton Promenade at #417-420/97; 182/95; KPT Head Office at #1 and St. Paul's Church, Manora at #4 of the 1996 list, previously mentioned in the 1995 list at #181 and #165 respectively.
- 7 Watch Tower Manora at #227/97; #5/96; Flag Mast Manora at #228/97; #6/96; D. C.'s House at #229/97; #3/96; Harbour Master's Bungalow at #230/97; #2/96.
- 8 St. Paul's Church, Manora at #226/97; #165/95; #4/96; KPT Building at #285/97; #181/95; #1/96.



Figure 2 & 3: First Income Tax Building of Karachi situated on M. A. Jinnah Road. Left abandoned for many years, Recently became Prey to the destructive hammers. Nothing can be done to save this beautiful structure, holding substantial historic importance, as it never made it to the list of protected heritage.

2.3 The Heritage Committees and Cells

Managing and maintaining heritage sites is a specialized process that requires technical knowledge on all aspects of the heritage property. Within the present administrative system existing in Karachi there are two main departments responsible for the management of designated heritage property. All designated property primarily comes under the Government of Sindh, Ministry of Culture, Tourism, Sports, Youth Affairs and Social Welfare, through its Advisory Committee. But the responsibility of management and monitoring is shared by the Heritage Cell of Karachi Building Control Authority (KBCA). Karachi Building Control Authority is a municipal institution created under the Sindh Building Control Ordinance, 1979. It has the jurisdiction of monitoring and approving all kinds of buildings in the metropolitan areas of Karachi, extending military lands and cantonment. It now functions under the supervision of city Nazim (my or). Heritage sites also fall under its control. All applications or appeals regarding alterations, demolitions, repairs, extensions, etc. are filed by the owner, at the Heritage Cell – KBCA, which then forwards these cases to the Secretary Culture. The Secretary Culture then calls up the Advisory Committee to meet and take decisions on these cases.

Advisory Committee for Sindh Cultural Heritage: Under section 3 of the Sindh Cultural

Heritage Preservation Act 1994, the Government formulates an Advisory Committee that is composed of a Chairman and six other members, out of whom three are professionals from heritage related fields. The Advisory Committee also nominates a Technical Sub-committee, comprising of professionals from the field, who are requested to visit each property whose case has been submitted for consideration. On grounds of the observations during these visits the Technical Sub-committee gives recommendations to the Advisory Committee on basis of which final decisions are taken, but its strict enforcement has not yet been achieved.

Both the Advisory Committee and its Technical Sub-committee work on an Honorary basis. There is no fixed schedule of meetings, and these are done at the convenience of the members in the committee, when required. Sometimes the meeting of members gets delayed for very long stretches causing delays in decisions and frustration for the owners, specially those who have plans to restore their buildings and reuse them for economically viable usage. Although within the legislation a time limit of 30 days is given for the concerned government department to take a decision on the application.

“Prior to permitting the alteration, extension to Heritage Building, the Authority shall inform the concerned Department of the Government of Sindh. The Department shall have a period

of thirty (30) days in which to express any objection to such an alteration or extension."

Section 15-4-2; KBTP Regulations 2002

It may be noted that in addition to the members of provincial and local government, few notable citizens of the city with interest in heritage and professionals are also included in the said committees. These individuals are apparently thus most potent force that also asserts upon the bureaucracy to take up heritage matters seriously. However, since the onus of taking action lies with the concerned departments, these well meaning efforts hardly make a difference.

Heritage Cell - Karachi Building Control Authority: The KBCA - Heritage Cell was originally initiated as "*Urban Renewal Cell*" in 1987. It was in the late 90's that this was renamed as the Heritage Cell. This unit of the KBCA is responsible for monitoring of declared heritage buildings and enforces its authority under the SCHA 1994 and KBTP Regulations 2002. The cell comes under the Chief Controller Buildings who is also a member in the Advisory Committee for Sindh Cultural Heritage.

Another committee of KBCA that plays an important role in the matters of listed historic buildings is the **Technical Committee on Dangerous Buildings**. This committee works independently from the Heritage Cell or the Advisory Committee, thus many cases have occurred where the owner was able to get listed property declared as dangerous thus justifying demolition. Since the two committees function independently, many times contradictory decisions are taken, one declaring a property dangerous and the other declaring it as protected heritage. The criteria for declaring buildings dangerous by KBCA is also not clearly formulated, as an analysis of previously made decisions shows that even if only doors and windows of a building are missing, or if any one member of the structural elements has collapsed, the entire structure, may be declared as dangerous.

3. THE 'PROTECTED HERITAGE' SCARE

Till the time when there was nothing being done for the historic areas and old buildings of Karachi,

the fate of these buildings remained at the owner's desire. The pace of change was not very fast as people did not pay much attention to these properties, unless they really wanted to develop something in its place. However the rise of attention towards heritage, promulgation of laws and preparation / announcement of lists of protected properties created grave concerns among the property owners. Those whose property got announced as listed heritage felt that they had been 'doomed' and those whose properties were yet not listed felt scared that they might be put into that list in the future. Thus varied reactions started to come up.

Some felt that acting immediately would be wise, and there are cases where immediately after knowing of their building being listed the owner attempted to get rid of it by quick demolition. As a result quite a few buildings disappeared almost overnight.

The concept of historic buildings in private ownership, being designated as protected heritage is very new for Pakistan. Till recent years the trend has mostly been to protect monumental buildings that mostly come under the archaeology department. Conscious efforts at preserving historic quarters of cities and designating all/ most of the old buildings, even though of modest scale and architectural quality, but contributing towards creating a certain characteristic and ambiance for the area, has never been attempted in Pakistan. The importance, implications and benefits of this are not yet understood by people. Since the entire process of declaring buildings as 'protected heritage' was just enforced on people without any orientation and awareness building or public debate, it received a lot of resistance. Even now when ten years have already passed from the time when the law was first enforced and the first list of protected buildings was announced, there has hardly been any effort on part of the agencies involved to develop a program through which the owners of these buildings can be motivated to maintain and keep these listed buildings in a well kept state.

The present legislation and its interpretation has also played an important role in building up the existing 'Listed Heritage Scare'. On one hand the law maintains (atleast in writing) firm rights of

the administrative body dealing with heritage property, giving them power to charge penalties on owners if they do not follow their instructions or damage the designated property in any way. But, on the other hand there is nothing, in the form of incentives or benefits, for those who undertake this responsibility properly and attempt to maintain their properties in a sensible manner. Technical assistance and guidance is also not available very easily to people, thus discouraging them from undertaking any maintenance attempts for their property. The general impression that prevails among people at present is that restoration is troublesome, highly expensive and time consuming, thus should not be attempted.

3.1 Appeals for Delisting

Having ownership of a listed heritage building is considered to be something very prestigious in

many countries. But the reaction to heritage notification received by the citizens of Karachi reflects a completely opposite psyche. Owners of such properties sought ways and means to get their properties de-listed at the earliest. Section 6(2) of the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act 1994, gives the chance to owners or custodians of the listed buildings to file any objection against the notified decision, within a month from the date of announcement. Quite a large number of applications were submitted with an appeal for delisting and excluding the property from the Heritage List. Strangely enough even the various Government sector departments applied for delisting of their properties.

Looking at the statistics of the three lists of 1995, 1996 and 1997 the following percentages of delisting appeals come out;

Year of Listing	Total No. of Bldgs.	No. of Delisting Appeals	Percentage	Comments
1995	194	56	28%	Within the 56 cases submitted for delisting a total of 63 buildings were involved. 5 buildings were already demolished ⁹ before any decision could be taken on them. Out of all these appeals only 1 appeal was accepted for delisting, 27 appeals were clearly rejected in the order dated 20-5-1998 and the rest of the cases were either deferred for further investigation or decision of maintaining their facades was taken for them.
1996	15	4	26%	All 4 applications for delisting appeal were rejected.
1997	426	77	18%	Within the 77 cases submitted for delisting appeal a total of 137 buildings were involved. But quite a few of these cases were repeated within the same list or in the 1995 list of delisting appeals. 9 cases were accepted for delisting, two of which were cases where building was already demolished before the survey for recommendations was carried out. 49 cases were clearly rejected in the order dated 20-5-1998 and the rest of the cases were either deferred for further investigation or decision of maintaining their facades was taken for them.

The premise on which the appeal for delisting is often built by the owner is the claim that their property is architecturally not significant, or it is already heavily altered, thus should not be included in the heritage list.

Many properties owned by Federal Government departments such as the Pakistan Army and the Archaeology and Museums department, were also included in the protected heritage list. Surprisingly

enough, instead of supporting the effort they have reacted by applying for delisting of their buildings claiming that they are not bound to abide by the Provincial Law. This clearly reflects on the non-cooperative attitude of the administrative departments towards each other, and the rift for power and authority. Government departments are normally reluctant to relinquish any trace of authority from the available controls on their properties. thus the listing of buildings as heritage

⁹ Victoria Mansion, Abdullah Haroon Road: Haji Abu Trust Building, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Road: Palia House, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Road: Gibbon and Mamooji Building, Frere Road: Jhumra Autos Building, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed Road.

site was viewed as a potential threat leading towards the diminishing of power and control on properties.

4. GROUND REALITIES; SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

Declaring several hundreds of buildings within the old quarters of Karachi is almost like a beginning of an attempt towards protecting the historic districts of the city. Although there has not been any demarcation or identification of boundaries for these areas, designating them as protected areas for heritage preservation, but the sheer number and the magnitude of area within which these buildings are located leads towards the fact that such designation is required for ensuring an effective conservation plan of these quarters.

Ground realities however, indicate that the will to actually implement a thorough conservation plan, which is effectively implemented and made part of the Master Plan for Karachi is unfortunately lacking. A clear indication of this lack of interest and will is reflected from the following excerpts that are taken from a report submitted by Chairman KBCA-Heritage Cell, requesting for approval by the Governor of Sindh in October 2002.

".....Heritage Buildings are either those of Archaeological, Monumental value or related to the genesis of Pakistan Movement or connected with Quaid-i-Azam"

The same document further states that;

"Private buildings which are not either of Archaeological or Monumental value be released to the owners".

These statements are a clear proof of the fact that those who have been placed at an authoritative position for making decisions on heritage buildings and facilitate the entire process of heritage preservation, at heart consider it as something unjustified. For them the only history worth preserving is either something that belongs to the archaeological past or has some link with the independence movement of Pakistan. Anything

other than that is not considered as part of history, thus not worthy of preservation.

The concepts of living cultures and continuity with the past are not understood; neither by the general public nor by the administrative authorities. The current trends internationally accepted and followed all over the world clearly define the scope of cultural heritage beyond just buildings. "Urban areas are considered as an expression of diversity of societies throughout history and embody values of traditional cultures. Thus the scope of urban area conservation should incorporate the character of such areas with all their material and spiritual elements. Conservation plans should also cover legal, administrative and financial aspects of any property. And due regard should always be given to the spatial layout including scale and lot size."¹⁰




4.1 Illegal Demolitions





Property once notified as the Protected Heritage is not supposed to be destroyed, defaced, damaged or altered, without getting proper approval and permission from the KBCA-Heritage Cell and the Heritage Advisory Committee, Government of Sindh. Such acts are punishable under the law. Even if the owner wants to do some changes in the property, permission and approval of the proposed plan has to be acquired. But in spite of this there are many examples where buildings have been demolished or are under demolition. In quite a few examples the case was also timely reported in the press but to no use.

Despite the fact that the law gives protection to listed heritage structures, their constant destruction and demolition is something that comes across as a failure of the existing system. Looking into the existing law it becomes apparent that the penalties indicated in the national level law are not substantial to stop the owner from demolition and gaining huge profits on it.

"A contravention of any provision of this Act or the rules shall, where no punishment has been specifically provided, be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may

¹⁰ Excerpts from the "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas" also known as the Washington Charter – 1987, adopted by the ICOMOS General Assembly.

<p>Victoria Mansion: Saddar Bazaar Quarter</p> 	<p>Declared as Protected Heritage in the 1995 list. Demolished in July 1991.</p>	<p>“One More City Landmark Bowing Down”, The News, April 5, 1991.</p>	<p>Demolition took place even before the property was declared as protected Heritage, thus its delisting was inevitable.</p>
<p>Pallia House: Saddar Bazaar Quarter</p> 	<p>Declared as Dangerous Building by KBCA vide dated 22-6-95. Declared as Protected Heritage in the 1995 list. In March 1997 Ministry of Culture received a letter by DG-KDA informing that the owner ha approached them for permission of demolition. Inspection team from Sindh Culture Department on visiting the building reported that it was in good condition and in no danger of collapse. Demolished in July 1997. On 25-6-1997 the owner/ builder applied for approval of the new bldg. plan having B+G+4 floors. By Feb. 1999, slabs of G+3 floors were already constructed.</p>	<p>Several news items appeared in the press during and after demolition.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Protected Building Falls Prey to Builder Mafia”, The New, July 7, 1997. • “Heritage Structure Does a Vanishing Act”, Dawn, July 29, 1997. • “Rubble Without a Cause”, The Herald, September 1997. • “Pallia House in Saddar: Illegal Building Replacing Demolished Heritage Structure”, The Star, Feb. 9, 1999. 	<p>In spite of the enormous hue and cry raised over the demolition of this building from the start of its destruction, it could not be saved.</p> <p>The builders’ mafia with its cunning ways worked at a pace that the city administration could not match.</p> <p>Presently the plot has a G+3 building with shops on the ground floor and apartments on upper floors.</p>
<p>Karim Manzil: Macchi Miani Quarter</p> 	<p>Declared as Dangerous Building by KBCA Demolished some time after 1998</p>	<p>An article was published in Dawn Magazine on Nov. 8, 1998; titled “Will it be Gone Too?” reporting the starting of demolition of this listed building.</p>	<p>Application for delisting was never submitted to KBCA/ Heritage Advisory Committee.</p> <p>The building was apparently demolished on the premise that it was declared dangerous.</p> <p>Presently a multi-storeyed apartment building stands in its place.</p>

<p>Olympia Building:</p> 	<p>No records for delisting or being declared dangerous were found in the available documents.</p>	<p><i>"Rubble Without a Cause", The Herald, Sep. 1997.</i></p>	<p>While the media was still trying to attract the attention of concerned authorities on the illegal demolition of Palia House, these buildings also disappeared from the same street.</p> <p>The owners not even bothered to file an appeal for delisting before committing the crime.</p>
<p>Medina Building: Saddar Bazaar Quarter</p> 			
<p>Bungalow on 216 E. I. Lines: Building: Karachi Cantonment</p> 	<p>Owned by the Pakistan Army. Demolished in the year 2000.</p> <p>Army claims that since it is a Federal Institution under Ministry of Defence thus not bound to follow provincial law.</p> <p>The bungalow was owned by Mr. E.U. Dinshaw, who died without leaving a legal heir. Later Mr. Fernandes started living in its servant quarters.</p> <p>Army got the residence vacated after several years of litigation.</p>	<p><i>"Another Historic Building Razed", Dawn, Sep. 1, 2000.</i></p>	<p>A very fine example of residential bungalows from the colonial period, very few of which today survive in the city.</p> <p>Applied for delisting in 1997 list, but no decision on its delisting is found in available records. Demolished on the grounds that being Military Property it did not come under Provincial Law. The demolition was done in haste with no plans at that time for any new development. Presently the plot lies vacant.</p>
<p>Bungalow (Ruby Mansion): Preedy Quarter</p> 	<p>Till 1995 the building existed on the site. But in this year the intention of demolition became clear from the banner displayed for advertising the new development that was to replace it.</p>	<p>-----</p>	<p>Application for delisting was never submitted to KBCA / Heritage Advisory Committee.</p>

extend to five thousand rupees, or with both.”

Section 32: Antiquities Act 1954

“Where any person including the owner destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces a protected heritage, shall be punishable with fine which may extend to on lakh rupees, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with both.”

Section 18: SCHPA 1994

In a time when the property values are soaring to the skies and where profit rates in real estate are unbelievably high the amount of fine seems ridiculously low. However, a much stricter and more punishing rule is given in the Karachi Building & Town Planning Regulations 2002.

“In case of unauthorized or illegal demolition of declared protected Heritage Building no fresh approval of Building Plan on the said plot shall ever be permitted and a fine as permitted by the Ordinance as amended from time to time, shall be imposed by the Authority in addition to any other fine that may be imposed by the Department under the provision of the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act-1994 or the Antiquities Act-1975.”

Section 15.4.3: KBTP Regulations 2002

In spite of a strict law many listed properties from the city have disappeared. Following are a few examples randomly picked to highlight upon the varying scenarios within which different

demolitions were undertaken.

These are just a few randomly picked examples of illegal demolitions that have taken place from among the listed heritage buildings of Karachi. There are several other examples, some identified and recorded, but quite a few for which no record exists.

4.2 Purposeful Negligence Leading to Destruction

Regular maintenance and safety measures are an essential requirement for maintaining buildings. Lack of maintenance leads to decay and damage of building materials, giving a dilapidated appearance to the property. In many cases the owners tend to intentionally leave their property unused for a long stretch of time. Falling in disuse eventually leads to deterioration and a very large number of old buildings in the city have been a victim of this purposeful negligence. The pattern is clearly visible in such cases; where first the building is abandoned and left unused for some years, then slowly doors and windows start to disappear, and finally some parts start to fall apart. At this stage the property is ‘declared dangerous’ giving an excuse for demolition. Quite a few buildings within the city even now show the same patterns heading towards a similar destruction.

In the present era of advancements in all technical



Phelvi Restaurant & Jiha Building, Preedy Quarter.



Duarte Mansion, Saddar Bazaar Quarter.

Figure 4 & 5: Three Examples in which only Façade of the Buildings are seen Standing for Many Years. None of the Owners have Applied for Delisting of their Property. However, Phelvi Restaurant Building and Jiha Building have been Declared Dangerous by KBCA. Whereas, Duarte Mansion’s Owner has been Served Notices for Carrying Out Works Attempted at Damaging the Structure.

fields, it becomes unacceptable that structural solutions cannot be sought for facades that have been standing on their own for so many years, proving their worth in terms of stability and strength. Even though attempts have been made by their owners to facilitate their accidental collapse, but they have simply refused to bow in.

Although deterioration due to disuse is one of the prime factors leading to the destruction of historic buildings, but cases of other destructive acts such as fire, bomb blast, etc. causing the buildings' collapse have also been reported in the past.

One such case of building gutted in 'accidental fire' was reported in the press¹¹ in the year 2000, where building caught fire in the middle of night and within three hours the entire structure just became a heap of rubble. What little was left was quickly pulled down the very next morning. The building was apparently being used as a chemicals godown, leading to questions as to why a historic building was being used as a storage of combustible materials. Many more examples of such hazardous usages exist unchecked in the city's historic quarters.

5. CONCLUSIONS:

Karachi being a city of immigrant people from different parts of the country suffers because a majority of the population does not relate with its history, thus does not want to own it up as worthy of any emotional ties. Only a small fragment of its inhabitants have nostalgic memories that they can relate with the physical fabric of the older parts of the city. Thus it remains at the will of these handful people to create awareness and an understanding of the historic values of the city and propagate them as worthy of preservation. But this cannot be done successfully, isolating from the realities, as interests of a varied group of people are involved. Unless all stake holders are made part of the decision making, or at least part of discussions leading to these decisions, successful results will never materialize.

There is a need for clearly chalking out a clear



A pre-1947 building was completely gutted when it caught fire early this morning. At least 11 fire tenders were used to put out the fire in which 9 firemen were injured.—STAR photos
Figure 6: A Historic Building that got Completely Destroyed by Fire within Three Hours.

definition of what heritage is and creating awareness as to why it should be safeguarded. The objective of any such effort needs to be outlined prior to attempting an implementation, so that questions and confusions can be logically satisfied. To be able to reach towards a practically applicable solution public debate and participation of owners should be involved. Following are some recommendations which can help in formulating a future line of action for developing a concrete conservation and heritage protection program for Karachi.

- The existing listings and documents can be taken as a starting point of reference, but building upon them is very essential to ensure that all that is worth protecting is included without any discrepancies. A clearly defined criteria needs to be developed for making the whole process foolproof. Verifying and updating the existing listings is also necessary, to know the actual situation presently existing in reality.
- Parallel to updating initial listings, detailed inventories need to be developed for each specific case, so that each case is understood in its own context and decisions for it are taken accordingly.

¹¹ News clippings "100 Year Old Building Destroyed by Fire", Dawn, Nov.1, 2000 and "Chemical Godown Gutted near City Courts: 9 Firemen Hurt", The Star, Oct. 31,2000.

- Detailed documentation and inventories should then be used to analyze the existing building stock and develop a scientific methodology for establishing a hierarchy of monuments based on their 'degree of importance'.
- Legislation and regulations should be developed not only to control or penalize the owner, but also to address their interests, helping them and motivating them through incentives such as tax rebates, interest free loans, subsidized services and utilities, etc. so that they willingly undertake the responsibility of being guardians of city's heritage.
- A Technical Support Unit needs to be formed that gives advice to the property owners developing viable solutions for an effective restoration of their property. Awareness building and developing a sense of pride among the

owners of such heritage property should also be part of this program.

- Involvement of the academic institutions to build a pool of conscious and properly trained pool of professionals is essential in undertaking an exercise of such large magnitude. Research based studies need to be made as a continuous ongoing part of the whole exercise.

Heritage conservation can no longer be treated in isolation. It is a multidisciplinary and scientific profession where specialized inputs are essential. Thus developing a professional approach is the only key towards resolving issues related with it. Karachi badly needs a conservation policy that looks into the entire situation holistically and this can only be achieved when whole thing is tackled in a very scientific and professional manner based on thorough research and factual details■

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CAN THE LAHORE CHARTER BE A PREMISE FOR NATIONAL POLICY FOR HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN PAISTAN

Editorial Board

Recently there has been a growing urge to develop a National Policy for Heritage Conservation in Pakistan. Local organizations in collaboration with the international community, primarily UNESCO, are struggling to formulate a national level policy in Pakistan to ensure safeguarding of heritage properties within Pakistan. In this pursuit a series of seminars, conferences and workshops are planned, a couple of which already took place in the past two to three years. And a few more are being planned in the near future. The impression that one gets from these events and what is reported in the press, is that no effort has ever been made to develop a national level charter or policy for heritage conservation in Pakistan. The editorial team while working on this issue of Conservation and Cultural Heritage, however, stumbled into a document that has been lying in the files of the Archaeology Department for the past fifteen years; unexplored, unnoticed and almost forgotten. This is the "*National Charter for the Conservation and Preservation of Cultural Property, Lahore 1989*", also known as the "*Lahore Charter*".

At this time when certain efforts are already being made to develop a national level policy, the editorial team felt that this important document should be brought to surface through this publication so that efforts and resources are not wasted in reinventing the wheel but to build upon whatever already exists. A bit of investigations were done and people involved in the development of this charter were contacted for comments. It was discovered that the creation and origin of this document dates back to 1989 when a farsighted effort was made by the then Director General of Archaeology Department to initiate and establish a training institute for conservation professionals. This institute named as the "Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Training and Research" was to offer different short courses to professionals involved with historic buildings and cultural property. Among the courses planned for this institution one was on 'Advanced Training

Genesis of the LAHORE CHARTER

By

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The Lahore Charter was written by members of the multi-disciplinary conservation course organised by Dr Ahmed Nabi Khan of the Pakistan Department of Archaeology and Museums. The course of three months was run by Sir Bernard Feilden in the new Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Training and Research, established in 1989 in Lahore Fort. The students having studied the Venice Charter and Australian Burra Charter, ended the course by drafting the Lahore Charter.

The Venice Charter of 1964 succeeded the Athens Charter of 1930, and was adopted by ICOMOS in 1966. It stresses Historical and Architectural values, and was developed as a response to the situation in Europe after World War II, when reconstruction was the order of the day. In spite of its limitations, the Venice Charter has been widely used officially.

Australian ICOMOS decided that it needed a different Charter, and in 1981 drafted the Burra Charter, which tries to avoid the ambiguities of the Venice Charter, by defining the various actions which constitute conservation. Its special contribution is the recognition of the 'significance' of a place, including intangible values, so that Australia set a valuable precedent, that each national ICOMOS Committee should produce its own Charter, to reflect the different culture and situation in each country. This is

in Conservation of Cultural Property', the first session of which was offered in September-December 1989 when the world renowned, Sir Bernard Feilden came to Lahore for delivering lectures to the participants. This course was completed by fifteen participants, mostly from Archaeology Department, but a few were also from outside. The 'Lahore Charter' was developed during this course and its draft was put forward at the end of the course for approval and acceptance at a national level. Unfortunately the efforts for its approval by government were not pursued and it never became known and accepted as the official charter of conservation for Pakistan.

A brief review of the Lahore Charter reflects on the fact that it is quite a comprehensive document that covers a wide range of aspects essential for heritage conservation; starting from definitions, to physical and material interventions and ending at awareness building and education cum training, of professionals in this field. This paper, however, does not attempt at doing a detailed analysis on the potentials and/ or shortcomings of the charter. The only purpose is to bring this document in the knowledge of the professionals, so that it can be taken up as a starting point to initiate a debate and discussion at any forum that is striving to develop a national level conservation policy for Pakistan.

(DRAFT)

NATIONAL CHARTER FOR THE CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY (LAHORE 1989)

1.0 Preamble

1.1 Pakistan with its specific geographical and social background has a history of cultural evolution and problems of its own. Accordingly having regard to the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice 1966) and the Resolution of 5th General Assembly of ICOMOS (1978), the following charter is proposed to be adopted for Pakistan.

recognized in the Preamble of the Lahore Charter.

The Lahore Charter starts off by defining the Objective and giving Definitions. That given for "Cultural Property" is very wide, followed by Conservation, Preservation and Restoration, which are as generally understood in British usage. This is followed by a new concept. That a uniform National Policy should guide all work. The Policy be defined and updated by a body of distinguished professionals.

Clause five of the charter deals with guiding principles, introducing the concept of public awareness and clearly separating conservation from normal building activity. The need for special 'non-lapsible' funds is also identified here. Here it touches on a universal need, that government funded works – as all are in Pakistan – should be non-lapsible, because otherwise valuable craftsmen are lost, due to discontinuing official funding.

The Lahore charter also identifies the need for making Public as an active partner in conservation. In UK this is done through appeals for funds, likewise in Pakistan, private donors should be encouraged.

The most original clause in the charter is 5.9 that deals with religious monuments. It is a daring innovation, and knowing how clerics will resist any constraint on their autonomy, it is hoped that it will succeed once the document is widely accepted.

Another clause deals with encroachments on to historic sites. This is a universal problem, and can only be dealt with by rigorous local supervision.

This is later followed by a clause that points out to the fact that conservation of cultural heritage increases tourism, and that promotion of tourism should not be in conflict with conservation policy and effort.

The last part of the charter deals with 'Promotional Activities'. Within this there is a specially valuable contribution so I quote it in full:

2.0 Objective

2.1 The cultural heritage that exists today in physical form and in historical records, is the common heritage of us all, giving us an awareness of our common history and common future, as well as being an essential part of our heritage. We are responsible for its preservation and continuation for the benefit of our present as well as future generations. This responsibility is to be shared jointly and scrupulously by the society so that its continuity is ensured in the full richness of its authenticity for the times to come.

3.0 Definitions

For the purpose of this Charter:

3.1 Cultural Property: Means historical monuments, buildings, groups of buildings or areas, historic gardens, archaeological sites and structural remains, and their traditional environmental settings, works of art and science & technology or any part or portion thereof. Historic areas in urban or rural settings containing vernacular architecture forming a physical environment of exceptional quality also form part of cultural property.

3.2 Conservation: Means all processes to ensure retaining the particular value(s) of a cultural property. It includes interventions normally referred to as maintenance, rehabilitation, revitalization, relocation for adaptive or extended use, retrieval and recycling.

3.3 Preservation: Means maintaining the existing state of cultural property and retarding its deterioration, including relocation for preserving.

3.4 Restoration: Means returning the existing fabric of the cultural property to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components with or without introduction of new materials.

- 6.1 The cultural heritage will only survive if its value is understood and appreciated by the people, and in particular by the younger generation. A positive will to preserve our cultural heritage is emerging and needs to be promoted.
- 6.2 Promotion of conservation education is to be encouraged through academic institutions, as well as through publication and mass media. Special programs, meetings, exhibitions and seminars etc., aimed to arouse public awareness and interest are also useful. Scientific publication and documentation should be properly prepared and made available to the public.
- 6.3 Improvement of presentation at sites and museums will enhance understanding of their cultural significance. This will be useful for publicising the cultural heritage and encouraging public involvement in their conservation.

4.0 National Policy

4.1 The conservation and preservation of cultural property be carried out under a uniform national conservation policy. This policy be formulated to outline priorities for categorization of cultural property at the three levels i.e. national, regional & local levels, and in interventions required thereto. Under this national policy the functions of concerned national organizations be coordinated and cooperation extended to international agencies entrusted with conservation of cultural heritage.

4.2 A body of noted professionals from all related disciplines and intelligentsia be formed to formulate, update and monitor the national conservation policy.

4.3 As a matter of policy efforts be made to bring cultural property moved out of country back to its place or setting of origin.

5.0 Guiding Principles

5.1 The aim of conservation is to retain or recover the value of cultural property and to ensure its future by security and maintenance.

5.2 Effective measures be taken to make public aware of the need and value of conservation and preservation of cultural heritage, and to promote participation from all spheres of the society.

5.3 Interventions for conservation and preservation be timely and aimed as minimum necessary. These interventions should be reversible and not prejudice future interventions, if technically possible. These should also be harmonious with original material and setting and should in no way attempt to alter authenticity of the cultural property.

5.4 Items of cultural value which form an integral part of a monument or site may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.

5.5 The process of restoration must aim to preserve and enhance the aesthetic and historic value of the monument. It must stop at point where conjecture begins, and all interventions must be distinct and carry a contemporary stamp.

5.6 Conservation activity be recognized as separate from normal building activity. It be made distinct part of national, regional and local planning policy, be provided with special non-lapsable funds; and be carried out by trained and experienced professionals and craftsmen. Economic and social incentives are required to ensure survival of traditional building crafts which are necessary for conservation of historic buildings.

5.7 Traditional urban environment identified as cultural property be protected from transformation of its character through economic and social pressures present within and outside of the historic precincts. Area rehabilitation and change of use be directed

towards being compatible with traditionally existing pattern and strengthening the local conservation policy.

5.8 Public be made an active partner in the conservation effort. Cultural property, whether in public or private ownership be promoted as national asset. Society should share to discourage illicit activities in clandestine excavation operations and trade of cultural significance be made a taboo. Involvement of local concerned public groups is a must for protection and preservation of cultural heritage. Private donors must also be encouraged to participate in funding of conservation efforts.

5.9 Living religious movements form a substantial portion of our cultural heritage. Traditional 'waqf' system be channelized to contribute in conservation effort. All interventions to bring religious monuments be in harmony with their use, sympathetic to the faithful, allow future interventions and should not alter or destroy physical historical evidence.

5.10 Efforts must be made to fully document all cultural property. All interventions must be scientifically documented before, during and after carrying out and should aim at preserving historical and archaeological evidence.

5.11 As an essential pre-requisite to conservation, the existing legal framework should be re-examined with a view to strengthening it as necessary. The planning boundaries of protected buildings, sites or areas should extend sufficiently into their surroundings to have an effective control over their immediate environs for their preservation.

5.12 Additions to or improvement and upgrading of services and facilities for cultural heritage monuments and areas should only be permitted if dictated of their architectural, aesthetic and environmental significance are strictly and scrupulously obeyed.

5.13 Wherever possible efforts be made to make preventive measures effective against natural disasters for preservation of cultural property. In no case desire for reconstruction

after a nature or man caused disaster should result in pulling down of remains of cultural property. Salvage must be the first recourse considered after such disasters.

5.14 Archaeological sites are amongst the richest of our national cultural assets, yet have remained the least studied. Archaeological digs should be encouraged to increase our wealth of knowledge on past cultures of the area. Local resources & expertise are available and willing, and must be harnessed for the purpose. Rapid urbanization makes it all the more urgent to work on excavation on known & unknown historical sites around urban centers before valuable evidence is lost or covered up for ever.

5.15 It is recognized that cultural heritage encourages tourist activity. The policy for promotion of tourism should not be in conflict with the conservation policy and effort. It is Rapid urbanization makes it all the more urgent to work on excavation on known & unknown historical sites around urban centers before valuable evidence is lost or covered up for ever.

5.15 It is recognized that cultural heritage encourages tourist activity. The policy for promotion of tourism should not be in conflict with the conservation policy and effort. It is best that economic gains from tourism are absorbed locally.

6.0 Promotional Activities

6.1 The cultural heritage will only survive if its value is understood and appreciated by the people and in particular by the younger generation. A positive will to preserve our cultural heritage is emerging and need to be promoted.

6.2 Promotion of conservation education is to be encouraged through academic institutions, as well as through publication and mass media. Special programmes meetings, exhibitions and seminars etc. aimed to arouse public awareness and interest are also useful. Scientific

publication and documentation be properly prepared and made available to public through archival records.

6.3 Improvement of presentation at sites and museums to enhance understanding of their cultural significance will help for publicizing the cultural heritage and encouraging public involvement in their conservation ■

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INVITATION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning is an initiative taken by the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, to provide a medium for communicating the research and the critique in the broader domain of architecture and planning in Pakistan and beyond. This annual publication shall focus on a specific theme in each of its issues.

For our forthcoming issues of the Journal, the editorial board invites contributions from researchers, scholars, architects and planners. The papers can be based on ongoing researches or analytical/hypothetical concepts related to relevant fields.

Format of contribution

The length of the article should not exceed 10000 words. Text should be typed and printed on A-4 sized sheets. It should be in the format of Microsoft Word document. The paper can either be sent on a floppy disk or CD or it can be e-mailed to the address given below.

Photographs should be original and preferably black and white. Scanned images will only be accepted in *jpg* or *tiff* formats.

Drawings and maps should also be on A-4 format. If drawings are on AutoCAD they can be sent on a floppy disk or CD or e-mailed to the address given below.

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Themes for Forthcoming issues:

*Form, Design and Details,
2005 issue.*

Abstract:

March 2005

Complete paper

June 2005

Architecture for
Housing. *2006 issue.*

From our next issue onwards we plan to start a '*Book Review*' section. Contributions are welcome for this section in the form of a brief summary and a sample of the publication related to the field of architecture, planning and development.

Editorial Board



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