




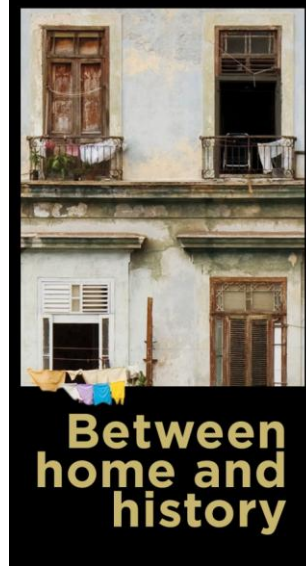
Between home and history:

managing the interface between preservation and development of living historic places

An IIC roundtable discussion
18:30, Tuesday, September 21st, 2010
the Seed, Sakıp Sabancı Museum
42 Sakıp Sabancı Caddesi, Emirgan 34467, Istanbul



 International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works



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This roundtable, the latest event in the IIC series, ***Dialogues for the New Century***, will explore the conflicts that emerge when pressures of development, gentrification or regeneration challenge our desire to preserve places of historic value that are also home to living communities.

If a place has value as both a historic memory and as a home, how can all these values be preserved? When a neighbourhood, district or region of historic significance is preserved, what are we preserving? Is our concern solely with the material remains which serve as memory prompts...or is there more? Where does the dynamic function of home fit within the preservation plan? How is the community, along with its ongoing way of life, incorporated into the preservation of a place?

This roundtable will explore these and many other issues as the panellists gather, with you, at the interface between preservation and development...between home and history.

As part of the IIC initiative ***Dialogues for the New Century***, a series of events that explore emerging issues in the modern world and the relationship of those issues to the preservation of cultural heritage, this program has been made possible by a partnership of the IIC with the Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum and the support of the Sabancı Holding, the Booth Heritage Foundation, and Turkish Airlines.



For transcripts of past IIC Dialogues go to <http://www.iiconservation.org/dialogues>.



Panellists from left to right: Dr. David Lowenthal, Dr. Leyla Neyzi, Dr. Stephen Bond, Neil Asher Silberman, Dr. Ayfer Bartu Candan, Dr. Francesco Siravo, and Asli Kiyak Ingin. Photo: Mikkel Scharff

Panellists:

- **Neil Asher Silberman**, President of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation and Coordinator of Projects and Policy Initiatives for the Center for Heritage and Society, University of Massachusetts – Amherst. Mr. Silberman acted as moderator and commentator for the roundtable.
- **Dr. David Lowenthal**, renowned author, historian and Professor Emeritus, Department of Geography at University College London. Author of *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- **Prof. Leyla Neyzi**, anthropologist, oral historian and Associate Professor, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sabancı University, Istanbul.
- **Dr. Stephen Bond**, preservation architect and co-author of *Managing Built Heritage: The Role of Cultural Significance* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).
- **Prof. Dr Ayfer Bartu Candan**, anthropologist, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. Recognized for research in the areas of urban anthropology, the politics of history and heritage, and contemporary uses of the past.
- **Dr. Francesco Siravo**, preservation architect and consultant to UNESCO, ICCROM and the World Bank. Member of the “Historic Cities Support Programme”, Aga Khan Trust for Culture, in Cairo, Lahore, Samarkand and Zanzibar.
- **Aslı Kiyak İngin**, architect, designer and activist with a specific interest in how state intervention in the urban fabric of a city affects some of the poorest residents.
- **Orhan Pamuk**, Nobel Prize winning author (exclusive video interview)

Introduction

Jerry Podany, President IIC

I would like to introduce this roundtable with a reference to a paper by Müge Akkar Ercan. She writes: “The cultural and historic heritage of cities constitutes not only the historical buildings and the historic urban tissues, such as the witnesses of past civilizations and authentic remains, but also the history of all the communities who have made their home in a country.”¹

Historic places, as Ercan notes, are both resources and assets and we need to find a balance between urban regeneration, historic preservation and the social, cultural, environmental and health needs of the community.

That very need for balance is why IIC has brought together this group of panellists, experts all in the areas of historic preservation, architecture and urban planning, to discuss the interface between Home and History. The challenges of preserving a historic place, whether a building, a neighbourhood or a district, when that place and all that occurs in it is considered by someone as home, is one of the most multifaceted problems faced by heritage conservation and preservation today. I am sure that the stimulating and thought provoking dialogue between members of the roundtable and the audience at this event begins to address this challenge.

To begin the dialogue please enjoy an exclusive video interview, *Between Home and Heart*, with the Nobel Prize winning author Orhan Pamuk, whose love of the city of Istanbul and whose insightful talent of describing the importance of place and home is particularly germane to our topic.

Between Home and Heart

An IIC interview with
Orhan Pamuk



What follows is a full transcription of the interview with Orhan Pamuk conducted by Jerry Podany, President IIC, on Monday, September 13, 2010. A shortened version was presented at the Istanbul roundtable. Copyright ©2010 by Orhan Pamuk, used with permission of the Wylie Agency, LLC.

Jerry Podany: Orhan Pamuk, thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this IIC roundtable event: *Between Home and History*. In your works you often refer to “home” but you don’t limit the definition of home to simply a house, for you it seems much broader. Your definition includes the intangible. Home can be a specific place (house, building, neighbourhood, city) but it also incorporates feelings, noises, smells, a community... life. What are the qualities of a thing or a place that makes either of them memorable and cherished?

Orhan Pamuk: The basic instinct to survive has lent us memory. Which can be categorized as places we have felt safe and not anxious about what might happen next. New places have not been proven yet, at least not enough to call them “safe”. They are challenging, they don’t have the qualifications, the familiarity, of safety, continuity, the compassion that we get from family and the little community we may belong to. Home is where we can feel that the world will continue the way it was. This is an illusion of course, but it is something we need because we want to return to our beginnings when we were safe.

JP: What do you think gives something this sense of safety? Is part of it the implied security and the trust engendered by authenticity?

Orhan Pamuk: This illusion that we have been safe stays with us because we need that security. We always want the memories of that place back. We want to preserve the place and the memories. I think this is essential to us, like the need for food or sleep. It is a Cartesian beginning, like a map of the world. How we deal with this, in various cultures and places, differs however. The need to preserve the memories of home is a universal human need. We all carry it in our hearts, but how we address it and express it varies. We build museums or write novels, for example.

JP: This sense of memory...is it embedded in the physical environment?

Orhan Pamuk: And the non-physical. But we all learned, following the works of Proust, that objects have the power to remind us of many sensations, past sensations, whether that be smells or sounds, a feeling of space, and, perhaps most importantly, visualization. Things remind us of the past that we have forgotten. Let me give you an example. We go to a movie and we put the ticket in our pocket. We forget the ticket there for 20 years. One day we pull this forgotten ticket out, we discover it, and not only do we remember that we have seen that movie but we remember so many details, the various scenes, colours and characters...all of which we thought we had forgotten. Things have the power to remind us of the past, to retrieve the past. We might say "so what?" But the human heart enjoys this power of remembering. How we deal with that sensation is another matter. Cultures are very different in the way they react to this sensation. And our response can be quite political. Our choices of what we put in museums can be quite political.

JP: Museums can be used, then, to forward political agendas, as can efforts of preservation?

Orhan Pamuk: The choice of what we preserve can be political. Symbols, signs of power, etc. Or we may choose to preserve the little things in life, kitchen utensils, toys, seemingly minor objects. These may in fact be more important than the official symbols of power. What, after all, do we remember most from our childhood? What we learned in school or the smells in the kitchen? What is better to preserve? I argue, in my book, "The Museum of Innocence", that it is important to preserve what we remember from the kitchen, from daily life. We should of course never neglect what we learned in school, but I feel the small things, the common things, are of great importance.

JP: You write that we should "...savour the ordinary while knowing the ideal".

Orhan Pamuk: The ordinary is important. We should give more attention to things of daily life.

JP: Do you include in that category of the ordinary not only the things of daily life... but the activities that produced the objects of daily life? In the case of historic neighbourhoods it's not just the physical buildings and facades but also the community and its daily routines.

Orhan Pamuk: Yes. But these are incredibly difficult to preserve unless you have full control. And this control would be contrary to the way things develop. I can only do this in a very personal way. I can keep some of the sounds of my childhood. A boat sound for example. All places have these kinds of aspects that slowly disappear from our lives and we hardly notice. Museums should also preserve these.

JP: You have written that if you pluck something out of time...if you frame it... you are, to a certain degree, petrifying it. For preservationists who apply conservation and preservation principles and guidelines to a place, there is always this risk of losing the dynamic aspects of the thing being preserved. If and when we do this, what are we preserving?

Orhan Pamuk: This is a cultural impasse which I do not believe we can solve. There is a desire to preserve some objects or places, but once you begin to preserve them they are cut off from their natural surroundings and function. In the end we must accept that we cannot preserve both the object and keep it in its natural surroundings, its context. When you decide to preserve we must accept that you lose something. We should encourage preservation with as little loss as possible of course, but it is vanity to think that we will both preserve an object and its context.

JP: This compromise we make in our attempts to preserve things or places, as we alter the thing or the place and the way it is perceived, is this what you meant by saying that when we take something out of the moment we both "defy and submit to death"?

Orhan Pamuk: In some ways museums have the power to defy death. Some objects change and some objects stay the same. But this is a romantic idea of defying death, which may not necessarily be true because the next generation might not feel the same emotions as we do when we are confronted with these objects. It is very difficult to preserve emotions these objects and places produce.

JP: Let's make the object the city which you love so much, Istanbul. It seems that one of the aspects you cherish most about Istanbul is the layering of history that is present. You can turn a corner and find ancient remain as, turn another corner and see a historic wall. Centuries are embedded in and accreted onto the city.

Orhan Pamuk: Yes. In my childhood, in say 1958, you could turn a corner and come upon the ruins of an old Byzantine church or you might come across a 17th century Dervish lodge or an old wall, etc. They were naturally in their context but they were not well preserved, not well cared for. Allowing them to be like this is of course reflects a desire to keep them in their natural state, but they are not well preserved or protected. Poor people are perhaps using the stones to build their own houses or walls and so the ruins begin to disappear. People may feel it is a picturesque thing that they love but we are outsiders. The people who are living around that church are not necessarily connected to it. The ethical issues that involve preservation are so multidimensional.

JP: One of the dilemmas which architectural and urban preservationists, as well as civic planners, face when dealing with historic districts is how to “allow” sufficient change to assure a liveable as well as a preserved authentic place.

Orhan Pamuk: I don't have so much experience in this and would not wish to comment on that aspect of preservation responsibility.

JP: Let me ask you this: The Istanbul I imagine when I read your work is one which necessitates loss. This seems to be the source of the melancholy that defines your Istanbul. If it were sealed off it would lose its dynamic character. And yet if it were allowed to change it would lose its historic fabric and character. If we were to preserve Istanbul, prevent loss, it would simply not be the city you describe.

Orhan Pamuk: But in any case, it is no longer the city I describe in my autobiographical book “Istanbul”. The book ends in 1973 and almost 37 years have passed. Istanbul is not melancholic anymore. It is richer, more colourful, and more attractive to visitors and tourists. The balance of past and present has changed. It is a more modern city. There are far fewer 19th century Ottoman houses and unpainted wooden structures decaying in front of our eyes. Most of the picturesque is already gone, because of neglect or carelessness. Why? Because the force of modernity is so strong. But this idea of preservation is also quite strong. It is one of the eternal dilemmas of the human heart. We want to preserve. But we also want to enjoy the richness of the new, of development. There is no way out. We will be concerned with these issues forever.

Roundtable introductory statements



The “Seed” auditorium at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum

Neil Asher Silberman: Thank you all for joining us in this informal “living room” chat about some very difficult topics. I want first of all to thank Jerry Podany and the entire organization of the IIC for their work in organizing this congress and for their important initiative *Dialogues for the New Century*, of which this roundtable is a part. I also want to thank the President of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), Gustavo Araoz, for suggesting that I represent that organization at this roundtable. ICOMOS is so close to the IIC, not only in its work, but also in its aims and in tackling the kind of serious issues that we will deal with in tonight’s dialogue.

As Jerry Podany explained in the beginning and as you are probably all aware, this roundtable, entitled *Between Home and History*, will explore a fundamental problem that all heritage professionals are beginning to confront. But I would suggest that we are also going to deal with a fundamental, perhaps irresolvable, contradiction. It’s a contradiction between conservation and consumption, between preservation and use. It’s the problem of conserving the historic values of cities in which people live and are born and in which change is inevitable. In fact it is the eternally unfulfilled desire, of wanting to “have your cake and eat it too” with regard to living places. So before we begin, I want to stress a couple of the central questions about the very concepts that, taken at their face value, seem so simple and clear but are really quite complex.

The first is “home”. I was impressed by the observations Orhan Pamuk made and I want to emphasize how they reflect the subtleties contained in the topic of this roundtable. I’d like to bring to the discussion a quote from Svetlana Boym in her book The Future of Nostalgia,² because we must ask ourselves, as heritage professionals, what is “home”? Is it a place? Is it a social structure or is it a nostalgic longing that gets more intense the farther away one is from it? Svetlana Boym wrote, “To feel at home is to know that things are in their places and so are you. It is a state of mind that does not depend upon actual location. The object of longing, then, is not really a place called home but a sense of intimacy with the world; it is not the past in general, but that imaginary moment when we had time and didn’t know the temptation of nostalgia.”

Now this psychological dimension obviously makes the heritage preservation part of the concept of “home” very difficult, especially when it is detached from a permanent place. And this is increasingly common in our ever changing, ever migrating, diasporic world for the local communities of the places we talk about. Those people who call a place—especially an urban place-- home are today hardly ever native to the place under consideration. They are often newcomers, from abroad, from rural areas, or from other parts of the same rapidly evolving city. And so our challenge as heritage professionals is greater than just battling the real estate developers or protecting the local community from unwanted change. It is deeply intertwined with the instability of modern urban life. As David Lowenthal said in his Forbes Prize lecture, delivered at this IIC Congress, “we have moved in heritage preservation from taxidermy to geriatrics.” -- from stuffing and mounting the things we consider to be valuable heritage, to treating them as elderly, infirm, and very delicate. I would also suggest that we have moved in our attitudes toward the people who inhabit historic places from seeing them as simply physical obstructions, to seeing them as “children” that need to be paternalistically assisted or resettled, to now seeing them as political and economic victims of wider social forces that they cannot control.

I also want to remark briefly on the concept of “history”, translating it here to the concept of “historic fabric” or material heritage. And I will refer once again to the work of ICOMOS president Gustavo Araoz, who has repeatedly stressed that we are now at a stage where authenticity must be sought not only in historical structures but also in their social significance. We must begin to look at heritage objects, heritage sites, and even the historic districts that we will be talking about, as what Araoz calls “vessels of value”—material containers for the many kinds of memory values that people ascribe to heritage. Our job as heritage professionals therefore is to preserve the vessel with the clear understanding that it is a vessel, a container, rather than a lifeless relic. We should strive to keep those vessels in good working

order, maximizing the number and quality of values that can be poured into them by inhabitants and visitors alike in the course of time. Let me introduce each of the panellists.

Dr. David Lowenthal is a renowned author, historian and professor emeritus of Geography at the University College London. David's voice was, is has been, and will always be, the first, strongest and most listened to voice about conservation and heritage and their relationship to all of us. His 1986 book, The Past is a Foreign Country³ is the intellectual foundation on which has been built an entire generation's theoretical work about the past and the present, and their relationship to heritage.

Dr. Leyla Neyzi is an anthropologist and oral historian from Sabancı University. Her work on home and history ranges widely. She has collected oral histories about these concepts from the Yoruk nomads in the Taurus Mountains as well as from the inhabitants of the Tesvikiye neighbourhood in Istanbul

Dr. Stephen Bond is an internationally recognized expert in site management in private practice and in public-interest activities. He recently led a UNESCO training workshop in in the World Heritage city of Galle in Sri Lanka. His book, "Managing Built Heritage: the Role of Cultural Significance", is a classic.

Dr. Ayfer Bartu Candan is an anthropologist at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. Her work is innovative and extremely wide ranging, from the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük and the relationship between the local community and the archaeologists excavating the site—to the contemporary uses of the past here in the city of Istanbul. She is particularly interested in the issues of "boundedness" and the separation between rich and poor, and between different elements of society.

Dr. Francesco Siravo is an architect specializing in town planning and historic preservation whose work with the Aga Khan Trust has taken him from Mali to Samarkand, with extended stops in Cairo, Mostar, Zanzibar, and Lahore along the way. His planning work has concentrated on Islamic cities.

Aslı Kiyak İngin is an architect, designer, and activist. She is not only a researcher of historic structures but a deeply engaged scholar interested in how government policy and its actions affect the poorest residents in a city and their way of life. One of her main recent projects has been the Sulukule Platform to protect the oldest settlement of Roma in Istanbul and, no less importantly, to formulate tools for sustainable participatory development in other urban contexts.

And now to start our discussion with his opening remarks, David Lowenthal.

David Lowenthal: Not very long ago the government of France decided to regenerate the historic fabric of the city of Dijon. The inhabitants of that city mounted a campaign and sent a petition to Paris. The petition said “*PRESERVE US...NOT THE STONES!* “. They were angry that the French government felt the fabric of the city mattered more than they did. And in a certain sense they were perfectly right because the government had not thought about engaging the inhabitants at all. It is clear from what Orhan Pamuk said in the interview and from the exchanges that we panellists have had with one another over several months, that it is very hard to think of a historic precinct or a historic preservation project that actually works well in terms of people, let alone in terms of fabric. Some of my colleagues who are perhaps more optimistic than I am might be telling you of some success stories, but mostly we have dwelt on the impacts of problems such as gentrification, development, government intervention, and corruption. And we have been discussing the moving about of old timers and newcomers against their will and without giving them much of a voice, either politically or socially. Perhaps we were asking the wrong questions. Perhaps we need to recognize that the whole problem, even though it may seem insoluble, is not altogether a paradox. What do we mean when we talk about rehabilitating or trying to save a historic precinct? We are jumping into the middle of a long term historical process that has been going on since long before we were born and will continue to go on long after we are dead. We are trying to make a small difference now so that everything will not just vanish, or go completely wrong. All we can do is lend a small helping hand to try to sustain the ongoing community. We have to recognize that the people who live in historic precincts also live in a paradox. They want to eat their cake and continue to have it as well. They want to feel comfortable about being surrounded, by buildings, by streets, by landscapes that were there before them and that will be there after they are gone. And yet they also want to shape their own lives in their own ways. This is an inescapable aspect of urban existence, part of the dynamic complexity of everyday life. The wonder is that we manage to survive and flourish despite the developers, the planners, the gentrifiers, and us, historic stewards.

Leyla Neyzi: I would like to approach our topic through two case studies from Turkey. As an anthropologist and oral historian my focus in both cases will be how ordinary people deal with heritage in the context of modernity. My first case study is that of the Yörük, pastoral nomads of southern Turkey. In my dissertation research I studied how transhumant pastoralists move into intensive agriculture, such as green house production and later into the tourism industry. In this process they come into conflict with various state agencies over the ownership and use of land. This is in fact very similar to migrants moving to cities, since the state of Turkey historically owns much of the land.

However, both nomads and migrants have not necessarily been unsuccessful in their struggle to acquire and develop land in both the countryside and the city. Thus, despite their relative powerlessness, the agency of nomads, peasants and migrants was considerable for a variety of complex reasons. These include in particular populist policies on the part of the state. The concept of state ownership of land and the notion of preservation of an ancient cultural heritage is rather alien to nomads, peasants and migrants. They tend to whole heartedly embrace the development that accompanies modernity. My second case study involves the city of Istanbul, which may be viewed, in total, as a living historic place. My research here focused in particular on the middle class neighbourhood of Tesvikiye.

This was a planned neighbourhood created for the Ottoman elite in the late 19th century. Here, as in the case of the nomads, neighbourhood residents embraced modernity and destroyed all vestiges of Ottoman architecture for economic reasons. Today the neighbourhood can be viewed as a showcase of Istanbul in its new role as a global metropolis. What is the meaning of history, memory and heritage in a context where modernity and development are so willingly embraced? It is important to consider here two facts. First, that a large proportion of the residents of modern Turkey were immigrants from former Ottoman domains and therefore did not have or understand an attachment to this place. Secondly we need to keep in mind the ideology of Kamalism which focused on the present and the future and attempted to erase the pre-republican past and to create a new modern nation. However, in the last decade there has been a gradual increase of interest in recent history, particularly family and community memory, which is reviving an interest in the memory of place. My oral history research suggests that four generations after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Kamalist modernity project has engendered a new concern with heritage at a point when much of the material and cultural remnants of the recent past have been destroyed. They remain only in the form of memory and post memory. The question is whether this new interest in memory, on the part of ordinary people, will make it easier to preserve the remnants of the past, material or cultural, despite the onslaught of economic liberalization policies.

Stephen Bond: My interpretation of the subject of this roundtable is that it will, in itself, be increasingly important and increasingly challenging into the future. Early in my career I was very fortunate to have been asked to set up and run a conservation operation in the United Kingdom looking after some of the country's finest palaces. I did that for seven years. But in the last twelve years I have moved on to a very different kind of world which is focused on everyday living heritage, particularly how everyday living heritage can be used as a driver for regeneration of historic urban areas. I have long

since concluded that looking after palaces, the great and the good of heritage, is a great deal easier than dealing with the living heritage of the everyday. Why? I believe that there is a purity, a simplicity of focus, about the conservation of monuments, the great and fine buildings, palaces and so forth, because the effort in those cases is all about the sanctity and the priority of the historic fabric, the historic building material. Dealing with everyday living heritage involves many more issues, complexities that arise because one is dealing intimately with people's lives and their homes.



Everyday living heritage anywhere in the world can be at risk from market forces, development pressures and ill-conceived regeneration – here are examples from Sri Lanka, India and the UK. Photos: Stephen Bond

Complexities because many people have quite a negative attitude toward everyday living heritage. That attitude is partly the fault of the heritage industry, because we have sold heritage as jewels in a sea of mediocrity. And everyday living heritage in that kind of world is the 'mediocrity' not the jewels. And there is complexity in this kind of work because of the conflicting objectives of those who are involved: developers, local officials, heritage authorities, heritage professionals such as myself, politicians and the local community. All have very different objectives regarding what they are trying to achieve with respect to regeneration. In the past our attitude in the heritage conservation and preservation world has also been a major problem. We have tried to impose principles of conservation flowing from the Venice Charter which are relevant to monuments but have absolutely no relevance in dealing with the conservation of everyday living heritage. That kind of approach simply does not work and David Lowenthal was correct when he said that we can cite very few examples where it has worked. It has

been proven time after time that thinking exclusively about the conservation of historic fabric will not successfully save and regenerate historic urban areas. You can pour as much money into the conservation of historic fabric as you like, and in the past we have been doing that all around the world, but you will not create successful, lasting regeneration because you have not solved the complexities of the social, economic and cultural issues. We need a different approach if we are to be successful in a lasting way. And it is that word “lasting”, sustainability, which is so critical to this issue. We need to remember that if regeneration is not successful, and by that I mean it is not lasting, everyday living heritage will actually be put at risk and will come under threat. I think we need to ask ourselves what we are trying to achieve through regeneration of historic areas or, perhaps more importantly, we need to ask ourselves what the communities want when regeneration comes and affects their homes. I think they want a strong and healthy economy, a safe and healthy environment, satisfactory and balanced provision of housing, amenities, services and infrastructure, a diverse, creative, and vibrant local culture, community pride, respect and a sense of place. And actually, when you think about it, conservation of everyday living heritage should be about those last three sets of values: diversity and vibrancy of local culture; community pride; and sense of place.

Ayfer Bartu Candan: The perspective from which I come to the field of heritage studies is through social anthropology. Over the course of fifteen years I have worked with, and still work with, architects, urban planners, activists, conservationists, archaeologists, municipalities, World Bank experts and various communities who live in and around what are considered historical sites. And I believe in the field of heritage studies we have always been talking about the complexity of this issue and many of the examples that are given so far also demonstrate that: the issues of preservation, revitalization, ownership of history, uses of history, the fact that history and heritage have always been contested issues. As anthropologists, sociologists, historians, preservation experts and policy makers, we have managed to demonstrate over the years, through specific case studies from all over the world, the complexities of these issues. Many people working the field, including the technical experts, acknowledge that these challenges are embedded in a wider social, historical, cultural, and political context. But we still need grounded research that will “unpack” this complexity. Rather than making assumptions we need to demonstrate the nature and the components of this complexity. Recently Dr. Leyla Neyzi and I were in a workshop here in Istanbul entitled “Remnants”. It focused on the material and cultural remains and the traces of the past, in Turkey. And we heard examples of the multi-layered history, the dramatic and tragic changes in the population of this landscape and the materiality that

surrounds that tragedy. Despite the fact that I have been working on these issues for so many years, I realized in that workshop that there is so much that we do not know. We don't know, for example, what we have forgotten, or have chosen to forget. So the challenge at the moment is to translate this complexity into context specific, concrete policies. And this is exactly what many people working in this interdisciplinary field have been trying to do, especially in proposing concepts, terms and approaches, like Stephen has done, that will do justice to this complexity.

I would like to draw attention to is what I see as an irony that has emerged out of these efforts. David Lowenthal talked about a paradox; I would like to talk about an irony. I would argue that many of the concepts that we have been proposing over the years have been appropriated and rarefied through this process. Let me demonstrate through several examples from my research in a different context. The terms and concepts that I am referring to are terms like *multiculturalism, sustainability, transparency, accountability, efficiency, empowerment*, and especially, *participation*. One could ask what could be wrong with these concepts, terms and approaches. Isn't this what we promote to policy makers and what we teach in our classes? What is wrong is the way these concepts have been appropriated and put to use by various actors. These terms and concepts have become what Bourdeui and Wacquant have called the "new liberal talk". I find this ironic and suggest that because of this we need to be extremely careful in promoting these terms. We must think of ways to develop another language, another vocabulary, to deal with these pressing issues in the heritage world. I can give examples in Istanbul, though Istanbul is not unique in that sense, where municipalities have begun to use this "new liberal talk" for their own purposes. When we look at neo-liberal transformations in different parts of the world we see a very similar kind of process. Municipalities which have been responsible for outrageous destruction of the urban fabric, including whole neighbourhoods, historical districts and so on, use this terminology. They do this in the name of history, in the name of culture, and in the name of preservation. And they also use the terms *participation, accountability, efficiency* and *empowerment*. These terms become part of the check list in site management plans for archaeological sites. A big phrase in these documents is the *participation of the various stakeholders*. The World Bank experts use this terminology and so do European Union funded projects and other international agencies. Let me give examples, especially illustrating the use of the concepts *participation* and *inclusion*. Much of the destruction we witness, especially in Istanbul, is due to what are called urban transformation projects, and these are done using this language, this new liberal talk. There are so many surveys conducted by the municipalities in the name of social inclusion and participation. A European Union funded project, *Alleviation of Poverty and Social Inclusion Project*, is one of the public funded projects dealing with

squatters that I have been working on. In fact everything else that is happening at this site is all about social exclusion and poverty. Simultaneous symbolic inclusion and materialistic exclusion has become a form of new liberal governance. I think in order to move forward in the heritage field, especially in terms of policy making , we still need well-grounded research to illustrate the complexities, and we need interdisciplinary work, but, perhaps more importantly, we need a new critical language in order to promote the progressive concerns behind these new terms.

Francesco Siravo: First I would like to consider the concept of *Home*. As the roundtable invitation says, *Home* is both a place and a state of mind, it has identity, it provides a sense of community, and it embodies continuity of traditions and values.



Would you call this home? It happens to be one of the banlieues of Paris, but it could be anywhere. It is difficult to believe that this is home to anyone. In fact, as recently as five years ago, young residents of these banlieues would have burned them to the ground had French police not intervened. But let's return to one of our familiar, time-tested urban models. We all agree that these places have special qualities, and that they are becoming harder and harder to find. They are also fragile and easily compromised. Of course, none of us believes that these places should be frozen in time. Some measure of change is inevitable, but the real point is: How much change is acceptable before these places become somewhere else?

Change can certainly be accommodated, but only up to a point. When development is unrestrained, these places are turned into a tragic replica of those dismal suburbs. We have seen it happen too many times. We could say: Places don't really matter; it is people we care about. As long as their intangible values and traditions are taken care of, all else will be fine. Why bother with preservation? Does this reasoning really make sense? I don't think so. Intangible values do not exist in a vacuum. They are embodied in buildings and in urban spaces. What would the Palio be without Siena's central piazza?

And this brings me to the next question: Do we really believe there is a conflict between those who call a place home and those who want to preserve these same places? My answer, again, is no.

Communities, even those formed by relatively recent immigrants, are naturally conservative. They are attached to their places. Yes, they want to improve them, but NO they do not want their neighbourhoods to implode. I have seen this over and over. I have seen it in Zanzibar where people moved into the Stone Town after the Revolution, only two or three generations ago.



A street scene in Darb al-Ahmar, Islamic Cairo. Photo: Francesco Siravo

And I have seen it in places like Darb al-Ahmar, in Islamic Cairo, again home to recent immigrants from the countryside. When we asked them about the positive qualities in their neighbourhood, the Darb al-Ahmar residents sounded just like a page in a New Urbanism textbook: no cars, proximity to mosques and tea shops, safety for their children, nearby jobs, and affordable housing. They see the need for improving utilities and services and for improving their homes, but there is no question of moving out or demolishing their neighbourhood.

Their goal is not that different from that of preservation planners, provided both groups engage in an honest and straightforward way. And it certainly helps when the community itself takes up the preservation agenda. So, where is the problem?

We get problems when we try to apply to these places incompatible economic models, when we introduce alien planning systems or deceptive ideological visions. The 20th century is full of examples: Such as Mussolini's ideological propaganda and the destruction of large chunks of historic Rome; such as the bombastic traffic engineers of mid-twentieth-century America; and the massive gentrification programs of the 1960s and 1970s.

And this must include the megaprojects of our new century, and the ongoing demolition and ethnic cleansing of historic cities like Kashgar.

These images document cataclysmic events with long-term consequences, all prompted or facilitated by government interventions. They are not small-time operations with residents trying to improve or gradually change their properties.

Let's talk about the cure. What can be done? I would like to introduce an agenda with four items:

- We need governments to understand the value of these places .
- We need policies to manage controlled change.
- We must engage in consultation with those most directly affected.
- We must make use of sensible and compatible planning methods.

Let me conclude on a hopeful note, and say that it can be done. Serious, long-term engagement can produce results, as we found in Cairo's Darb al-Ahmar district.



The cumulative results of an integrated program of urban rehabilitation
Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo (2000-2009). Photo: Francesco Siravo

We engaged the community for over ten years; we applied appropriate and realistic planning measures; unfortunately, however, I cannot claim that we managed to get the full support of the local authorities. And herein—in the public assumption of responsibility, lies the biggest challenge for the future.

Aslı Kıyak İngin: For the last five years there has been a renewal law (#5366) in Istanbul, which addresses living historical districts. I want to talk about the negative impact of this law on both people who live in the city and the spatial characteristics of the districts, particularly related to Sulukule. Sulukule is, at this moment in time, like a construction site. The construction is going on quite fast, without any archaeological work which has to be completed, because of the decision of the renewal board beforehand.



Sulukule today, as a construction site. Photo: Najila Osseiran

I want to talk about the tangible and intangible assets and heritage of Sulukule , and what sort of mechanisms are being employed for regeneration, and what sort of resistance was launched against this program. Sulukule is adjacent to the Theodosian Wall, which is a historic feature included on the UNESCO world heritage list.



The historical wall and the Sulukule neighbourhood. Photo: Sulukule Platform Archive

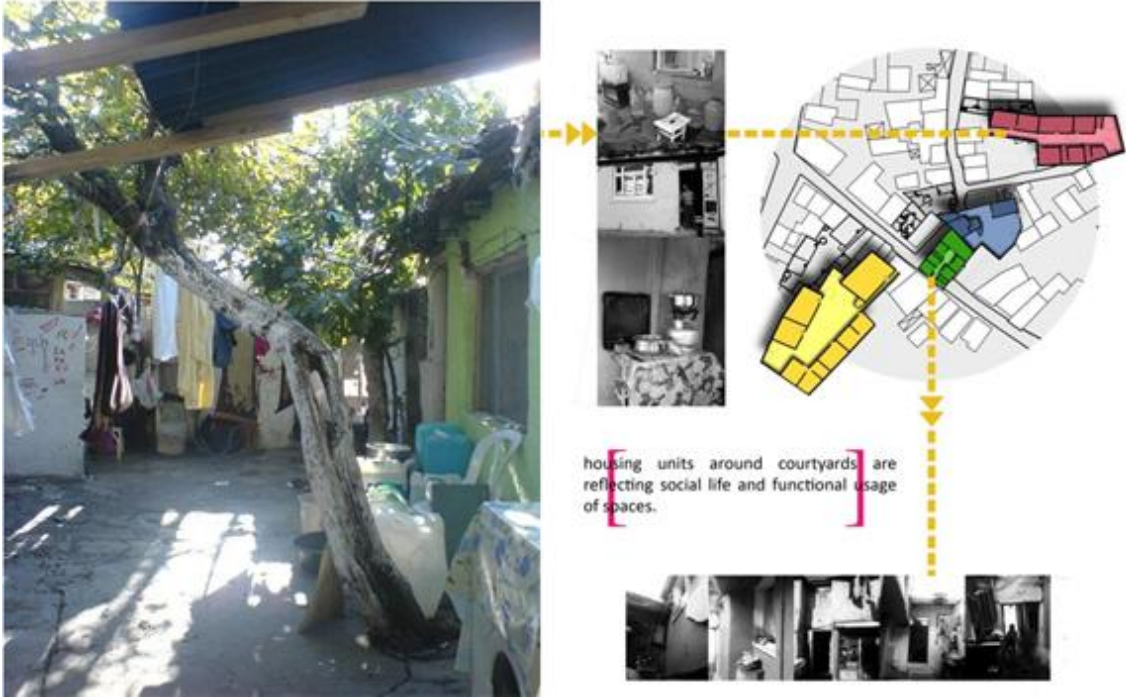
Even though Sulukule is being portrayed by the local authority as a derelict area and as an informal settlement, it has actually succeeded to maintain its physical, social and cultural characteristics until the renewal process. Of note is that it is constituted of deeded houses. There are even Ottoman period title deeds related to this sector.



An Ottoman title deed. Photo: Sulukule Platform Archive

As illustrated on the 19th and 20th century maps, the same street structure has continued since the 1800's in this area. There are fountains, a historical bath, mosques, a church, and listed wooden and brick houses that are preserved. The courtyard houses, which are the main characteristic of the district, are an integral part of what is defined by the residents as home and neighbourhood life. It is common

that four or five families are situated and living around an open garden space, a common courtyard, which is entered from the street. Sulukule is basically a Romany Settlement and a poor district. The neighbourhood is like a “home” to the community that lives there. Its narrow streets are not only used for transport but also for socializing. The district possesses a strong solidarity network.



The courtyard houses of Sulukule. Photo: Sulukule Platform Archive



Street life in Sulukule. Photo: Sulukule Platform Archive, and Aslı Kiyak İngin

Sulukule was an old entertainment centre and it was an important place for the performance of Romany music and dance .The entertainment structure is quite interesting. There are houses which have only a few rooms where guests were entertained by the Romany music and dance.

In the 1990's there was a negative campaign created in the media against these places and the police demolished all of them. Since then the area has been deteriorating, socially and physically. Under the new law mentioned earlier there is an effort to completely demolish the entire sector and rebuild it. Using this new law the local authority is completely changing the structure of the area in order to create a "new Ottoman" neighbourhood. The character of the houses is being changed dramatically. Very few registered structures are being preserved and a new hotel and trade centre are being planned. UNESCO has also brought attention to this problem in its 2008 report and noted that the single-storey Romany Courtyard Houses are to be replaced with taller buildings, including a new hotel and underground car parking which will radically alter the existing urban tissue of the area. The parcels and the property structures have entirely changed in the area. This new system and change, which does not accord to the landlords the right to restore their own houses; expropriates the properties for a low value; and indebts the landlords for 15 years for the newly constructed housing complexes. Those residents who don't accept these conditions are forced to get their expropriation amounts within 5 years and to leave the area. The tenants, whom are part of the cultural and social configuration of the area don't have the option to stay, they are being moved to another housing complex quite far away, while Sulukule is being marketed by developers and real-estate agents. There has been long period demolition in the neighbourhood, since 2007.



The destruction of Sulukule Photo: Aslı Kiyak İngin



Photo: Najila Osseiran

This project is being qualified by the municipality as one of the world's best social projects and by the university teachers, whom also act as project consultants, as taking a romantic and humanistic approach. But there is an initiative named Sulukule Platform to resist this project that involves the local community, academicians, students, urban professionals, artists, NGO's, and volunteers from different fields. The Sulukule Platform took support from a variety of local and international bodies like UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee, the AGFE commission of the UN Habitat, the Green Party, and Chamber of Architects to achieve a positive approach through dialog. By organizing the "40 Days 40 Nights Sulukule" festival, the Sulukule Platform has helped this issue acquire currency and be widely discussed.



The 40 Days and 40 Nights Sulukule Festival as positive resistance. Photo: Aslı Kiyak İngin

While helping in various ways the people from this area, Sulukule Platform has required both the process and the project to take notice of the needs and characteristics of the community, carrying forward a more participatory and sustainable approach. For that purpose it has brought into question the revision of the project and has arranged meetings with the municipality and the renewal board. By appealing to professionals and academicians, it has also ensured the development of alternative plans. The municipality has not paid attention to these endeavours and has carried on with their own program. Since agreements could not be achieved on a macro scale, solutions have been sought on a micro scale.



The Simple Restoration with KUDEB, Sulukule Platform and Owner of the House.
Photo: Asli Kiyak Ingin



Photo: Najila Osseiran

The registered landlords of the area have been supported in the restoration of their houses so they would not have to abandon them; the Conservation Application and Supervision Department (KUDEB), attached to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, has permitted and supported the renovation of 7 seven houses. Presently, three houses are under restoration. These are the only houses that have survived intact in this entirely ruined area which has been converted into an “empty land”. The success of the restoration of these seven houses shows that the families who have been forced out could have stayed and continued their lives in Sulukule with simple support.

(As part of Asli Kiyak Ingin’s introductory statement a video was shown which can be accessed at the following address:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJcHbNXG6aU&feature=related>”

Discussion

Neil Silberman: Oh, how easy and simple it was when the Venice Charter was the only document that a preservationist or heritage conservator needed to know. But things have changed. As David Lowenthal said a few moments ago, quoting the people of Dijon, public sentiment is now often “PRESERVE US! and forget about the historic stones”. In this time of sweeping urbanization, dislocation, and economic upheaval, there seem to be so many pressing social needs to be addressed before we look at the past and the future. All too often, “official” heritage avoids direct confrontation with the uncertainties of contemporary life, preferring to focus on the faux-security of an imagined past, embodied in selectively chosen monuments and structures. Yet how is it possible to change the direction of a building- and monument-centred heritage to become more sensitive to social contexts when all relevant legislation is designed first and foremost to protect material remains, not memory? How do we begin to change preservation laws to enhance peoples' needs to feel at home?

Stephen Bond: I think you have put your finger on one of the most difficult issues we face. There is no doubt that across the world the majority of legislation relating to heritage preservation or conservation is all about the protection of fabric and not about protecting and enhancing values. And that is the big change we have to make from a world based on fabric to one based on values and significance. In my recent book “Managing Built Heritage”, I argue that, in a benign democracy, legislation needs to follow social change; legislation should not be initiating social change. I personally think that is a dangerous world to live in. The problem with this is that there is a significant lag, but it is a drip by drip process that we must undertake. On the positive side, if you were to look back fifteen years you would not have heard many people in the heritage conservation/preservation world talking about values and significance in the way we are referring to them today. There were some, but not that many. It seems that all of a sudden you can go to any country, engage with people, and find that they are using that kind of language. I believe a social change is taking place. We will have to deal with the gap between that social change and the legislation.

Ayfer Bartu Candan: Stephen talked about the protection of both fabric and values, but social scientists and anthropologists would ask, “Which values and whose values?” In the heritage world when we talk about local community we know that this is not a homogenous group. “Whose values are we considering?” is an essential question. Within this local community there are often different and often conflicting needs and interests. This becomes central in discussion of preservation and revitalization.

Francesco Siravo: When we look at legislation globally, the protection of the historic city fabric in most countries is not there. In Egypt, Zanzibar, and many other developing countries, we find legislation that applies to antiquities--that is to monuments--but not to historic areas. Today, there is a real need to make the legislation evolve, perhaps not in the sense of the Charter of Venice, but in the sense that would recognize the value of these areas and put them under some form of protection. We should also recognise that, even in cases where these laws exist, they are often ignored or poorly enforced. And this shows that government awareness and commitment to preserving historic areas is still quite limited. Let me add that I believe we should be extremely careful when we talk about preserving values in the abstract, without reference to specific buildings and an understanding of the amount of change these structures can tolerate. We are dealing with buildings that were built in very different circumstances, often in the framework of pre-industrial societies and making use of materials and techniques very different from those of today. These buildings can accommodate a fair amount of change and

adaptation, but only within their own logic and in ways that recognise and respect their material and structural integrity.

David Lowenthal: The problem is a difference in timing between concern for community and concern for fabric. The Ottoman fabric, as has been mentioned, is a long way back in terms of memory. Community concerns are usually much closer in time to the present. There is a need to bring these two kinds of concerns together. And actually communities do care about fabric as well. Often they want to have a fabric which they feel is historically theirs, whether they brought it in from elsewhere, manufactured it in situ, or lived with and transformed what was created by others. But there is a critical distinction between community memory and fabric memory in terms of how distant or close to our everyday present they are. And we have to try to bridge that gap in some way.

Leyla Neyzi: I would like to point out the contrast between legislation and practice. As Francesco Siravo has said, yes we may have very stringent legislation, as in the case of Turkey, but if it is not applied then what is the point? It is not enough to have flexible legislation that takes into account people, it is also a matter of how it is applied.

Aslı Kiyak İngin: Law #5366 has brought us on the verge of a new polemic. With this law, the historical protected areas are, along with their inhabitants, under a great threat. In these areas described as “derelict and wrecked”, the deeded properties are being expropriated and quickly opened to new configurations and usage. The renewal law is resulting in the destruction of historic fabric and in the destruction of the lives of people living at those sites. These laws do not care for the value of people but rather the value of the historical space. How can we fight this? Laws are being rewritten and it is difficult to argue with this because if you fight it in legal courts the case may take several years and by that time sites and people are lost. This law should have been immediately annulled. This prerogative is only in the hands of the Parliament however and no action has been taken to this day. We must convince the local authorities of these values we have already spoken about.

Neil Silberman: Those comments bring up the next obvious question. Stephen Bond said that legislation often follows social change but one thing that we know for sure is that elections precede legislation. So what may seem a simplistic question is: How do we get community-based preservation on both the social and political agenda? How do we or can we demonstrate in some concrete way that engagement with local communities is better than traditional top-down heritage planning or, for that matter, or more beneficial to society at large than the profit to be gained from wholesale demolition

and development? What is good about community engagement? What does it produce for the society that traditional or nonexistent legislation does not? I think we have to take it as a reality that there are very powerful reasons why the authorities use the laws the way they do and that in their minds there are certain benefits to the approach they take. I am not speaking of private benefit. I am referring to economic development. Whether the assumed economic benefits are real or not, they are certainly used as arguments for why things have to be done in a certain way. Efficiency, as Ayfer Bartu Candan said, is one reason given. But there is also profit. So let me ask, “Are there equally strong reasons to suggest to government authorities that it is better to have the whole city feel at home?”

Francesco Siravo: My sense is that many of these government interventions are based on a top-down approach and produce very artificial and short-lived results. They rarely take into account the existence of local traditions, or understand the ways in which cities were built and developed in the past. Usually, these interventions impose massive transformations to the social and physical fabric of historic cities. These new interventions bear no relationship with the fine-grained texture of historic areas and ignore the way in which these complex and stratified urban structures worked in the past. Moreover, government plans often do not take into account the needs of the residents. If you speak to anyone living in one of these dilapidated neighbourhoods, they will list their priorities as follows: jobs, house improvements, health, education for their children, and a safe and healthy environment. If we try to address at least part of these issues through preservation, I think we will have a “winning card”. Preservationists should talk to people about their problems and priorities, and explore ways to address these problems through the rehabilitation of the existing fabric and a wiser use of existing urban assets and opportunities. Experience shows that it is often cheaper and socially preferable to maintain the existing city fabric and, with it, the economic resources and cherished memories of living urban communities.

Leyla Neyzi: Also we have to realize that the community is not homogenous. Part of the local community also benefits from the profits that are made in the kind of development that we criticise. So part of the community is complicit in this process. But even when part of the community accepts these changes for economic benefit what we find is that, over the generations, people begin to realize the real costs. So while there may be economic benefits, the value of the memory of place, as Orhan Pamuk mentioned, is something of great importance. When people realize that they have lost the places of their childhood, even if they have achieved a middle-class life, they experience a great sense of loss. That is why there is a great need for preservation.

Stephen Bond: I think we are in the very early days of heritage-led regeneration schemes which involve communities and our problem is that this is a long term gain. If it would be short term gain then it would be just like it always was, making places pretty only to have them deteriorate again. I stressed earlier in my presentation the need for things to be *lasting*. And *lasting* takes a long time to achieve. Politicians are not keen on that type of concept, on the required time scale, because they want easy and early victories. It is part of the conjuring process, the repackaging process that we all have to learn. We have to learn how to give politicians early and easy victories while keeping our sight on the long term.

Neil Silberman: I agree. Politicians work quickly. But, as Aslı Kıyak İngin showed us, bulldozers also work quickly. And we need to remember that while the debates can go on for years, the places and the standing of the people who lived in these places can be lost quickly. Arguing in courts can become a moot point once historic neighbourhoods are destroyed.

Ayfer Bartu Candan: We have to ask who these regeneration projects are for. Clearly these projects in Istanbul and other cities are ways of pushing the urban poor out of the city and that is why many of the authorities do not care about the involvement of the community. I will just give one example. The architect Zaha Hadid was invited to Istanbul and she came up with a futuristic design for a whole district on the Asian side, housing hundreds and thousands of people. It is very much a low to middle-class working neighbourhood, but her design was not catering to this stratum of people. When a journalist asked her if she had talked to anyone in that district she said “of course not”. The journalist was a bit taken aback and asked why not. She said that she did not believe she would design a better district if she had spoken with those people. She said “Do you think I would have designed a better district if I would have spoken to the *kebab* restaurant owners in that district? No.” That could be her approach to architecture. The real question is why the local municipality took up that project. Obviously it is a way of pushing away the urban poor, since the intended audience for that district and that project are wealthier people.

Aslı Kıyak İngin: The example in Kartal Region that Ayfer Bartu Candan gave was not a very implementable project in any case. It was futuristic and meant as a symbol, a promise, of what could be true. Even if these kinds of projects are not realized, well-known persons and their remarkable enterprises are enough for that area to be marketed and for its value to be increased. It was meant to encourage and support the smaller projects. There are several new projects, some of them based on the existing life and city fabric that promise a more comfortable, luxurious life in Istanbul. The architects

and even the academics who are the consultant of these projects should be asked the same questions being asked of the local authorities. Instead of renewal, rehabilitation on site has to be the priority in these kinds of areas. This is in fact more humanistic, affordable, faster and sustainable. Who can guarantee that the new bigger projects will survive? As Francesco Siravo underlines, social and economical conditions have to be improved in these areas. Otherwise, as it happened in Sulukule, renovation can cause a neighbourhood to be erased from history. Because the local authorities' solutions are not executed "in place" but by "displacing", it has started to cause greater problems. Dispersed communities and families are not able to adapt to the place they have relocated to.

Audience member: There was a challenge in the beginning when David Lowenthal sought successful projects of urban regeneration. I would suggest that the successful ones are the ones that have come from the community and not from the outside. This is something that has been happening throughout Scotland and throughout the UK. Communities have got together and bought properties that they wish to preserve and have a vision of how they want to preserve them. It seems to me that it is also a matter of how we benefit from consulting communities but asking where the communities are who want our involvement and our help preserving both the physical and cultural aspects of a place.

Neil Silberman: This is a question that is faced by people who are doing work all over the world which might involve the engagement of communities. It is not an "either/or" situation. Nor is it just "bottom up" or "top down", because honestly some communities come up with horrible ideas that reflect some of the worst kind of commodification, whether it be turning their place into a theme park or just selling it off for profit. So what we need to do is to create a new kind of social contract and a new position within the field for heritage professionals. There is a function to mediate and present the full range of options that are available to communities and that can also benefit governments without one aspect taking precedents over the others.

Stephen Bond: I agree with the audience member that there are a number of small-scale examples of community-developed schemes which hopefully will stand the tests of time. There is a fascinating contrast to be observed in the UK between some of these more successful private schemes and a government-led project which is called the Pathfinder Scheme. This initiative has been applied to the Victorian mill-based towns in the north of England, resulting in large-scale demolition of 19th century terraced houses. That has met with a good deal of criticism not just from the local communities which are intimately involved but also from others. There is an interesting contrast there between a big

political idea and smaller community-developed schemes. That's another gap we need to bridge and make it possible for wider area regeneration to work with heritage preservation principles.

Audience member: There is a very reasonable conservation proposal from Europa Nostra where certain pilot areas would be selected in the city of Istanbul and these would be preserved with international support. For example in Sulukule there was a famous cinema house that would be preserved. We cannot preserve everything and everywhere through the municipality and the local authorities. I think we should pursue these pilot projects and move from those to create a preservation conservation culture. Also I noted that one of the speakers said that these regeneration projects are a way of moving out the poor. But in Istanbul it is also the case that the older generation of rich are being moved out by the nouveau-riche which comes in with a great deal of wealth from real estate speculation. These people are often less informed about heritage, less engaged with it. But they have the money.

Neil Silberman: I think we need to take an example from and follow the lead of the environmental movement, which has progressed from a study of individual specimens to complex systems. We too need to move from our own equivalent of botanical typologies to heritage ecology. So I am not sure that the preservation of selected types for their historic value—as the audience member suggests—is really answering the problem we are all trying to resolve. As David Lowenthal said years ago, every time something is declared “historic”, it becomes something new. It becomes a commodity of some sort, either in terms of its marketability as a tourist attraction or because of its altered real estate value. The issue that I think we are all addressing is how we get from humanistic sentiments to political action in an era that wants to commodify everything. Ironically maybe we can get there by convincingly demonstrating that the preservation of a sense of “home” for a community living within a historical environment have some measurable, quantitative value.

I would just re-emphasize the ironic reality that was pointed out in the beginning of this roundtable dialogue. It was also something that Francesco Siravo brought up in the long email correspondence among the panellists in the months leading up to this evening's discussion. It is the irony that in our era of ever greater homogenization, of ever expanding “non-places”, of places that are indistinguishable one from the other, that the need for memory strengthens. It is like a biological or psychological need. There is a power to this that Stephen Bond pointed out. If we compare the kinds of discussions that are going on today with those of ten years ago, the slogans “sustainability, engagement, participatory

processes, empowerment,” and so forth are everywhere. But we need to find mechanisms to make them more than slogans. Otherwise we are not providing a concrete enough alternative to those who come into the mayor’s office or the governor’s office and propose a sweeping new urban development plan that promises great social and economic benefits. Even if those promises of benefits are fantasy we need to provide alternatives in language the policy makers can understand. We need to offer practical answers to the question “where do we go from here?” So I’ll close this discussion by asking David Lowenthal that very question: where do we go from here?

David Lowenthal: Neil talked about changes like increasing homogenisation, every place increasingly looking like every other. But that is only part of the tremendous change now occurring. The “elephant in the room” is *expansion*. Look at Istanbul. Fifty years ago its population was less than two million people, now it is twelve million people. This is not the same city for most people and most people now are newcomers. Most people in cities across the world nowadays are newcomers. How do they feel at home? How does historic urban fabric work for them? I remember visiting Poland in the 1970s after the city of Wrocław (formerly Breslau) had restored its old medieval quarter (actually a 19th century reconstruction of a “medieval” quarter) It had been destroyed, like so much else in Polish cities in the Second World War. But in Warsaw everything had been rebuilt right away so that its residents would feel that they lived in a continuing familiar historic environment. However, most of the inhabitants of Wrocław in the mid 1970’s, were newcomers from eastern Poland, who had replaced Silesian Germans exiled to Germany. So I asked the planners “Why are you restoring the historic fabric for these newcomers? They don’t consider this part of their memory”. The planners responded “Yes, that’s true, but their children and grandchildren will think of it as *their* historical memory”. And that was right. That was one way of moving ahead. We have to recognise that community is not just one, monolithic thing. It’s a mix of old and new, just as buildings and neighbourhoods are a mix of old and new. The Georgian squares in Bloomsbury, where I taught in London, were heavily damaged during the Second World War. Newcomers later sought to preserve and restore the remaining precious remnants of Bloomsbury’s Georgian architecture and wanted it all saved. But the old residents said “No, what is left is too little to convey a proper feeling of the past. What matters here to us are the memories and traditions of Bloomsbury, not its buildings”. Old timers and newcomers, exiles and immigrants, grandparents and grandchildren utilize historic fabric in different and constantly shifting ways; all must be taken into account as co-participants by planners and architects, statesmen and heritage stewards in our

increasingly globalized urban medleys. All too often the deprived and dilapidated “sores of a city”,⁴ historic precincts merit care above all as collective legacies of ancestral homes, to be cherished by present and future generations.

CLOSING

Jerry Podany: There is a persistent myth about the division between movable and immovable heritage. This dialogue has reminded us of just how mythical that division is. It has also reminded us that much of the theoretical development within heritage conservation has come from addressing the challenges of historic architecture and through advances in historic preservation. Much of what you have heard in this discussion is applicable throughout the many facets of heritage conservation and preservation. Whether preserving a living historic place that some call home or managing access to artefacts or works of art, the challenges are much the same and the parameters of meeting those challenges are changing. Realizing this, embracing it and growing with the change in our field, are all part of our role as responsible stewards of heritage.

The IIC wishes to thank our partners in bringing this roundtable to fruition: the Sakıp Sabancı Museum staff and especially Dr. Nazan Ölçer the museum’s director. Sabancı Holding and Ms. Güler Sanbancı for her interest, generosity and support. We also thank the Booth Heritage Foundation and Turkish Airlines for their support. And of course we wish to thank the seven panellists for their extraordinary and thought-provoking discussions.

NOTES

¹ Müge Akkar Ercan, “Searching for a Balance between Community Needs and Conservation Policies in Historic neighbourhoods of Istanbul,” *European Planning Studies*, 18:5 (2010), 833- 859.

² Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books, 2001. p.251.

³ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

⁴ Müge Akkar Ercan, “Creating Sustainable Communities in Historical Heritage Sites: Istanbul’s Historic Neighbourhoods,” in Christina Rozeik, Ashok Roy and David Saunders, eds, *Conservation and the Eastern Mediterranean* {Contributions to the Istanbul IIC Congress 20-24 September 2010} (London: International Institute of Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 2010), 237-242.