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The Significance of Social Component in Urban Transformation in the Context of Sustainability: A Romany Neighbourhood Example, Istanbul [1]

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Abstract
Cities are like living organisms like every single living creature that is born, grows up and dies. Just as when a living being is in bad health and medical intervention becomes inevitable, such intervention is inevitable in cities as well. One of the interventions is "Urban Transformation" in order to prevent dilapidation and deterioration in urban fabric or establishing safe urban spaces susceptible to disasters. The term of urban transformation is not a one-dimensional concept sheltering the process of improving the physical environment. On the contrary it is a multi-dimensional holistic process embracing social, economic, environmental, and governance aspects. Therefore non-holistic approaches will not make positive contribution to the road leading to sustainable cities.

This paper focuses on a historical neighbourhood in Istanbul where urban transformation work was carried out. The neighbourhood called "Sulukule" is a place where mostly Romany people live besides non-Romany. The neighbourhood is situated within the historic peninsula of Istanbul and its world heritage listed land walls. The paper particularly deals with the social aspect of the process and analyses the situation before and after the implementation of the urban transformation project. The social success of the project is also evaluated. Literature review, observations and fieldwork including in depth interviews with the locals and the administrators were carried out as the method of the study. In the conclusion, recommendations are presented based on the data obtained.

Keywords: Neighbourhood, sustainability, urban transformation, Sulukule, Istanbul

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Introduction

The industrial revolution and the globalisation process after and particularly its economic consequences have had significant impacts on cities. The process radically changes them. Undoubtedly, in these changes, technological developments, new generation communication tools and new transportation and distribution networks have had major roles. Cities are living and complex organisms like human beings. They are born, grown up and die. Sometimes cities also get sick and need treatment if applicable just as human beings do. Therefore, depending on the severity of the disease they may require some interventions such as urban transformation. Cities need to have urban transformation projects due to social and economic reasons, natural disasters, improper land use, and overpopulation based on agglomeration. Besides providing planned and healthy environment to communities, urban transformation plays a strategic role in not only prevention of social exclusion but it provides an urban identity with a sense of belonging.

One of the significant indicators of the disease in cities is dilapidation. A dilapidation may be considered as a consequence of lack of social sustainability. Urban transformation, therefore, is one of the effective tools for making cities liveable again. It has dimensions and its one vital dimension is social structure. There are strong connections between urban transformation and its social dimension. It is not possible to sustain an urban physical space alone unless there is a liveable social life order. Hence sociological dynamics of a community play a key role in the transformation process. Every transformation process requires a different procedure and policy due to the social varieties in countries.

The aim of this work is to analyse the sociological consequences of the relocation of the Romany families living in Sulukule Neighbourhood in the context of the urban transformation project implemented by the government in Istanbul. The work was delimited with the Romany people living in Sulukule Neighbourhood and the social consequences of the transformation project was analysed. Literature reviews, in depth interviews with locals and the administrators and observations were used as the method in this work.

The Concept of Urban Transformation

Definition of the Term

There are variety of definitions of the term 'urban regeneration' due to the different points of views of individuals and institutions. Just as the term of 'sustainability' has been evolved, the term of 'urban transformation' has also evolved and has taken on different meanings (Colantonio & Dixon, 2009). Urban transformation is a complex process dealing with issues of unhealthy and therefore unsustainable urban areas in order to make them healthy and liveable, focusing on their basic characteristics such as social, economic and physical space (Roberts, 2008; Mehdipoura & Nia, 2013; Akkar, 2006; Ertaş, 2011). Roberts (2008) also claims that this process requires holistic approaches, strategies and actions. Whilst Lichfield (1992) considers the transformation as a reconciliation process, Donnison (1993) describes the term as a method to solve problems occurring in degenerated urban areas. Couch (1990) thinks that it is a rehabilitation process putting again into operation social and/or economic

functions that were lost previously. As for Leary & McCarthy (2013) they highlight that the process involves multi disciplines including urban planning, urban design, urban policy and sustainability etc.

Urban transformation is not only a regeneration physically but it is also a process requiring holistic approaches and inter disciplinary and multi-sectors efforts to ensure basically social integration and therefore liveable urban spaces taking into consideration the environmental balance.

Aim and Objectives of Urban Transformation

Urban transformation is one of the strategic tools leading to sustainable communities. Not only improvement of physical and sociocultural structure but also economic revitalisation of urban parts are the major components of the process. According to Roberts (2008); the process is basically based on five inclusive tenets. It should:

- Establish direct and also strong connection between spatial characteristics and social problems of the space.

- Meet the spatial needs forming urban fabric.

- Have economic development strategies improving social life quality and urban prosperity

- Develop strategies making the best appropriate utilisation of urban land and avoid unnecessary urban sprawl.

- Enable urban policy via participatory and collaborative planning process.

As for Gülersoy & Gürler (2011) they group urban transformation under three main categories:

Heritage conservation
- *It is a form of transformation taking place in the historic urban zones to protect the fabric by using particular methods such as restoration, restitution, renovation and reuse.*

Regeneration
- *It is another form of transformation process dealing with existing urban spaces having potential. Reconstruction, redevelopment, restructuring and land-use change are the main methods.*

Re-development
- *The process is applied in the urban areas which are dilapidated, deteriorated, and devastated. It mainly deals with renewal, revitalisation, rehabilitation and adaptive reuse.*

Figure 1: Three categorises of urban transformation

On the other hand, Ertaş (2011), Şişman & Kibaroğlu (2009) group the urban transformation process under ten methods. These are renewal, rehabilitation, conservation, revitalisation, redevelopment, improvement, clearance, infill development, refurbishment and gentrification.

History of Urban Transformation

One of the dramatic consequences of the industrial revolution was agglomeration experienced in urban spaces (Clerici & Mironowicz, 2009). Experiencing the inhuman conditions of the working class and cramped and unhealthy conditions in major cities of Europe influenced many thinkers and planners. This accelerated the emergence of the idea of transformation. As a result, in the 19th century some areas in Europe were destroyed and were reconstructed again. In this period all operations were performed under the leadership of public administrations based on two approaches. One of these was the housing legislation named "The Common Lodging Houses Act" producing urban policies in 1851 in England. The act dealt with particular authorities focusing on the issues regarding the lodging houses. Another approach was a public works programme named "Haussmann's renovation of Paris" and operated by Georges-Eugéne Haussmann between 1853 and 1870. The programme focused on bringing not only infrastructure such as sewers, avenues, parks, squares, fountains and aqueducts but also superstructure by demolishing of unhealthy medieval settlements in Paris. The transformation process in the world more accelerated after the world wars (Mishra & Pandit, 2013). Roberts (2008) groups the policy types between 1950 and 1990 under five periods (Figure 2).
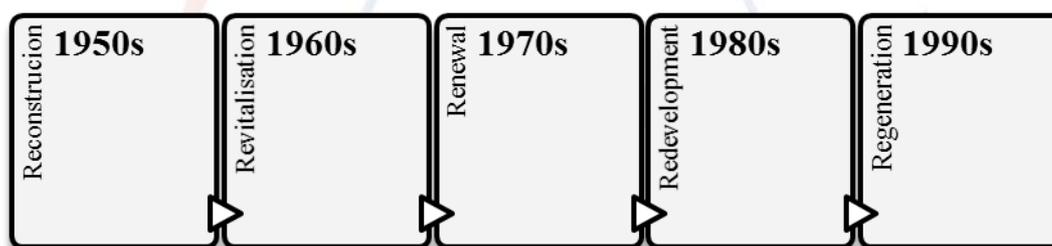
Figure 2: Urban transformation policy types based on the periods

The transformation processes based on liberal and neoliberal strategies as well as heritage base urban transformation having "multi-actor" and "multi-sector" were accepted and developed in the 1990s. As for the 21st century the concept of sustainability – sustainable development and its components stamp the transformation process as a strong paradigm (Gülersoy & Gürler, 2011). The process focuses not only on physical issues but also on social, economic and environmental issues (Colantonio & Dixon, 2009). Thus the significance of the social dimension of urban transformation works based on the new concept "sustainability-oriented transformation" have come into the forefront as the focal point.

Importance of Social Dimension of Urban Transformation in the Context of Sustainability

McKenzie (2004: p.12) defines the term of social sustainability as "*a life-enhancing condition within communities*" and interprets the term with "*strong sense of social cohesion, and equity of access to key services*". Social sustainability is directly connected with establishing liveable communities that are equitable, diverse, democratic (McKenzie, 2004; Colantonio & Dixon, 2009), and cooperation-oriented.

Hence, one of the major parameters making urban transformation works successful is the social dimension to be considered.

Colantonio & Dixon (2009) claim that urban transformation projects have ten critical outputs with respect to social sustainability: Demographic change, education and skills, employment, health and safety, housing and environmental health, identity, sense of place and culture, participation, empowerment and access, social capital, social mixing and cohesion, and well-being, happiness and quality of life. As for the UK Presidency EU Ministerial Informal on Sustainable Communities Policy Papers in Annex 1 (2006) there are eight characteristics of sustainable communities (Figure 3).

Active, inclusive and safe
- *fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community activities*

Well run
- *with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership*

Well connected
- *with good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services*

Well served
- *with public, private, community and voluntary services that are appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all*

Environmentally sensitive
- *providing places for people to live that are considerate of the environment*

Thriving
- *with a flourishing, diverse and innovative local economy*

Well designed and built
- *featuring quality built and natural environment*

Fair for everyone
- *including those in other communities, now and in the future*

Figure 3: Eight characteristics of social sustainability

As shown, characteristics and also processes of both urban transformation and sustainability are quite similar and connected. It is obvious that a space not used by humans, is obliged to become dilapidated. Social aspect is the major issue in not only urban transformation projects but also in all urban-oriented projects. It should be considered a key component for establishing liveable communities. Therefore the thought that social structure can be sustained through physical renewal works alone is completely wrong. Urban transformation works are the process requiring holistic approaches such as planning, designing, management and governance etc. The

success of the projects will depend on whether these elements are taken into consideration.

The Urban Transformation Process in Turkey and the Sulukule Project

In general, the seeds of urbanisation movement in Turkey were sown in the 1950s. Ataöv & Osmay, (2007) claim that urban transformation works in Turkey can be briefly analysed under three periods (Figure 4). In the first period of 1950-1980 there were two basic facts affecting the urban transformation process. One was that a part of people living in the city centre moved to the satellite towns and instead of these people, the people with low income settled in the city centre. This caused dilapidation of areas in the centre. The second fact was the migration process and its negative consequences. Urbanisation increased based on migration in connection with the mechanisation process experienced in rural areas. Many people were unemployed and they came to big cities such as Istanbul to find jobs.

Hence cities faced urban agglomeration and urban sprawl with the uncontrolled population movement because they were not prepared and necessary measures were not taken for this migration wave. Insufficient urban housing stock in cities resulted in squatter housing areas. In the 1980s large scale urbanisation process and its problems gained a rapid momentum (Bulut & Ceylan, 2013). The urban sprawl based on squattering took shape in peripheral areas of cities (Sat, 2007). However in the process of time these areas remained in the city centre and needed to be renewed. There are quite a lot of such areas in Turkey having poor economic conditions, insufficient social and technical infrastructure and are unsafe (Beyhan & Gürkan, 2015).

1950 - 1980
- *Rehabilitation of squatter areas*
- *Transformation of city centres into dilapidated areas*
- *Regeneration of squatter areas*
- *Renewal in these areas*

1980 - 2000
- *Redevelopment of the areas of low life quality and risk*
- *Rehabilitation based on the improvement plans applications*
- *Conservation and gentrification*

2000 - ...
- *Renewal*
- *Rehabilitation at building scale*
- *Redevelopment*
- *Conservation and gentrification*

Figure 4: Urban transformation strategies in Turkey

The second period was the years that Turkey started to develop its economy and growth by exporting its products. Increased production led to the change of the type and scale of industries on the other hand it increased the demand of quality workers.

Therefore the decentralisation process of industries began. The major industries leaving cities met their worker needs through the surrounding new illegal settlement areas. Urban redevelopment (Akkar, 2006) was one of the basic policies focusing on rehabilitations in dilapidated areas with the improvement plans besides conservation and gentrification of the historical urban fabrics.

The last period is important because the concept of urban transformation has taken place in the domestic legislation. In this period the strategies such as rehabilitation at building scale have come into prominence along with other strategies such as renewal, redevelopment, conservation and gentrification. TOKİ (Housing Development Administration), a non-profit government agency, has played a key role in the urban transformation process in Turkey. It has been a pioneer to the works of the multi-sector (Görün & Kara, 2010). Despite all the good intentions, urban transformation projects were considered as one dimensional, overlooking the socio-economic dimension, and they have been made a victim of urban rent. In addition there was a phenomenon affecting the transformation policies in this period. Turkey experienced a severe earthquake in 1999 in the Marmara Region. The magnitude was 7.6; and approximately 20,000 people were killed. It left behind close to 500.000 people homeless. After the earthquake and its consequences urban transformation works and policies gained great importance. Thus the government developed policies to mitigate the consequences of such disasters focusing on regeneration and improvement of poor and earthquake sensitive buildings. Basically there are some issues affecting the success of urban transformation efforts in Turkey (Figure 5). Unless the following one or more components are missing it may not be possible to gain success. They work as the sub-systems of urban transformation and therefore they need to be considered and performed together with a holistic approach. They can be grouped under five main categories:

Economic
- Development of a financial model and employment opportunities

Social
- Reducing social exclusion and poverty
- Access to services such as education, health etc.
- Considering identities and cultural diversity
- Ownership and vested rights

Technical
- Effective land use, transport and infrastructure

Environmental
- Policies focusing on sustainability such as resource usage, pollution, waste, energy use etc.

Governance
- Public participation on decisions

Figure 5: The basic issues affecting the success of urban transformation works
(Adapted from the report prepared for Kocaeli Chamber of Industry, **Source**: http://kosano.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/kentsel-donusum-rapor-1.pdf)

The Sulukule "A Romany Neighbourhood" Project

Location of the Neighbourhood

Sulukule is a settlement unit locating in the Fatih district within the historic peninsula of Istanbul (Figure 6). It is also located adjacent to the west of the city walls. The region is commonly preferred by Romany families who are famous for their entertainment houses that have unique music and dances. Sulukule has been the source of inspiration for many TV series and films.

Figure 6: Istanbul and Sulukule
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cf/Turkey_Istanbul_location_map.svg

Figure 7: The border of Sulukule (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

The name of Sulukule settlement unit has been changed and today it is represented with two neighbourhoods named "Hatice Sultan" and "Neslişah".

Brief History of the Neighbourhood and Romany People's Characteristics

Romany people basically were divided into two groups, settled and nomadic. Settled ones were in Sulukule and music and dancing are a life style and also business for them (Göncüoğlu & Yavuztürk, 2009). This characteristic of Romany people has stayed the same since the Ottoman period. Sulukule has been the place where Romany people, having low income, known for their unique entertainment culture consisting of dance, music and food, have lived for 500 years since the Ottoman period (Uçan Çubukçu, 2011). Based on the census in 1477 while Istanbul had a population of 16,327 the Romany community consisted of 31 households (Göncüoğlu & Yavuztürk, 2009). According to Kenrick, Romany people essentially are of Indian origin and their migration movement westward began in the 1050s.

Romany people living in Sulukule have been blamed for immorality and they have been perceived as the society involved in crime, disease and illegal activities such as drug use and dealing, prostitution, illegal slaughter since the Ottoman period in the 1880s due to their unfamiliar job environments. They used their houses as homes during the day and for entertainment purposes at nights. In 1993 the prohibition of these houses and activities in Sulukule led to an increase in prostitution because they could not earn money via music, dancing and food. They lived a marginal life style and hence this led to them being expelled from the main community (Somersan et. al., 2011). While Sulukule was almost the only authentic entertainment centre of the city it fell out of favour after 1993 due to the new rising star legal entertainment centre "Beyoğlu" and therefore the depression process began.

They carried their culture until 2006 which was the starting date of the transformation project. And as Harvey (1993) emphasised in his book the Romany community began to lose their social cohesion. The project was carried out based on the strategy of gentrification and the area was adopted and built with new buildings by demolishing existing poor quality unhealthy buildings without considering community participation. As the requirement of gentrification strategy, the project aimed at establishing healthy spaces with new buildings for completely different people in terms of class, ethnicity and culture. This resulted in a socioeconomic trauma for the Romany people.

The Sulukule Urban Transformation Project

The aim of the project was to establish a healthy and comfortable urban space by rehabilitating economic and social levels and life style of the local community (IMM, 2016). The main objectives were;

- To ensure that the Romany people made more use of infrastructure
- To provide more parks and green areas
- To regenerate existing buildings without interfering with their entertainment culture

- To provide a cultural centre with multi-purpose general halls permitting Romany people to perform their traditional culture.

In 2015 Sulukule and the neighbourhoods adjacent to Sulukule were declared as the regeneration zone and were approved by the Council of Ministers. The stakeholders of the project consisted of Fatih Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and TOKİ (Housing Development Administration). Based on the protocol (TOKİ, 2016) signed amongst them, Fatih Municipality was to be responsible for the issues related to proprietary and TOKİ was to responsible for preparing design projects while Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was to be responsible for the issues related to infrastructure. The project started in 2006. The project area consisted of 93,000 m^2 and the population was 5132 of whom 3500 consisted of Romany people. There were 386 plots in the project area. The number of registered buildings in the area was 22 of which 5 were monuments and 17 civil architecture.

Figure 8: The transformation project of Sulukule

The protocol had certain rules for people living in the area. Both properties in Sulukule and Taşoluk, which was the area where social houses were to be built by TOKİ, were going to be evaluated. Anyone, who was a proprietor in Sulukule, was able to own a new property in the area as long as they could afford it. If not they were able to own new social houses in different areas such as Taşoluk which was approximately 45 km away from Sulukule. No down payment would be necessary and they could pay back the loan over 15 years (180 months) after completion and delivery. On the other hand however there were no solutions suggested for tenants and invaders of Sulukule (Somersan et al., 2011). Some argued that they should not have pay for the houses that were to be built, while some did not want to move to Taşoluk due to reasons such as unemployment, distance and relationships with their relatives.

The transformation project unfortunately resulted in frustration socially and almost all 3500 Romany people were affected. According to Pündük, the president of the association of the Romany culture, 334 households of 337 have already come back to Karagümrük neighbourhood which is adjacent to their old neighbourhood. Although the figures of IMM differ, stating that 306 households of 313 moved due to the insufficiency of social and economic infrastructure, this does not change the tragic result. On the other hand, the rest of the families living in Taşoluk suffer from increased rent, dues expenditures, culture clash, and social exclusion. There are particular reasons for the failure of the project as can be concluded from the interviews carried out with the people living in and then returning from Taşoluk. The factors triggering the return process were grouped as follows:

a. Economic:

- Sulukule homeowners moved to Taşoluk as tenants after selling their properties very cheaply, and hence could not buy a new house with the amounts that they had.

- In Sulukule, the rents were about between 150-200 TL/month. The present rents were between 400-600 TL/month excluding dues and heating expenses. Because they are unable to pay their rents for months they face losing their homes.

- Taşoluk did not provide the working opportunities of Sulukule.

- Some of the locals lost their jobs because their working areas are far from Taşoluk. In addition due to insufficient means of transport expenditures have increased.

- Although the municipality gives 100 TL/month financial support, the amount is not enough for livelihood.

b. Socio-Cultural

- They experienced social exclusion when they moved to the area due to their bad reputation. Their neighbours did not talk to them for months. They fought with the neighbours' prejudices.

- This caused compliance problems with others. For instance as part of their local culture they used to sit in front of their houses chatting, drinking tea until the mornings. Yet this is not possible in their present environment.

- Neighbouring relations are extremely important to Romany families. Face to face communication is vital, hence many of them were forced to leave Taşoluk because of the lack of communication and socialisation with others.

- They don't have a sense of belonging because even though the buildings in which they live are magnificent they are harassed and exposed to violence, particularly their children, by people living in the surrounding villages accusing them of being thieves, prostitutions and drug dealers.

- First social transformation should be considered before the project. The people preparing the project really do not know what is really happening in Romany people houses. They do not know their culture and lifestyle. The only important thing is the value of our land and to get unearned income for them.

- The Romany families wanted this transformation project to be performed without being snatched from their neighbourhood.

Apart from these, the following critiques were made:

- The traditional physical fabric of the neighbourhood was transformed into a totally new fabric not reflecting their culture.

- The types and typologies of the traditional buildings were changed

- The project aimed gentrification

- The user profiles of the locals were ignored

Conclusion

The urban transformation projects are carried out to regenerate the buildings taking place in unhealthy, dilapidated and urban sprawl zones. And the main focus of the projects is to rehabilitate not only buildings but also living standards of communities. They are also the process of multi-decision making. However it is not a process of removing people from their habitat. It is also not a process dealing with demolition and clearance issues of old existing buildings solely. Hence the projects require holistic approaches focusing on not only spatial but also economic, social, cultural, technical, environmental and governance aspects.

These projects, in general, may lead to the change of people's lifestyles and incomes. In some cases they may lose their jobs or they may be forced to change their jobs and the consequences of the projects may be catastrophic. Particularly people with low income who are forced to live in an area which is far from the city and is totally new to them, fall in a kind of social coma due to losing their own social, economic and cultural identity. Hence the inevitable parts of the process are socio-cultural and economic dimensions. This means that the success of urban transformation projects depends on the success of its social transformation focusing on public participation. Probably these are the main components of the process making neighbourhoods and thereby cities liveable in other words 'sustainable'.

- The selection of the areas to be transformed should be performed based on scientific data with deep analysis.

- Undoubtedly the projects should be prepared holistically considering social, economic, cultural, technical and the environmental dimensions of the area in the context of sustainability.

- The transformation methods to be used should be decided appropriately.

- The projects should be people-oriented and more qualified.

- The projects should be transparent and should allow the involvement of not only local people but also NGOs through a participatory process not just informative.

- The local traditional architectural identity and the urban fabric should be protected.

- Public interest in the projects should be considered at high level where possible.

In conclusion urban transformation works can be a strategic tool in reaching sustainable development as long as they serve the common interests of a society. As for the social aspect of the process it is a prerequisite. It should also be noted that justice and equality are the inevitable important concepts not only for state governments yet also for local governments. Without these concepts it is not possible to achieve success completely in urban transformation projects.

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A Journey through la Barceloneta: Neighbours and the Changing Cultural Identity of Barcelona's Beach Suburb

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Abstract

This paper explores the shifting urban and cultural transformation of one of Barcelona's most iconic suburbs: la Barceloneta. Targeted by mass tourism, real estate speculation and measures allowing for the privatization of public space, this seaside neighbourhood risks becoming one more example of the historic city reduced to a mere exhibition to be visited, not lived in (Lefebvre, 1969). This has sparked a heated debate between different agents about who benefits from such changes considering that the atmosphere of a city is a collective work of its dwellers, from which some make a profit. At the same time, la Barceloneta has remained a working-class area with a strong sense of place identity, moving residents to take collective action against policies which often ignore their complex social realities and affective entanglements and also erode the historic heritage of the neighbourhood.

Understanding urban space as "a meeting place of jostling, potentially conflicting, trajectories" (Massey, 2007, p. 89), I will draw on a plurality of voices from which the neighbourhood is being imagined: from media narratives that fix its meaning in order to market it, to neighbours' lived experiences, to actions organized by urban social movements to claim the right to the city. This exposes the contradictions between the suburb as represented, promoted and visited and the suburb as inhabited. I argue that local contests over suburbs like la Barceloneta matter because progressive place-based politics can expose how deep socioeconomic transformations are made under the guise of urban restructuring and service-oriented cities.

Keywords: la Barceloneta, urban transformation, neighbourhood movements, gentrification, waterfront development

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My paper will explore tensions between various agents regarding the urban and cultural transformation of la Barceloneta, the beach suburb of Barcelona. La Barceloneta was once a fishing and industrial suburb isolated from the rest of the city and crammed with tiny apartments and shacks on its beach, but during the last decades it has been targeted by mass tourism, real estate speculation, gentrification and measures allowing for the privatization of public space. This is dangerously weakening the urban social fabric of the neighbourhood to the extent that it could become an example of Henri Lefebvre's (1969) warning about the historic city which is no longer lived in but only remains as an object of cultural consumption for tourism and for aestheticism, eager for spectacle and the picturesque (p. 124). Here I would like to show collective action against policies which deny the right to the city and the historic heritage of a working-class neighbourhood.

Following the work of the late Doreen Massey (2007), I understand urban space as "a multiplicity riven with tensions...a meeting place of jostling, potentially conflicting, trajectories" (p. 89). Contrary to narratives that claim a harmonic, embellished interpretation of urban space, the suburb does not have a single coherent identity but is instead constituted through multiple social interactions that occur there and with elsewhere. Once place identity is conceived as fractured and heterogeneous, Massey (2007) argues that "[s]uch an understanding of place requires that conflicts are recognized, that positions are taken and that (political) choices are made" (p. 89). I will therefore present la Barceloneta as a field in which multiple actors and narratives converge and collide. I am especially interested in residents' complex social realities, sensual experiences, memories attached to the suburb and their resistances, all of which are too often ignored by projects of urban transformation.

I take this as a departure point to reflect on the contradictions between the suburb as represented, promoted and visited and the suburb as inhabited. There is an abysmal contrast between the hygienized version of la Barceloneta that advertisements and some official histories present and the hard experiences of many residents who suffer from mobbing, high rents, privatization of public space or mobility problems. Thinking alongside David Harvey (2012) that "[t]he ambience and attractiveness of a city…is a collective product of its citizens, but it is the tourist trade that commercially capitalizes upon that common to extract monopoly rents" (p. 74), opens to question whose benefits are to be prioritized (p. 106). As seen in Figure 1, neighbourhood movements in la Barceloneta are defending what Henri Lefebvre (1969) conceptualised as "the right to the city", that is, the collective right to a city which is understood as collectively built by its dwellers through participation and appropriation and in which the use value is prioritized above the economic value (pp. 138, 159).

Figure 1: Residents protest against housing speculation. ©Sílvia Juventeny, 2016.

La Barceloneta sits on a peninsula with a strategic location being Barcelona's gate to the sea. Mercè Tatjer (1973), in her exhaustive work about the origins and development of the suburb, explains that la Barceloneta was built outside the city's walls in the mid 18th century to respond to the demographic and economic expansion of Barcelona, and it also served to accommodate those who lost their homes to the construction of the Citadel (pp. 37-9). The suburb was designed by military authorities as a uniform grid to be easily controlled, with narrow streets to squeeze as many buildings as possible, and only ground-floor houses to permit the vigilance from the city over the sea. Tatjer explains that before the suburb was built, there were huts and warehouses for fishers on its beach and the area already had strong links with port activities (p. 39). The first residents of la Barceloneta were fishers and workers in sea-related trades who extended their working practices to the streets due to the lack of indoor space. And as place is, in Jody Berland's (2005) words, "the outcome of social practice" (p. 258), the habits of dwellers and in particular their appropriation of public space deeply shaped the suburb. Residents filled the streets and contributed to build an identity tightened up to sea activities.

Another interesting element which contributed to build urban life in the suburb was its quintessential balconies with hanging clothes, illustrated in Figure 2. As a neighbour explains in a documentary, the fact that flats have no interior yard so that residents must dry clothes on street balconies together with the narrowness of the streets encourages neighbours to talk to each other from their balconies (Televisió de Catalunya, 2012, 26:45). Another resident proudly adds that this does not happen in the upper parts of the city where at the most one knows the neighbour next door, whereas she claims that in la Barceloneta they live on the streets (Televisió de Catalunya, 2012, 30:15). Arturo San Agustín (2016) summarizes this best in a book of memories as a long-term resident, arguing that when the house is too small, the corner and the balcony flourish and the neighbourhood is born (p. 30). What's more, San Agustín reveals that neighbours guessed who lived in a flat and how much money they had just by looking at the clothes on their balcony (p. 30). Yet such social practices of locals are exploited by tourist narratives for commercial purposes. It is

rather ironic that the official websites of Barcelona Tourism and the Catalan Tourist Board encourage visiting the suburb arguing that its balconies are icons which have appeared in many films (Agència Catalana de Turisme, n.d.; Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b), when in reality the immense tourist and real estate pressure is forcing many neighbours and their ways of life out from the suburb. La Barceloneta is today the suburb of Barcelona with the most expensive average rent per square metre and there is a growing tendency to seasonal rentals instead of longer rentals (Benvenuty, 2016). Hence the expulsion of many long-term residents with low incomes.

Figure 2: Narrow streets and balconies in la Barceloneta. ©Sílvia Juventeny, 2016.

Already back in the 1960s around 20,000 residents of the area were expelled with the demolition of Somorrostro, the shanty town on the suburb's beach. According to the well-known work of Jaume Fabre and Josep Maria Huertas Clavería (1977), the first shacks were built mostly by Romani people, and later on by migrants from southern Spain who moved to Barcelona in the mid 20th century looking for work in the nearby factories (pp. 99-106). In a documentary that brings to light the history of Barcelona's shanty towns through personal stories, a neighbour complains that the people in power ignored Somorrostro and no one ever went there to inaugurate anything because they did not bother anyone and the place was another world (Televisió de Catalunya & Carnicer & Grimal, 2010, 36:40). The oblivion has lingered on as young generations are not aware of its existence. As Massey (1994b) asserts, the past identity of a place has to be constructed, and how we do that is a political act with the potential to transform the present (p. 171). One of the lessons to learn from the demolishment of Somorrostro is that forcing impoverished people to the outskirts of Barcelona was also a way to clear a very attractive and lucrative part of the city: the beach.

Besides the obvious profit-making intentions, pushing out certain social strata of the suburb is also a way to dispel the possibility of a strong urban social movement that reclaims the neighbourhood for everyone. It is a means to dissipate social conflict. As Henri Lefebvre (1969) argued, agitation is at the core of urban life, which is why the great economic powers are interested in reducing many historic cities to mere

exhibitions to be visited, not lived in (pp. 99, 124). Many residents in la Barceloneta are rebelling against this, thanks to a long history of associative tradition. This is a working-class suburb that grew immensely with the industrialization of the 19th century, when many factories settled there looking to establish themselves in the margins of the city and close to the harbour (Ubero, 1994, p. 18). This caused a disproportionate need for accommodation for blue-collar workers, so more floors were added to houses and each floor was divided in half. This resulted in 30m^2 units famously called "quarts de casa" (quarters of house), which are the most common flats still found today. As the testimony of a resident argues in San Agustín's (2016) book, living in such reduced spaces can generate conflicts but also ties (p. 62). The high density of population intensified the relations between residents of similar social interests, which led them to form associations and cooperatives to provide for each other and to take collective action against plans of privatization of public soil.

However, this social mobilization has been threatened by a series of urban interventions which since the 1980s have transformed Barcelona from a city of industry to one of services under what's been called the "Barcelona model". In a highly recommended book, the anthropologist Manuel Delgado (2010) argues that what has been described as a series of major top-down urban transformations supposedly aimed at building an attractive city through harmonic development and growth, in reality it has meant the conversion of Barcelona into a commercial product to be promoted and consumed with the additional intention of monitoring what goes on in urban space (pp. 13, 17, 38). As Delgado puts it, it has been a project for the market rather than a project for coexistence (p. 16). This is not to deny that residents have benefited from some needed urban interventions, but there have been too many urban projects designed to benefit the financial interests of a minority, which residents in la Barceloneta have tirelessly opposed.

As an example, the popular seafront restaurants and public baths on the beach were pulled down and the seafront promenade and the harbour were redeveloped in the 1980s and 1990s following the city council's projects to prepare for the 1992 Olympics. The official narrative insists that it was "a major clean up" for the city to "gain" visibility and access to the sea (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b) or, as the title of a book published by the Port Authority announced, Barcelona opened to the sea (*Port Vell*, 1992), but to many residents of la Barceloneta it meant the destruction of an atmosphere. It put an end to the bazaar of smells and flavours coming from the seafront restaurants that San Agustín recalls (2016, p. 100), and the area surrounding the harbour lost its industrial heritage to become a temple for leisure and tourism. Official publications by the City Council argue that a spectacular urban transformation changed the coastline of Barcelona from being a seriously depressed area to an urban landscape of sea and beaches, mainly devoted to leisure and culture (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005, p. 28). The recurrent official argument that Barcelona benefitted from opening itself to the sea is problematic first because it ignores the close tie with the sea of the people who lived in la Barceloneta and the shanty towns on the beach before that, and second because the latest urban measures have tended to privatize and restrict access to the sea rather than allowed it.

The neighbourhood association Associació de veins l'Òstia has been one of the associations which has more actively denounced that the waterfront development operations have resulted in less public access to the sea and many more barriers and

visual obstacles. The building of the W Hotel and the restructuring of the harbour only a few years ago illustrate these claims. The luxurious W hotel, built at one end of the suburb's beach and only 20 metres away from the sea, caused an enormous impact on the seascape and the horizon, does not comply with the Coastal Law and promotes la Barceloneta as a tourist destination, thus raising the prices of real estate. Because of all this, a strong urban social movement fiercely opposed the building of the W Hotel through creative collective actions such as a catchy YouTube song (Noalhotelvela, 2009).

Neighbour platforms took to the streets again in 2012 against the redeveloping of the Port Vell harbour. In street protests and in a manifesto, they condemned the socio-environmental impact of reforming the docks to accommodate large numbers of luxurious yachts and of building security barriers for them. Blocking public access to the harbour and views to the sea would alter the maritime culture of the suburb. Neighbours themselves even made a documentary to raise awareness of the need to defend the suburb from such projects (Maragda Produccions & Mora & Ràfols, 2012). A recurrent argument expressed in the documentary is that the suburb is made by people and that residents are an important part of it, which is why they reject urban interventions that disregard them. Indeed, as David Harvey (2012) claims, "[t]hrough their daily activities and struggles, individuals and social groups create the social world of the city, and thereby create something common as a framework within which all can dwell" (p. 74). However, more often than not this is dismissed by authorities, as with the redeveloping of the harbour, which proceeded despite all the social mobilization. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the result is that now that part of the sea is almost invisible from public space, yachts have taken the space of the shrinking fishing fleet, on which many residents' jobs depended, and the ecosystem has been disrupted. The exclusive One Ocean's Club, located there, confirms that this is an elitist harbour, where only some have the right to access it. Its website advertises "Our exclusive private members' club at OneOcean Port Vell" and "One of the largest superyachts marinas in the Mediterranean" (OneOcean Port Vell, n.d.).

Figure 3: The result of the restructuring of Port Vell. ©Sílvia Juventeny, 2016.

Such waterfront developments have contributed to the boom of tourist apartments, most of them without a licence, and to the rocketing of property price in la Barceloneta. Neighbourhood associations have been actively campaigning against this

and for the social value of the suburb, denouncing that the market place and corporate and institutional actors only favour its economic value. Such disagreements are not surprising as Massey (1994a) claims that places are full of internal conflicts (p. 155), but the worrying part is the extent to which these tensions are threatening the urban social fabric of la Barceloneta. Many residents have left and those who stayed complain about life being unsustainable. Amongst their demands in the latest Municipal Action Programme, they ask the City Council to take action against the excess of bar terraces and segways, the congestion of public space, the high numbers of illegal tourist apartments or the privatization of the harbour (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016).

Residents had already opened some of these issues to debate in a more creative fashion when they filmed a video in which they went out onto the suburb's streets asking neighbours to write what they wanted the place to be like and projecting the written requests onto street buildings (Barceloneta, 2011). They address Massey's (2007) urge to ask what a place stands for, a question that "makes each and every place a potential arena for political contest" (p. 10). In another video also dedicated to neighbourhood struggles, the recurrent claim is that they aspire to a self-managed space that takes care of the material and immaterial heritage of la Barceloneta (Maragda Produccions & Mora & Ràfols, 2012, 3:53). To this end, they are now reclaiming an old historic building of a workers' cooperative for public use. They are also actively campaigning against the socio-environmental impact of the soaring number of cruisers. Figures 4 and 5 show a protest in which various collectives denounced that up to 28,000 cruisers disembarking on a single day has a major impact on water and air pollution, overcrowds nearby areas like la Barceloneta and causes major mobility problems.
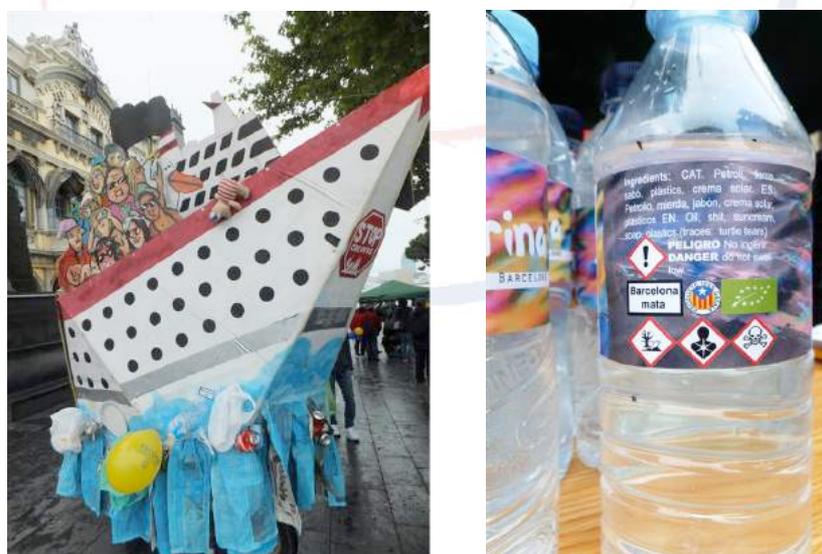
Figures 4 and 5: Satires of a cruise and of a bottle of polluted sea water at a protest against cruises. ©Sílvia Juventeny, 2016.

Yet demands like these are not seriously taken into account by projects of urban transformation of the suburb. Instead, the previous mayor of Barcelona declared that la Barceloneta had lived complicated moments of change, but had overcome all of them looking towards the future without losing its own individual character (Trias,

2014, pp. 12-13). This seems to suggest that any tension will eventually be swallowed by the suburb without much resistance and it also presupposes that the suburb has a harmonic essence. This is far from understanding places as incoherent, dynamic and with multiple imagined identities (Massey, 1994a, p. 153).

Tourism also fixes the meaning of la Barceloneta to market it and presents an image of the suburb as cool to garner great profits. Edward Bruner (2005) asserts that narratives of tourism brand a product and sell an experience (p. 22). Thus, Barcelona Tourism invites you to experience "the *charm* [emphasis added] and atmosphere of a working-class district" (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.c) and "a world of *modest* [emphasis added] buildings" (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b). While media like *The Observer* disregard la Barceloneta's working-class origins as "previously unprepossessing" to praise its new "luxurious" makeup with "stylish" beaches (Fiegel, 2008); or the *Bangkok Post* presents it as a "neglected district" reborn through a "beauty treatment" (Simonis, 2009). Even sensual experiences are marketed, as Barcelona Tourism promises visitors to be taken by the smell of the sea, the chatter and noise, the rich visual stimuli, the tactile rub of the sand, or the taste of seafood (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b). Such impressions can be far from the variety of affective investments of locals to the place, as a resident in a documentary complains that the suburb now smells of nothing, whereas years ago it smelt of fish, algae and salt (Televisió de Catalunya, 2012, 18:45). To another neighbour, the suburb still transports her to the horrible stink of waste from factories that used to be there (Televisió de Catalunya & Carnicer & Grimal, 2010, 23:15). Thus, each person brings her own meanings to the place, which reflects heterogeneity (Massey, 1994a, p. 153).

Narratives of tourism also insist on a supposed authenticity which in fact they construct. Barcelona Tourism promises to visitors that la Barceloneta is "Barcelona's classic neighbourhood by the sea, where the people of Barcelona love to come and eat fish, seafood and tapas" (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b). It seems that markets, restaurants, houses, beaches, balconies and streets in la Barceloneta are showcases for tourists, and even residents do not figure here but as part of an "authentic" decor. Hence Meaghan Morris's (1995) concern about the impact that the production of tourist places has on human communities who live there and who become tourist objects under the tourist gaze (p. 178). For example, Barcelona Tourism promises "the traditional images of locals sitting in their chairs in the street" (Turisme de Barcelona, n.d.b). And although one may still see that today, it may be for curious subversive reasons. A flâneur-neighbour explains in a documentary that he takes his chair out onto the street to watch the passers-by, a practice which he enjoys and also allows him to begin conversations (Televisió de Catalunya, 2012, 30:55).

With the examples above, I have sought to present a general overview of some of the forces at play that have shaped and are shaping la Barceloneta in different and often conflictive directions. There are certainly many suburbs around the world immersed in similar tensions and that is why I would like to stress the value of those neighbourhood movements that campaign around place opening new possibilities for progressive politics by claiming the city as a collective work and thus demanding the right to conceive the past, present and future development of the suburb. The neighbourhood struggles I have discussed do not depart from a reactionary localism, but instead denounce urban projects, policies and narratives that impose fixed meanings on the suburb, turn it into a product to consume and prioritize profit at the

cost of people living there. This is a situation that many suburbs face across the world, and I argue that local contests over suburbs like la Barceloneta matter precisely because the global is grounded, produced in the local, and progressive place-based politics can expose how deep socioeconomic transformations are made under the guise of urban restructuring and service-oriented cities.

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The Specificities of Lisbon as an International (City) Actor

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Abstract

States have been, traditionally, the key analytical category to reason on International Relations (IR) with different renounced authors explicitly or implicitly acknowledging it. However, on par with states, cities are an organizing form and space of political, social, cultural, demographic, environmental and economic life. They are nowadays one of the actors of the global, and engage the global directly, often sidestepping the national in distinct areas. They hold, hence, the power to influence international dynamics and decisions. Although endeavours to attribute cities the same analytical importance as the one held by States in IR still constitute a huge challenge to the discipline, literature advocating for the acknowledgement of cities as international actors has been burgeoning within this academic field. Nevertheless, much of existing literature focuses on "global cities" such as New York, London, São Paulo or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations. This paper argues that cities are indeed international actors as such, and that not only global cities hold international relations agency, but also middle-range and low-range cities. To put these arguments forward this paper presents the results of fieldwork undertaken in Lisbon and highlights the specificities of Lisbon's paradiplomatic initiatives, actors and networks within the domain of culture and tourism.

Keywords: city, paradiplomacy, international relations, Lisbon

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Introduction

Traditionally, States have been the key analytical category when reasoning about International Relations with different renounced authors explicitly or implicitly acknowledging it (Gilpin, 1981; Mearsheimer, 2001). However, on pair with states, cities are an organizing form and space of political, social, cultural, demographic and economic life. Particularly due to "globalization as politics" dynamics (Baylis and Smith, 2001; Milani and Ribeiro, 2011), i.e., globalization understood not only as "a competition for market shares and well-timed economic growth initiatives; neither (…) just a matter of trade opportunities and liberalization (…) [but also as] a social and political struggle for defining [and cooperating on] cultural values and political identities" (Milani and Ribeiro, 2011: 23), increasingly more and more cities can no longer "be located simply in a scalar hierarchy that puts it below the national, regional, and global" (Sassen, 2007,p. 102). Cities are nowadays one of the actors of the global, and engage the global directly, often sidestepping the national in distinct areas (Sassen, 2007, p. 102). Both by means of governmental and non-governmental agencies, cities are increasingly operating at an international level with local and international repercussions and crosscutting distinct areas, such as politics, policy, economy, culture, tourism, environment, security, among others – to which they are clearly critical engines (Acuto, 2015). As a consequence, cities become increasingly the strategic sites where powerful and influencing operations, in all matters, take place (Sassen, 2007; Acuto, 2015), highlighting their own power to influence international dynamics and decisions.

Endeavours to attribute cities the same analytical importance as the one held by States in International Relations constitute, nevertheless, an ongoing huge challenge to the discipline, as International Relations Theory is predominantly informed by a state-centric paradigm (Calder and Freytas, 2009), based on an ontology that privileges a sovereign state-led anarchic international system and is "conditioned to examine a world of territorial nation-states" (Curtis, 2010: 1). The so far marginalization of cities within IR analysis can be somehow justified by the well-known "Westphalia straightjacket" (Barthwal-Datta, 2009). Along with this state-centrism insistence, there is also the perspective that the "the impact of cities on international systems may seem to be a trivial, or at least a marginal subject—particularly when compared to factors of such overwhelming importance as the $400 billion annual military expenditures of the national governments of the world" (Alger, 2014, p. 35). In recent years, studies of international relations have begun to consider and argue the key importance of cities *per se* in the international order (Acuto, 2013; Barber, 2013; Bouteligier, 2013; Curtis, 2010, 2014; Kissack, 2013; Calder and Freytas, 2009), and to question the idea that the State is the most significant and fundamental actor and unit of analysis in IR. However, much of this existing literature has been focused on "global cities" such as New York, London, São Paulo or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations. By shedding light merely on "global cities", dismissing as less important or as inexistent other middle-range and low-range cities' international agency, existing literature has been reproducing their critique towards traditional IR: to conform to conservative analytical patterns and to misleadingly opt for a scale criteria that recognises only the macro and most visible ones. By so doing, literature reproduces the same invisibilising logic they were said to criticise and overcome.

Based upon two presuppositions - that to hold international agency is to be able to influence IR and that internationalisation is a key dimension of international influence - this paper argues, first, that cities are an organizing principle and unit in International Relations since they actively influence and are, in turn, influenced by the international realm. Second, this paper argues that despite dominant literature on the topic of cities agency in IR focus solely on "global cities", middle-range and low-range cities also hold international relations agency, particularly (although not exclusively) through municipal paradiplomatic activities. Third, it states that not only activity within the area of economics, finance and high politics gives cities the capacity to play an international role within the international realm. To put these arguments forward this paper presents Lisbon as case study, highlighting the specificities of Lisbon's paradiplomatic initiatives, actors and networks within the domain of culture and tourism.

Cities as International Actors

The international actor IR Theory traditionally comprises is the nation-state (Gilpin, 1981; Mearsheimer, 2001;). Attempts to include other actors within the realm of International Relations have, nevertheless, emerged at different times. The common denominator the different authors reasoning of this topic (and regardless of their theoretical perspective) use to identify a specific subject as international relations' actor is the ability to influence International Relations. In fact, to hold agency in IR is to hold the capacity of exerting power to influence and to be considered an ally or an obstacle. In this sense, "gobal cities transcend our traditional and IR-dominated theoretical frames of reference, bypassing scalar (globe, state, region) as well as political (supra-national, governmental, regional and local) hierarchies and piercing through the layers of sovereignty in the Westphalian system" (Acuto, 2013, p. 159).

Indeed, first, most of the international relations of the world do entail mostly relations among cities crosscutting different thematic, political and operational areas of the international system. Second, "(w)hat passes as urban policies today is increasingly suffused with issues that every so often touch upon "high politics" (Ljungkvist, 2014, p. 42). Third, ongoing dynamics show that "(i)t is not only the international which is piercing through the outer layers of the state, but it is also the inside of the state which is pushing its way outwards" (Eslava, 2014, p. 260), a phenomena which Susan Strange (1995, p. 56) termed as the "leaking away" (upwards, sideways, and downwards) of power from the territorial state, and which calls increasingly into question the idea that issues can be framed as "purely municipal, purely national, or purely international" (Eslava, 2014). Fourth, whereas there is still an insistence on perceiving the international system as an anarchic security-based and state-centered system, there is also the growing and cumulative crystal clear understanding that the international system is defined and influenced increasingly by many other actors and dynamics beyond both the nation state (Booth, 2005; Alger, 2014) and the security realm (Nye, 2004; Keohane and Nye, 2012; Barber, 2013). Fifth, the intensity of urbanization of our societies and their role as important "knots" within (and supporting) the globalization of the web, made cities to become "a fundamental pole of internationalization" (Curto et al, 2014) and subsequently an important agent of the new non-state diplomacy, i.e., "paradiplomacy" (Aldecoa et. al., 2013; Santos Neves, 2010; Curto et al, 2014) or "city diplomacy" (Pluijm, 2007) with clear agency and impact at the international level.

On the basis of the aforementioned arguments lies what has been labelled as "globalization as politics" (Baylis and Smith, 2001; Milani and Ribeiro, 2011), i.e., globalization understood not only as "a competition for market shares and well-timed economic growth initiatives; neither (…) just a matter of trade opportunities and liberalization (…) [but also as] a social and political struggle for defining [and cooperating on] cultural values and political identities" (Milani and Ribeiro, 2011, p. 23) with major consequences concerning the internationalization of politics through the increasing development of transnational actors, networks and institutions (Ibidem). Indeed, "multiple globalization processes assume concrete localized forms, electronic networks intersect with thick environments (whether financial centers or activist meetings), and new subjectivities arise from the encounters of people from all around the world" (Sassen, 2012).

Indeed, as Atwell (2014: 374) claims, "the idea of nimble, confident city-regions forging practical partnerships to solve problems while lumbering nation states struggle to achieve traction on a range of issues, from Syria to Climate change, has intuitive [political] appeal". In practical terms, cities are present at the international scene both directly and indirectly (Bucar, 1995). They do so in direct terms by means of paradipçlomacy, i.e., conducting foreign policy, communicating strategically with its counterparts, by forming their own organizations and by being members of international (intergovernmental) organizations. In turn, by exerting influence on their national governments and on foreign states cities indirectly assure their presence in the international sphere (Bucar, 1995).

Going beyond 'global cities': introducing middle and low-range cities in the international scene

When confronted with the idea of city, one has a very clear and intuitive image of what city means and entails. Specific characteristics, services, dynamics and velocities create a common ground from where the idea of 'city' emerges to one self. The same applies whenever one wants to grasp the way cities influence and are in turn influenced by the international sphere. Nevertheless, when it comes to set analytical boundaries on the extent of elements and agents that personify the city as an international actor, that same intuition gets blurred. A crystal clear understanding of what city is and entails starts depending on analytical choices which, in turn, highlight or dismiss as less important city layers, interpretations and agents. Consequently, different conceptions of international city can emerge, hence, highlighting different fundamental relations and shedding light on different specific processes.

Grasping with this challenge different authors came up with distinct concepts of the city as a global actor. Sassen (1991; 2007) coined the term "global city" and Calder and Freytas (2009) uses the term "global political city". Also, different literature reasons on the cities as international actors (Acuto, 2013; Barber, 2013; Bouteligier, 2013; Curtis, 2010, 2014; Kissack, 2013; Calder and Freytas, 2009). However, much of this existing literature has been focused merely (or mostly) on high range cities, such as New York, London, São Paulo, Paris or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations, reproducing, thus, the same invisibilising logic they were said to criticise and overcome.

Two logics support our argument that also middle-range and low-range cities can be an international actor: one is a logic scale, another is the statement of specificity.Indeed, when things are smaller or bigger the basic principles and processes that underpin them or that they create and sustain are fundamentally the same. It is a matter of progression of sizes. For example, every company regardless of their size hire employees, have a Human Resources and Accountant Departments and aim at profit. However, to manage or work for a local enterprise is not the same as to manage or work for a big multinational. In fact, if on the one hand, smaller is just a matter of scale in the sense that fundaments and principles that sustain the object or subject are the same. On the other hand, when things are smaller or bigger, it's not just the scale that changes. Scale subsequent specificities make the subject or the object fundamentally different from the bigger or smaller ones (Donald, 2011). When a company is small there are specific dynamics and characteristics that define them and that at some point can be either an asset or a limitation. Nevertheless, both of them – big and small companies – should be considered as such – companies, despite of their different scale. [1] The same applies to cities.

Lisbon as an international relations (City) actor

Lisbon has historically played a key role as a place of internationalization throughout times with historical relevance for ocean navigation (the city is favoured by its geographical location on the edge of the Tagus estuary) and in certain periods the centre of key trade routes. Despite these records, during the period of the "Estado Novo", Lisbon closed on itself. The carnation revolution, in the 25th April 1974, and the subsequent end of dictatorship, broke with this closure and isolation. However, in the following decade the city was still extremely focused on the internal politics and concerns. Only in the mid-1980s, did the municipality create an International Office and establish formal partnerships across Lusophony. Since then, participation in distinct networks and institutions, celebration of twinning cities agreements and bilateral (formal and informal; strategic or by chance) partnerships have increasingly taken place within the internationalisation of Lisbon. Tacking stock in international trends, Lisbon's internationalisation projection and strategy has been increasingly undertaken in specialised sectors. Today, as a capital city in the EU, bathed by the Atlantic and with increasing international population and flows, Lisbon reunites, more than ever, distinct factors which enhance its internationalization strategy and outcomes in different areas, such as tourism, culture, urbanism, science, economy and innovation, environment.

The Cultural Sector

The culture sector management is led by the Lisbon City Council who is also in charge of the management of cultural facilities, such as municipal museums and palaces, ateliers, galleries, to name but a few) and the organization of events, alone or by means of partnerships or through the participation in networks. Part of this work load and responsibility is managed by EGEAC: the municipal company that manages the cultural facilities of the city of Lisbon as well as many shows and festivities that happen on the streets. The EGEAC undertakes the central management of the

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[1] This example is based on the book: Donald, John Brodie (2011) Catataxis: When More of the Same Is Different, London: Quartet Books Limited.

facilities, but each of these facilities is an autonomous entity and has its own budget given by EGEAC and, in turn, by the municipality. As such, each facility is in itself an actor participating in the internationalisation of Lisbon.

The cultural action of the municipality are the following: cultural management of facilities and programming, participation and organization of fairs and conferences and international networks, the organization of events and mega events, such as the Rock in Rio Lisbon, in which the municipality participates as a partner organization and which usually attracts more than 350,000 spectators among which a considerable (increasing) amount are international visitors (Simões, 2012). One of the important aspects of the internationalisation of the cultural sector in Lisbon is the great number of international vistors (in most facilities they represent the majority of the visitors), which enables the Lisbon programming offer to be more diversified and Lisbon to be in the map and in conversations within the international realm.

Cultural facility	Year	Number of international visitors	Number of national visitors
Castelo de S. Jorge	2015	1.464.470	105.270
Padrão dos Descobrimentos.	2015	268.176	43.017

Figure 1: Vistors per cultural facility (EGEAC, 2015, p. 6-24).

Fado Museum is an illustrative example of the presence of the international in Lisbon cultural life and, conversely, in the presence of the Lisbon cultural life in the international. By maximizing the image of fado as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity, Museu do Fado developed a set of cultural activities targeting the international public: Bogota fado festival; Fado Festival of Buenos Aires; Fado Festival of Madrid; Seville fado festival (EGEAC, 2015, p. 17).

Culture is one of revitalization axes and affirmation of the centrality of Lisbon in the world, and is one of the basic strategic areas framed in the Strategic Lisbon Charter 2010-2024. According to the Councillor for Culture, Catarina Vaz Pinto,[2] although the guidelines given are very clear and going in line to increase as much as possible the participation in networks and international cultural events., "there are no formal specifications on these guidelines", which allow for leaderships to draw a strategy while also being able to take opportunities which were not envisaged when drawing the initial strategy, fostering, hence, the possibilities for a diversified internationalisation. As for the criteria to choose to participate or not, Catarina Vaz Pinto names two: centrality and importance to the municipality.

The cultural sector is part of an overall strategy drawn to give centrality to the metropolitan area of Lisbon, by means of focusing on its euro- Atlantic relations. As described on table 2,[3] the main international interactions for the aforementioned

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[2] Data obtained in an interview with the councillor of Culture of Lisbon City Council: Catarina Vaz Pinto

[3] Data obtained in an interview with the councillor of Culture of Lisbon City Council, Catarina Vaz Pinto, and in an interview with EGEAC representatives Helena Costa and João Senha.

events take place in Europe, particularly in Spain, France and Italy, followed by other Euro-Atlantic destinations.

Activities	Geographical area
XVII Exhibition of the European Council, Európália 91	Lisbon
Lisboa 94 – Cultural Capital of Europe 1994	Lisbon
Expo 98	Lisbon
International Toursim Fair BTL- Anual	Lisbon
The Universal Exposition of Seville (Expo '92)	Sevilla
Frankfurt Book Fair in 1997	Frankfurt
Venice Bienal Internacional	Venice
Salon du Livre de Paris, em 2000	Paris
Best Travel in Barcelona- Bianual	Barcelona
Expo Vacaciones-annual	Bilbau
Macau International Fair. Anula	Macau
Expogalicia	Vigo

Figure 2: Privileged geographical areas of cultural activities

As in all other sectors, the participation in networks is a key instrument of internationalization of the city. In this regard, two European projects must be highlighted. The first is the River Cities Platform - a platform for cultural organizations in cities with riverfront – in which EGEAC entered in 2007 funded by European money. The second project is the The Use of Culture to Increase Access to, and Engagement in, European Waterfronts, within the Grundtvig program, funded by the European Community. These two projects aim, from a cultural standpoint to enhance the interconnection between European cities with riverfront to discuss common problems and strategies.

The case of River Cities is particularly worth exploring. It involved seven partners - Poland, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Austria and Greece – although the platform is much broader. According to Helena Costa and João Senha from EGEAC, in an interview conducted by our project,*"it was not exactly a city project, but rather a project of cultural cities with riverfront."*. In terms of partnerships, the seven entities involved held different interests, stood in cities with very different characteristics and with distinct areas of interest making the project increasingly richer (e.g. in Warsaw and Stockholm the partners were cultural production entities, in Lisbon it was EGEAC; in Vienna it was the education section of a political party, etc).[4] The project produced different results, namely:

1.   Organization of seminars in each city with a similar structure but dedicated to specific aspects of the cultural impact in various aspects (e.g. citizenship, economy

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[4] Data obtained in an interview with Helena Costa and João Senha (EGEAC).

and tourism development, governance policies, public space, sustainable development policy and regeneration of the coastline)

2.   Training of partner organizations to identify and develop the impact of culture in various aspects, such as: waterfront regeneration volunteering / involvement of civil society, public space / urban planning, environment, sustainable development.

3.   Study of the use of culture and its contribution to the development of european societies, social inclusion and increase of civic participation;

4.   Meetings of experts and representatives of distinct sectors aiming at exchanging knowledge and experiences and raise the competences of all participants;

5.   Disseminate the results of the project to contribute to a better comprehension of the role of cultural in the economy;

6.   A book on the project;

7.   A film on the project.

The Tourism Sector

In terms of internationalisation, over the last twenty years, the development of the tourism sector has been marked by an increasing international dynamic, largely due to the nature of the tourism area itself, which attracts many internationals to Lisbon, but also to the ongoing strategy for the Lisbon region, which is under implementation until 2019. Statistics show that tourism in Lisbon is particularly focused on international tourist flows, which requires strategic planning with particular emphasis on the marketing and promotion of the destination, tracking and monitoring of projects as well as joint initiatives with the aim of promoting the city abroad, contributing to its rise in world rankings.

Given both the increase in the number of international tourists and the increase of tourism segments diversification, with emphasis on the promotion of business and events, the priorities endorsed to the internationalisation of the tourism sector are the following: integration of international networks, identification of key partners, and the promotion of Lisbon as a tourist destination of excellence. Despite the "Strategic Plan for Tourism in the Lisbon Region 2015-2019" (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014) presents proposals aimed at fostering the tourism sector based on models centered on the relationship with the international, the creation and the strengthening of a brand image of the city continues to be focused on both the local and regional potential.

The promotion of tourism in the city of Lisbon is a responsibility assigned to the Tourism Association of Lisbon - Visitors Convention Bureau,[5] which is also the Regional Tourism Promotion Agency for the Region of Lisbon.

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[5]   A Associação Turismo de Lisboa is a private association of public interest and with no profits (http://www.visitlisboa.com/) created in 1997, being coordinated by a team nominated by the Mayor.

The internationalization model in the Tourism sector in Lisbon has been guided by three types of intervention, specifically:

a)   The establishment of international relations with partners, including the integration in networks and projects/actions framed by international cooperation, particularly in the area of statistical production and dissemination (e.g. the active participation within the European Cities Marketing (ECM). [6]

b)   Meetings of informally created Working Groups which are constituted by similar entities of partner cities and which aim at promoting specific technical training in certain common areas of work.

c)   The organization of "fam trips", ie, trips aimed at making foreign tour operators and journalists more familiarised with the city. The main goal of these initiatives is to foster the image of the city abroad. This also allows the identification of new segments allowing also to , where the aim is to enhance the image of the city of Lisbon on the outside, allowing to identify new market segments or niches that are perceived as important to be promote and stimulated: "we partner with tour operators from other countries, especially at an early stage when they want to start working 'Lisbon', we do joint marketing by means of campaigns and brochures" (André Barata Moura, Tourism Observatory, in an interview).

Actions to promote the city as a tourist destination have achieved the objectives set as, according to the Travel BI of Tourism of Portugal (2016), Lisbon is ranked 9th in the world ranking of cities considered tourist destinations, which shows a rate of growth of international tourism demand of around 6% per year since 2009. This data is confirmed by the analysis of tourism statistics (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014, p. 11 ff): the total occupancy rate was increased by 27% between 2009 and 2013 and is relevant to mention that in respect of foreign tourists it increased by 37.7% for the same period of time. The strategic investment in the sector's internationalization is of course justified by the interest that the city has aroused abroad as a competitive tourist destination compared to other capital cities. Analysis of the main markets allow us to see a trend of continued appreciation of Lisbon by European tourists, including Spanish, French, German, English, Italian and Dutch, even if some variations by segment are to be considered. Outside the European context, a predominance of Brazilian, American, Russian and Chinese markets is registered, and there is a clear commitment to encourage the maintenance of this interest.

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[6]   ECM is a network of 104 European cities. See: http://www.europeancitiesmarketing.com
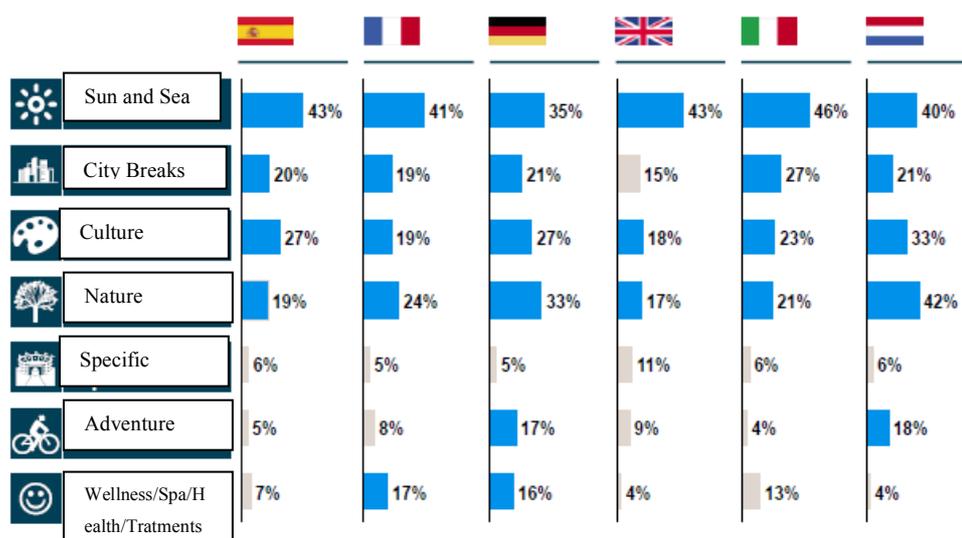
Figure 3: Identification of the main touristic motivations per European country
(Turismo de Lisboa, 2014,p. 13)

The main motivations for a visit to Lisbon identified by Turismo de Lisboa, (see figure 3) reflect the fact that the internationalization strategy is guided by the aim of boosting tourism in the city with a specific stimulus towards the diversification of segments, taking stock on the identified and consensually internationally recognized Lisbon's potential. Some motivational factors should be understood as relevant, namely: the landscape diversity; cultural ancestry, including gastronomy and the dates of festive celebrations; material heritage and history; architectural modernity – all of these combined with geophysical, climate, and security elements. These elements are valued by Turismo de Lisboa in the identification and clarification of comparative advantages that contribute to the development of an attractive and competitive environment when establishing connections with the outside (connectivity), either with partner cities or industry representatives.

Alongside the promotion of conventional and alternative segments of tourism (e.g, cultural tourism, sun and beach or helicopter, nature, wellness, etc.), both the business and the events segment (Meeting Industry) have been greatly valued by the Turismo de Lisboa. In the world ranking of the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA), Lisbon is ranked 9th with 145 events in 2015 (ICCA, 2016: 19) and 8th in the European ranking. Given that only six cities (Barcelona, Paris, Madrid, Berlin, London and Vienna), at European level, are considered as potential for the realization of indoor international events (conferences, workshops, seminars, ...) and large outdoor events (sports events, festivals music, ...), i.e., with more than 2,000 participants, the option of boosting Lisbon as a city of events has become a reality.

Similarly, the cruise tourism and the activities in river environments have become increasingly important in the recognition of the added benefits of Lisbon as a port city, which holds high boat carrying capacity (port of Lisbon and marinas), including large vessels size. The rehabilitation of public space in the riverside track, from the east zone to Belém, with the subsequence improvement of circulation and navigability, led to the creation of pedestrian and conviviality spaces as well as of bike paths. From a tourist point of view, these constitute a high attractiveness factor, hence creating

confluence zones with the area of international events in open space: tracks, races and marathons, competitions, races, shows, festivals, among others.

Given the criteria aforementioned, sectoral areas of greatest importance and which have influenced the options regarding the definition of strategic partnerships with international scope (see Figure 4) can be identified:

1.   The socio-demographic and cultural factors which characterize the city of Lisbon and have given it cosmopolitanism traces, particularly evidenced by the diversity of backgrounds of both residents and visitors (costumes, food, religious practices, ...);

2.   The economic dynamism and foreign investment opportunities in the sector in both direct and indirect activities that stimulate job creation, training and entrepreneurship (hostels, local accommodation, catering and similar equipment for the provision of services, tourist entertainment, transports, ...)

3.   The environmental framework, with a specific focus on the influence of the river and the green spaces (Parque Florestal de Monsanto), including the recreated ones (gardens and parks);

4.   The dynamism imposed by technological development (communications) and by the extension of the transport network.

Sector	Sectoral areas across the globe
Tourism	Transports
	Technology
	Environment
	Economics
	Demographic
	Socio-cultural

Figure 5: Sectoral areas with implications in creating motivations for internationalization in the tourism sector (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014)

Being particularly focused on the activities which disseminate the image of the city going along promotional and marketing goals at the international level, the deepening of relations with similar entities in cities and emitting countries of tourists has been a priority for the internationalisation strategy of the tourism sector[7]. As such:

a)   Tourism segments were defined (the product) to support the promotion strategy of the sector in the city;

b)   Connectivity with potential source markets, both European and others, including American (USA, Brazil) and Asia (China) has been established;

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[7]   Informação disponibilizada por André Barata Moura do Observatório do Turismo e confirmada no Plano Estratégico (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014, p. 62).

c)   A strategy based upon the creation of a "mosaic of experiences" and using a proximity approach with key partners (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014: 62) and oriented towards "market intelligence" (online channel, thematic communities, programs travel television, ...) was created.

Preliminary Conclusion

A preliminary analysis of both sectors – culture and tourism – shows the importance of the international within the life of the city of Lisbon, as well as its specificities as a middle-range European and Atlantic city with a particular cosmopolitan slant. As such, there are some evidences that go in line with our argument. The importance of a multi-sectoral analysis should be highlighted here and that is the research our project is now undertaking.

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The Soundscape East of the River: Sonic Icons in Nagai Kafū's Writings

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Abstract

By focusing on the auditory dimension of Nagai Kafū's (1879-1959) descriptions of Tokyo in his most renowned—and admittedly most representative—novel, *Bokutō kidan* (*A Strange Tale from East of the River*, 1937), my paper attempts to provide new insights into this author's critique of the modern(ised) city. Drawing primarily on Bijsterveld's (2008) theory of the textualisation of sounds and auditory topoi, and on previous literature that defines the functions of sound within the narrative, this paper aims to examine the ways in which Kafū capitalised on the metaphorical potential of urban sounds and music in order to perform his critique of Japanese modernisation. I will address the question of how sounds mediate the experience of the city in his literature; further, I will discuss the iconic imagery associated with these sounds, to substantiate my argument that Kafū's narration of Tokyo, while building on previous sets of icons and landmarks, also played a significant role in the formation of new ones, exerting a far-reaching influence on the perception of the space of the city.

Keywords: Nagai Kafū, modern Japanese literature, Tokyo, 1930s, soundscape

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Introduction

Born in 1879 and dying in 1959, the writer Nagai Kafū witnessed a long segment of the history of modern Japan dominated by an atmosphere of perennial change; the Meiji Restoration (1867) had inaugurated a process of radical transformation which was particularly evident in the urban fabric of the city that, previously called Edo, had become Tokyo. Kafū's relationship with urban spaces is a crucial aspect of his poetics; city representation, in his work, entails a relentless, penetrating and sophisticated practice of social critique (Kawamoto, 1996; Schulz, 1997). Through writing, he performs a veritable hermeneutics of the urban space intended to define his place within the new modern society and to interpret society itself—and also the very notion of modernity (Minami, 2009). He represents the city through a variety of narrative patterns and modes of description, and does not fail to stress sounds and noises typical of the urban environment and to capitalise on their potential as metaphor.

Theoretical rationale

The fundamental premise of my study is that the ontological status of the space that we call "city" depends first and foremost on the consciousness of its inhabitants: city dwellers experience urban space through the senses, and interpret it according to a system of references and landmarks, which is based primarily on previous experiences, memories and desires (Lynch, 1960). While the visual dimension of the cityscape is widely acknowledged and was central to most considerations on urban space long before the so-called "spatial turn" of the early 1970s, the aural notion of the city as a veritable "sonic field" did not find proper application in the human sciences until 1977, when the composer Raymond Murray Schafer formulated a theory of the "soundscape" as a field of study comparable to the landscape, but characterised by a lesser degree of clarity: unlike the camera, able "to catch the salient features of a visual panorama to create an impression that is immediately evident", the microphone only "samples details […] gives the close-up but nothing corresponding to aerial photography", so a soundscape demands a greater effort to be able to fully comprehend it. Schafer stressed the importance of sound as an "indicator of social conditions" and devised a nomenclature for the study of soundscapes whose basic terms are the following: *keynote sound* (the "fundamental tone" of a landscape), *signal* (a sound whose main function is to transmit a message to someone who will interpret it), and *soundmark* (a sonic landmark, recognised by the members of a community and making "the acoustic life of the community unique") (Schafer, 1977).

A decade-and-a-half later, the influential historian Alain Corbin (1994), through analysis of the meaning of the bell in the context of the nineteenth-century French countryside, emphasised sounds' ability to structure and mark temporality, mediate information otherwise difficult to access, and contribute to spatial orientation and express symbolic powers. The work of both Schafer and Corbin represents important points of reference in Karin Bijsterveld's research, to which my study is in turn indebted. Bijsterveld (2008; 2013) applied to the theory of narrative methodologies developed in the social sciences and brought forth a set of "auditory topoi", sounds characterised as "intrusive", "sensational", "comforting" or "sinister", and that can perform specific functions within a text. Further, she focused upon the notion of

"sonic icons", i.e., particular sounds that, over time, become iconic because of their deployment in narratives and through inter-textual references.

Sounds are pervasive and influence the perception of the space of everyday life; they are carriers of meaning and hold metaphorical potential. Thus their occurrence in literature appears nothing but natural. Textualised sounds contribute to the representation of landscapes and cityscapes, and, while being a re-enactment of real sounds, they also enrich our comprehension of them, because "literature is especially well suited for revealing such para-sonic factors as sound's social connotations, its relationships with other senses, and—perhaps most importantly of all—the qualitative dimension that means certain sounds are actually of interest to people, things they actively seek out or shun" (Halliday, 2013). As regards Japan, mutual relationships and correspondence between sound and space, with their social implications, have been carefully examined in a recent contribution that outlines the country's soundscape in the twentieth century while taking into account not only music, but more diverse sounds, including noise (Hankins and Stevens, 2014). Hankins and Stevens' work does not focus on literary texts, nonetheless it emphasises the narrative and iconic potential of sounds.

Maeda Ai (1962) pointed out that in modern Japan the practice of reading changed from "aloud" (*ondoku*) to "silent" (*mokudoku*), whereas previously it had been more "aural", more directly related to actual sounds, thus less inclined to abstraction (Shindō, 1997). Despite such a change in the readers' attitude, however, sounds have never disappeared altogether from literary texts. Closely related to sociality and technological development, inherently "historical" (Halliday, 2013), sounds have been described, staged, problematised—in a word, textualised—in the Japanese literature of the twentieth century, also playing a significant role in many ideological representations of modern urban spaces and communities. It is indeed the interplay between sound, urban culture and ideology that I shall address in what follows.

Nagai Kafū's Poetics of Sound

It would be no exaggeration to define Kafū's literature as one of sound. From the inception of his career, at the turn of the twentieth century and in the works set in the United States and France,[1] sounds functioned as metaphors, icons, and catalysts of memory; his poetics is expressed through a multisensory writing that attributes great value to sound. While the "visual" aspect of Kafū's writing of the city has been repeatedly emphasised and discussed (Minami 2007, 2009; Kawamoto, 2002), little attention has been paid so far to its aural dimension. Though his interest in traditional music and opera is considered a given fact, the textualisation of sounds in his writings, the attribution of specific narrative functions to sounds, as well as the interaction between textual rendering of sounds and urban representation, have scarcely been taken into consideration, with only a couple of notable exceptions. The first is Matsuda Ryōichi's analysis of the significance of the radio in *Bokutō kidan* (Matsuda, 1987). The second is Shindō Masahiro's painstaking research (Shindō, 1997) focusing on the meaning of music in Kafū's life and literature and demonstrating that, for this author, songs and melodies were not mere

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[1] The two collections of stories entitled *Amerika monogatari* (*American Stories*, 1908) and *Furansu monogatari* (French Stories, 1909) respectively.

embellishments, but were integrated within the narrative thanks to the metaphorical meanings they carried, the specific moods they conveyed, and even their rhythmic patterns. Another contribution worth mentioning here is Rachael Hutchinson's study of Kafū's encounter with the "American Other" as a key to the definition of the "Japanese Self", where the scholar commented on the symbolic value assigned by the I-narrator of one of the American stories to a *shamisen* tune he heard in Seattle's Japantown, arguing that the insertion of the traditional Japanese instrument in that specific point of the narrative stresses the fundamental "sense of disjunction" felt by the I-narrator himself, a wealthy émigré, vis-à-vis the miserable condition of the Japanese immigrant labourers in the United States (Hutchinson, 2011). The *shamisen*, in this short story, is thus conceived as a hallmark of "Japaneseness", and as such plays a major role in determining the position of the I-narrator within an urban context characterised by ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic diversity: in particular, the *shamisen* tune is placed in relation to both the mindset of the I-narrator and the urban fabric of Seattle, pointing out the incongruities between the symbolic meanings attached to the Japanese instrument, and the presence of the immigrant labourers in the American city (Follaco, 2016).

Both in the writings from home and abroad, music is ubiquitous in Kafū's representation of urban environments: opera and musical drama, as well as popular folk songs sung by immigrants, occupy a pre-eminent position in the descriptive sequences portraying New York. In his French stories the streets of Lyon are populated by violin players in the same way that those of the low-city of Tokyo in the returnee works (i.e. those published in the years immediately following his return to Japan in 1908) would be full of *shamisen* players. He regularly employs the latter, a veritable icon of the popular culture of the Tokugawa era (1600-1867), in order to enhance the melancholy mood of the narration and to stress the discrepancy between past and present.

Apart from music, however, the auditory dimension of Kafū's literature includes a wide range of sounds whose textualisation serves specific narrative and critical purposes. In particular, urban sounds—the sounds, noises and voices heard in the space of the city—conjure up a set of references whose relevance is not, as I contend, inferior to those pertaining to his visual approach to the urban fabric.

Kafū's Soundscapes in the 1930s

Himself an aspiring musician, at least during his youth (Akiba, 1966), Kafū always attributed great importance to sounds in his works, as we have seen. Although this has been a characteristic of his writing during his whole career, it was in the latter half of the 1930s that the soundscape of Tokyo featured in his literature with the greatest degree of complexity.

One reason is that the first decade of the Shōwa period (1926-1989), with the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake (1923) and the massive transformation that the cultural and publishing world was undergoing (Shōji, Nakazawa and Yamanishi, 2013; Mack, 2010), the Ni-ni-roku jiken (February 26 Incident) of 1936, the pervasive presence of policemen in the streets and the spread of nationalistic propaganda, represented a critical phase in the career of the author, who even withdrew, albeit temporarily, from the public scene and wrote little. His first work after the impasse

was *Tsuyu no atosaki* (During the Rains, 1931), a novel set among the demi-monde with a geisha as its main character, where the never ending rain of the wet season provides an acoustic background to the growing critique against a former "counterworld" that had started to reflect power dynamics typical of the real world, and the mounting frustration over the waning of its comforting atmosphere. Fellow writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965), always an attentive reader of Kafū's work, partly in reaction to the tepid reception that *Tsuyu no atosaki* had received from the majority of the critics, stressed the novel's ability to lend insights into what he termed "the popular history of the Shōwa period" and to stir a feeling of nostalgia into the Tokyo-born readers, especially because of the description of the rain, that he considered an important expression of the "local colour" of the Japanese capital (Tanizaki, [1931] 1982). Tanizaki's keen observation paves the way for further considerations on the narrative use of the rainy season as a trope of topophilic identification. As we shall see, Kafū attributes a deep significance to rain, as well as to all those natural (but not only natural) elements that testify to a continuity between the cityscape of his days and the previous one. In an urban fabric that appeared increasingly alien to him, he valued sights and sounds which co-existed harmoniously with the modern features of the Japanese capital; this attitude, however, should not be considered as merely nostalgic, insofar as the author himself proved favourably disposed towards novelty and modernity as long as they did not appear utterly out of context, but instead maintained a congruity with the rest of the *paysage*. He had expressed such ideas since the returnee period, both in his fictional and non-fictional works, but it is in the writings of the latter half of the 1930s, against the backdrop of an extremely complex socio-political situation, that the aural aspects of his modes of city representation started taking on deeper meanings.

During these months, Kafū walks across his hometown, observes and hears, seeking traces of the past and possibilities of harmony with the present, and trying to evoke them through an auditory memory. It is no mere chance that the works he published at this time of his career reveal much better than previous ones his essentially modernist attitude (Snyder, 2000; Starrs, 2011); the more he perceives the urban fabric as cryptic, labyrinthine, and disjointed, the more his style of writing becomes fragmentary. In describing the cityscape, he abandons the aerial perspective that he had privileged in the majority of his Meiji-period works (Minami, 2009) and descends to street-level, portraying the city from the inside. Such a shift in perspective is paralleled by a growing attention to urban sounds. He now appears interested in the voices he hears in the streets, most likely because, as argued by Yoshimi (1995), he considered everyday conversations among ordinary people a more revealing channel of information and ideas than the newspapers or the radio. And indeed the radio, together with the phonograph, "familiar modernist tropes" (Picker 2003), often feature in his writings of this period and, through the fragmented nature of mechanical sound,[2] provide a sonic counterpart to the street-level take characterising his visual rendering of the space of the city.

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[2] Frattarola (2010) has argued that: "there are striking similarities between the art of phonographic recording and the modernist novel. In both we find a drive to present reality without a sense of mediation; an attention drawn to the subjectivity of hearing; an aesthetics of fragmentation; an association with the repetitious workings of the mind; and, lastly, a subversion of the authority of a sound's source that opens new possibilities in referencing".

Kane no koe (The Voice of the Bell)

Written in March 1936 and published in the June issue of the literary magazine *Chūō kōron*, the essay *Kane no koe* eloquently expresses Kafū's frustration over the new soundscape of Tokyo. There is a temple, in Azabu, whose bell he loves very much, but the noises of the city deaden its sound to such an extent that he can barely hear it: "A bell, it is well known, tolls at every hour, day and night. But this one rarely makes it all the way to my ear, impeded as it is by noises of all kinds: cars roaring, wind blowing, people's voices, radios, airplanes, phonographs" (Nagai, [1936a] 1992). Kafū imagines figures of the past from both Japan and the West (namely the poets Saigyō and Bashō, and the writers Lafcadio Hearn and Pierre Loti) listening to the "whisper" of the Azabu bell, probably summoning up courage and peace of mind thanks to its echo. He identifies the sound of the bell with the spirit of another era, endangered by the wave of progress. He seemingly blames such circumstances on the transformations due to the recent merging of the wards of Tokyo that, following those of 1920 and 1932, had contributed to the establishment of the twenty-three-ward (*nijūsan-ku*) structure of the city. He mentions some not further specified "transformations" that, since the summer of 1932, had been so pervasive that the acoustics of the city itself had changed, so the bell sound was now different, a "gentle whisper that instils endurance and acceptance" (Nagai, [1936a] 1992). It is particularly interesting that, as Matsuda (1987) has observed, 1932 is also the year when Kafū's neighbours started playing the radio on a daily basis, which would bother him enormously, as we shall see later.

In the text, Kafū identifies himself as belonging to a group of literary figures linked by bonds of aesthetic sensibility that go beyond the notions of cultural diversity and nationhood. The bell might be considered a *signal*, because its voice carries a wise, "comforting" message amid a melee of "intrusive" (Bijsterveld, 2008) sounds that mediate the author's experience of the city and determine a negative image of it. But the bell, here, is also a *soundmark*, since the author conceives it as the binding agent in the imaginary community that included Saigyō, Bashō, Hearn, Loti and himself. Thus his difficulty in hearing the tolling of the bell should be read as the textual representation of his apprehension over the risk that he might soon be excluded from the group of sensitive men of letters from East and West; the fact itself that he is still able to hear it, however, underlies the possibility of another form of exclusion: he wonders whether he is "perhaps the last man in this world who still hears the voice of the bell" (Nagai, [1936a] 1992), stressing his presumed alienation from the rest of society.

Terajima no ki (A Chronicle from Terajima)

Terajima no ki was written by Kafū one month after *Kane no koe,* to be published in the same issue of *Chūō kōron*, and later included in the same collection of essays, whose title leaves little doubt regarding the author's aim in writing them: *Omokage* (Vestiges, 1936). Indeed, this short text (whose relevance lies also in its being—together with *Kane no koe* and *Hōsuiro* [The Ditch], the third text published in the June 1936 issue of the literary magazine—a sort of preliminary study for the composition of *Bokutō kidan*) is a record of Kafū's search for traces of the past in the modern city, an objective that he pursues with all available means. The title itself serves this purpose, for it refers to an area of the city by its former name, "Terajima",

whereas it was then known as Tamanoi.[3] Alongside the various strategies employed by the author to emphasise the discrepancies between past and present, and thus the lack of harmony within the cityscape, a crucial role in the representation of the neighbourhood is assigned to its acoustic environment; for Kafū, the entertainment district of Terajima/Tamanoi embodied the popular culture of the past, it represented a sort of stronghold against the menacing power of modernisation and was a symbol of the resistance of memory. Such a characterisation is devised through the textualisation of the sounds of Tamanoi, two kinds in particular: women's voices and the reading of sutras.

The former are in fact the disembodied voices of the prostitutes that summon up memories of the past: while listening to them, the author recalls his first visits to the quintessential pleasure district of Tokyo: the Yoshiwara (Nagai, [1936b] 1992). This part of the city would always bear some relationship to the popular culture thriving in Edo in the Tokugawa period, thus the likeness drawn by Kafū between Yoshiwara[4] and Tamanoi subsumes the intention to further stress the mid-way position of the latter, being as it is simultaneously "then" and "now", representing the past in the present, hence a locus of harmony, and as such valuable. What is more, the dialogic structure of this part of the text testifies to the author's desire to represent the scene not only by narrating it, but by doing so in such a way that its aural form, its tempo and mood, are perceived by the reader as faithfully as possible.

Further, the echo of sutra reading plays a role similar to that of the bell in Azabu: it is a *soundmark* ensuring a connection with a past that, in the author's opinion, should not be forgotten. The age-old habit of reading sutras can thus be considered a symbol of continuity against the ruptures of modernisation, and this is a notion of rituals and sacred spaces that the otherwise scarcely "religious" Kafū had envisioned in a number of other writings, such as *Furansu monogatari*, *Kitsune* (*The Fox*, 1908), and *Hiyori geta* (Good Weather *geta*, 1915). The interplay between urban spaces, sacrality, and nostalgia is here displayed through a critical dramatisation of sounds.

Bokutō kidan (*A Strange Tale from East of the River*)

The main character of *Bokutō kidan*, the novelist Ōe Tadasu, resembles its creator to such an extent that the two are hardly ever considered separate from one another. A number of nonfictional writings of the previous years, as well as diary entries of the same period, provide evidence that many of the events and thoughts described in the novel had really occurred to the author. Kafū himself attached great importance to this work, which offers revealing insights into his mindset at the time. The novel was originally published in instalments in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* from April 16 to June 15, 1937, although its serialisation was occasionally interrupted to allow the newspaper to provide extensive coverage of the transoceanic flight of the "Kamikaze"

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[3] The toponym "Tamanoi" has in turn been abandoned, and today the area is part of the neighbourhood of Ryōgoku. *Tamanoi* was also the original title of the essay, as it appeared in *Chūō kōron*.
[4] It is perhaps worth observing that in one of the most representative novels of the Meiji era, *Nigorie* (*Troubled Waters*, 1895) by Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-1896), the Yoshiwara itself is introduced and characterised through the voices of its prostitutes. Although this aspect of the text has been noted and carefully analysed before, it has mainly been considered in terms of gender relations and prose style (Usami 1991), while, to the best of my knowledge, the iconic value of this acoustic element of the district has not yet been addressed.

aircraft between Tokyo and London, a project that the *Asahi* itself, among other corporations, had sponsored (Tsuchida, 1994). This sensationalistic event was only one of the many animating the life of Tokyo (and, more generally, of Japan) in the mid-1930s. After the Ni-ni-roku jiken, the radio had begun to reflect the interest of the political world (Maruyama, 2012), which paid great attention to the contents transmitted to a much broader public than only few years previously (NHK, 1977).

The new attitude displayed by both the public (the ordinary people) and the authorities (political and military) towards this medium is well described by Kafū in *Bokutō kidan*, where we read the following lines:

The rains ended, the hot weather came, and, because the windows were open, sounds not heard in other seasons began to come to my ears. The sound that disturbed me most was that of the radio next door, beyond a thin board fence.

Waiting for the cool of evening, I would turn on the light at my desk; and at exactly that moment it would begin, strident and somehow cracked, and it would not die away until after nine o' clock. I was particularly tormented by political orators with west-country accents, by singers of Naniwabushi, and by readings that made one think of amateur players, broken by snatches of Western music. And the radio alone did not seem to be enough. Morning and night there were phonographs playing popular music. In the summer I would hurry through dinner, or even dine out—I would flee the house at the signal of six o' clock. Not that there were no radios to listen to even after I went out. The clamor from houses and shops along the way was even more deafening; but it was mixed with the sounds of the city, automobiles and streetcars, and I found less to bother me when I was out walking than when I was alone in my study.

With the end of the rains, the progress of my *Whereabouts Unknown* was interrupted by the neighbors' radio. I had done no work on it for ten days and more. There seemed to be a possibility that I would quite lose interest in it. (Nagai, [1937] 1972)

In this passage, radio and phonograph play respectively the sounds of political orators with Kyūshū accents,[5] *naniwabushi*, the readings of amateur players, and Western music as well as popular music. Each of these acoustic elements has a specific meaning, which the author approaches critically. The Kyūshū accent was typical of the powerful Satsuma Domain and it might also hint at Hirota Kōki (1878-1948), who had recently been appointed Prime Minister, although it should be kept in mind that Kafū had made clear his feeling of dislike for this particular accent as early as 1909;[6] as for *naniwabushi*, a form of storytelling originally from Osaka, Kafū repeatedly expressed his disdain for it, going so far as to consider it a symbol of the decline of Tokyo's urban culture (Shindō, 1997); the readings of amateur players were popular with the masses at the time (Matsuda, 1987), thus they probably symbolise a lack of refinement, whereas Western music might hint at cultural subjugation to the West. Further, his mentioning popular music is of great interest, since it is a genre which cannot be considered ideologically neutral and that contributes to shaping identities and collective memories (Kenney, 1999). The I-narrator leaves his home, but is still bothered by the "clamor" coming from the radios of other houses and shops. One

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[5] Translated by Seidensticker as "west-country accents", of course meaning the west of Japan and not any Western country (Europe, the United States).
[6] In the short story *Fukagawa no uta* (The Song of Fukagawa). In this phase of Japan's history, the influence of the Satsuma and Chōshū domains was still very strong.

might argue that such disdain for the radio implies the non-acceptance of modernity, nonetheless the remark that the sounds of the street, those of automobiles and streetcars, are less bothersome to him partly counters such an argument. One reason might be that what he calls "the sounds of the city", being a regular feature of the urban *paysage* of Tokyo, correspond, according to the soundscape nomenclature, to *keynote sounds*, the background "music" of what the Japanese capital had become in the first decade of the Shōwa period. In some way, the sounds of automobiles and streetcars have come to identify Tokyo's urbanity, its being a modern city, whereas its "identity", its level of congruity within its own history, is measured in accordance with a more persistent, thus representative, feature of the cityscape: rains. The sound of rain fades away naturally because the rainy season has ended, replaced by sounds "not heard in other seasons": such a remark about a sort of "seasonality" of the urban sounds demonstrates that the sound of rain, existing in the city even before the city of Tokyo was born, is closer to what Schafer would define a *soundmark*, and Bijsterveld a "sonic icon", than to any other kind of aural item; the iconic nature of the sounds of the rainy season complements Tanizaki's observation about the "typical Tokyo weather" of *Tsuyu no atosaki*.

Further, there is a strong underlying connotation associated with the I-narrator's decision to leave his home and go to Tamanoi, a place where phonographs and radios were prohibited after 4 p.m. (Nagai, [1937] 1972). The silence of Tamanoi is thus opposed to the "official" soundscape shaped by the repetition of songs, plays and speeches. Tamanoi represents the intimate soundscape of a writer for whom the notion of community should not be the outcome of coercion and an exercise of power and authority, symbolised in the text by the radio and the phonograph, whose sound violates the author's privacy in his own home. The silence only broken by the voices of the women, in Tamanoi, is yet another icon of the urban, and fulfils a comforting function, providing the text of an aural dimension suitable to the representation of the principles he valued the most: those of congruity and immediacy, the same premises a community should be founded on, from his point of view. On the other hand, the tropes of radio and phonographs, being a "medium" between the natural source of sound (and noise) and the ear, and hinting at a fundamental "schizophonia" (Schafer, 1977), perfectly serve Kafū's narrative purpose of unveiling the confusion and incoherence of modern Japan.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate to what extent sounds contribute to Kafū's urban critique in a set of writings published during a crucial phase of the history of modern Japan— and in particular of modern Tokyo.

Through the textualisation of sounds in *Kane no koe* he addressed the theme of estrangement from the rest of society and structured an idea of sharing and belonging based upon aesthetic sensitivity and challenging the principle of nationhood; in *Terajima no ki* he stressed the iconic value of the neighbourhood's sounds and voices in order to promote a somehow "sacred" image of Tamanoi shaped by claims of both personal and collective memory; in *Bokutō kidan*, the work that epitomises Kafū's most "Modernist" period, he made use of the modernist tropes of the phonograph and

the radio[7] and he built on the aesthetics of fragmentation (Frattarola, 2010) that those tropes promote in order to express the feeling of alienation that imbues the entire narrative, as if to suggest that only a fragmented notion of selfhood can be conceived in such a disconnected urban space, and in such an incoherent society.

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[7] For a broader discussion on the meaning of the radio for British modernist writers, see also Avery, 2006.

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Public Images, Private Lives: Blurring Truth and Fantasy in the World of Professional Bondage and Discipline

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Abstract
Public images and private lives often do not match up. Indeed, social life is premised as much on what is not shown as it is on what is revealed. Concealment, deception and the blurring of truth and fantasy can be fundamental for social life. Advertising services in the Australian sex industry, as with advertising many other services and products, relies on appealing to a market by blurring truth and fantasy. This is even more pronounced in the realm of professional Bondage and Discipline (BD), where service providers cater for a niche market revolving around fetish, role play and mind games. In this paper I look at the public perception of those offering BD services, with newspaper advertisements providing the most visible medium by which opinions are formed of this underground group of professional players, who are generally included as part of a city's sex industry. I also examine the blurring of truth and fantasy in order to cater for a relatively small group of individuals, where competition is high and repeat business is essential to earn a living.

Keywords: Professional BDSM, sex industry, advertising, framing client relationships, exchange of power in relationships.

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Introduction

Every city has an underground network where a number of activities and transactions occur. These include trading in illicit goods, money laundering, and contacts between the criminal elements of a city. The sex industry is seen as part of this underground city, not necessarily because of its legal status; rather due to the stigma often attached to working in this industry. While brothels provide a visible venue for sex worker-client interaction, not all sex workers or their clients wish to use such obvious premises. In Australia sex work is not illegal, with laws varying from state to state as to how services can be advertised. How clients and sex workers connect with each other is of interest to me, and here I have focussed specifically on one group of service providers in order to narrow down my field of research when looking at what can be said in an advertisement and what this reveals.

This paper aims to address the gap in scholarship by examining the way professional BDSM services are advertised to attract clients, the effect this has on public perception, and how those who work in this field strive to protect the boundaries between their work and private lives. I will argue it is necessary to blur truth and fantasy in the realm of professional bondage and discipline, where providers cater for a niche market that revolves around fetish, role play and mind games.

Methodology

This research was carried out in Perth, Western Australia from 2010 to 2015, during which time I conducted open-ended interviews with 27 women who were working or had worked as professional BD service providers in Perth, interstate and overseas. Although transsexuals do offer professional BD services, my focus was on women providing these services for men, because the clients who see transsexuals are after a different type of service from a small number of providers. I also interviewed 42 men who were clients in professional dungeons, or who frequented these establishments in the capacity of slave or 'Sissy Maid.'[1] I observed some of the daily routines[2] by being allowed to sit in the 'girls' room[3] of five professional dungeons in Perth. On several occasions, I was invited as an observer into sessions where the clients wanted someone to watch them being disciplined, cross dressing, or as an adult baby. Over the same period of time I also had many discussions with more than 80 adults who participate in BDSM as a lifestyle choice, having been invited to their social gatherings. Here I was able to discuss some of the differences between private sessions of play and the services offered by professional BD providers. It is interesting to note not all lifestyle BDSM participants have a positive view of those providing professional services. I also had informal discussions with members of the public not connected to the BDSM industry or lifestyle over the period of my research, in an attempt to gauge their responses to paid sexual and BD services. I

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[1] A Sissy Maid is a man who usually dresses as a maid and serves the Mistress of an establishment, performing duties as required.

[2] These routines included how bookings were managed so that clients did not see each other, cleaning and maintenance of rooms and equipment, discussions on safety, dealing with difficult clients, phone etiquette, etc.

[3] This is usually an area reserved for Mistresses and submissives to relax in when they are not in a booking. However, cross dressed clients sometimes had coffee and chatted "in role" with the girls in this area of the house.

examined the narratives in newspaper advertisements then discussed these with professional BD providers, clients who used such services, members of the Perth BDSM community, and people who had no connection with these activities. I was able to gather information on how a number of people from these different perspectives view professional BD services and their opinions of those who worked in this field.

Context

"It's a fine line between pleasure and pain" is a line from a popular song by Chrissie Amphlett and the Divinyls. This comment seems to hint pain can be pleasurable at times, which is the basis of much of the sensual play that occurs in what can be described as an erotic consensual exchange of power (Weiss, 2006, p232). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the practice referred to as BDSM, which includes activities such as bondage, discipline, domination, submission, sadism, and masochism.

There has been very little research into the prevalence of professional BDSM and the experience of those who participate in it, either as service providers or clients. Much of the existing research deals with therapy to 'treat' individuals with BDSM tendencies. Generally, however, BDSM individuals do not view themselves as being in need of psychological treatment, rather as simply having a preference for different sensual and sexual activities (Kolmes et al, 2006, p303). Gayle Rubin argues,

Most people find it difficult to grasp that whatever they like to do sexually will be thoroughly repulsive to someone else, and that whatever repels them sexually will be the most treasured delight of someone, somewhere…Most people mistake their sexual preferences for a universal system that will or should work for everyone. (Rubin, 1984, p283)

BDSM individuals have long been considered deviant. As early as 1905, the iconic Freud regarded sadism and masochism as sexual aberrations because they deviated from what he called the "normal sexual aim" of penile-vaginal intercourse between two people of the opposite sex (see Strachey, 1953, pp157-160). This regard for BDSM practices as deviant is still prevalent in society and has forced many participants to hide their fetishes, or to seek out discreet professional providers when other options are not available. Professional Mistresses and submissives[4] cater for this niche market by providing services, equipment, clothing and props to clients in a non-judgmental atmosphere.

The focus of professional sessions is on fulfilling the client's fantasy through activities that may involve psychological and sensory stimulation. Erotic acts of domination or submission, role play, bondage, punishment, and humiliation can be incorporated into scenarios to cater for the needs of the client. This exchange of power between the players is usually governed by set rules established before the

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[4] Professional providers of domination are usually referred to as Mistresses, Dommes, Dominatrices, or Pro-Dommes. Those who provide professional submissive services may be known as pro-submissives, pro-subs, submissives, or slaves. The convention is that dominant terms have a capital letter, while submissive terms are written in lower case. Here I will use the terms Mistress and submissive, with these being the titles I observed in common usage. However, during a session these forms of address between the worker and the client often vary, depending upon the scenario.

session begins, or as the result of repeated sessions. Knowing a client's boundaries and limits is vital so these can be reached and explored safely, thus enabling the client to maximise the experience[5].

Professional BD providers do not see themselves as sex workers, although they are part of the sex industry in Australia. The Mistresses and submissives I have spoken with insist there is no sex during their sessions; the focus is on erotic, sensual domination or submission. In the BD industry, what constitutes sex is, at times, ambiguous. This is where the truth can be blurred to suit the situation. A BD session may involve oral sex (French), hand relief, insertion of sex toys, or using a strap-on for anal penetration, but if vaginal intercourse is avoided, it is generally accepted the client and BD service provider have not had sex. Many Mistresses expressed disdain for BD providers who also offered sex as part of their services, with one Mistress describing them as "just a hooker with a whip." This phrase was used derisively by both professional BD workers and some experienced clients to describe a sex worker who had added a bit of kink to her repertoire by using equipment such as handcuffs, blindfolds and floggers, without any training.[6]

BDSM practices seem to be making more of an appearance in films, television programmes and books which are not classified as pornography. This may indicate that at least the thought or the imagery attached to these erotic practices is becoming more acceptable to mainstream Western society. The record-breaking sales of the 2011 novel *Fifty Shades of Grey* along with the subsequent books in the trilogy indicate this sub-genre of BD romance is extremely popular. For several years now, shops and internet sites selling adult toys have stocked equipment for both the serious BDSM players and those who just want to add a little spice to their sex life. The *Fifty Shades* phenomenon has seen a huge increase in the sales of what is classed as soft BD equipment; fur-lined handcuffs, blindfolds, and fun games with instructions such as 'tickle me' or 'spank me' on dice.[7] This however, is all viewed as just a bit of fun by people I interviewed in adult shops. Serious BDSM players and those who provide professional services in this field are still generally misunderstood because the equipment they use looks more dangerous than these toys. Television crime dramas such as *Wire in the Blood* have storylines depicting characters using bondage and discipline for sexual abuse, torture, and murder, with these characters often portrayed as suffering from mental illness (Barker et al, 2007, p109). Several BDSM activities are listed as paraphilia[8] by the American Psychiatric Association, thus perpetuating the idea that those who indulge in such practices are to be viewed with caution.

Advertising

When considering advertising in the sex industry, two questions come to mind. What is truth in a fantasy world? How far can the truth be stretched before it becomes a lie?

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[5] Information obtained from extensive interviewing and observations by the author.
[6] All the interviewed professional BD providers took pride in the fact that they researched their craft, practised, and were willing to pass knowledge on to new people in the industry, as one might pass on any trade.
[7] Information was gained from interviews with staff at several adult shops in Perth, Melbourne and Sydney, and through examining advertisements for internet suppliers of sex toys and equipment.
[8] A type of psychosexual disorder marked by sexual urges, fantasies, and behaviour involving objects, suffering or humiliation.

Sales and marketing ploys often involve playing with the truth to sell a product or service, enhancing the good points and playing down the bad. The sex industry is no different. Governance of advertising for any sector of the sex industry is near impossible. Newspaper editors can place controls and regulations on abbreviations, words and phrases, but verifying the truth is the domain of the client, who, after making an appointment and meeting the person who has advertised, has a small window of opportunity to decide whether or not to go through with the transaction. Although considered to be part of an industry, there is no central body to complain to if the description of the service or person in the newspaper advertisement does not, in the eyes of the client, meet with the reality, or if the service is not considered to be good value for money.

Demand for professional BD services is difficult to quantify, given the stigma attached to both working in this industry and using the services provided. Newspaper advertisements provide the most public view of what is happening in the Australian sex industry. The number of advertisements appears to be rising, according to representatives of a church-based anti-prostitution lobby group.[9] Professional sexual and BD services are also advertised on internet websites, but one has to actively search for these, while the personal section of the classifieds[10] is readily available in daily local newspapers, bringing these advertisements into our homes, workplaces, schools and cafes. Here I look at what the advertisements for professional Bondage and Discipline providers potentially can tell us, and also what they do not tell us, about this section of the Australian sex industry.

Advertising for the sex industry operates in a world of social types, where clients are attracted to stereotypes and specific fantasies, not real people. It is an industry that runs on signs and symbols rather than on reality, and this blurring of social reality helps to maintain its structure. Newspaper advertisements for professional Mistresses and submissives may portray a persona who is sexually insatiable, deviant, willing to inflict or receive pain, and keen to do almost anything. However, it is important to remember these advertisements are written to entice clients who are seeking a fantasy experience. They are framed in a way that does not always reflect a true picture of the person behind the advertisement, who is simply providing a service to those who wish to partake of it.

Advertisements for many goods and services are constructed in a way that highlights some features and plays down others. For example, real estate is a field where the truth is often stretched to accentuate the good points of a property while neglecting to mention the less desirable aspects. These tactics are prevalent in many forms of advertising with the sex industry being no different. Members of the general public I interviewed were able to accept that advertising a house as needing a little 'tender loving care (TLC)' could mean a substantial amount of work was required to make it habitable, but they did not seem to transfer this critical reading of advertising to the sex industry. Here, from the ethnographic evidence I have gathered, it seems more

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[9] This group claims to have counted the number of advertisements for sexual services on Wednesdays and Saturdays for the last five years. I sighted their records, which consisted of dates and numbers of advertisements.

[10] The classifieds is a section of many newspapers where goods and services are advertised. This can include a personal or adult services section where phone chat lines, brothels, swingers clubs, private sex workers and sensual massage services are listed.

likely advertisements for sex workers are seen as accurate presentations of the people behind these short pieces of narrative.[11]

When you see an advertisement in the classifieds for a 2008 Toyota Camry, you can be fairly sure the item for sale is indeed a 2008 Toyota Camry. Age, odometer reading, and several other claims are easy to verify upon seeing the vehicle and its registration papers. However, advertisements in the sex industry are not so straightforward, with claims being made to entice clients rather than reflect a true picture of the provider. By looking at newspaper advertisements for BD providers as pieces of narrative, one can see very little information is given as to the age, nationality, or dress size of these women, whereas these attributes seem to be a prominent feature in many of the advertisements for sex workers, although we cannot assume the information given there is strictly the truth. The focus of advertisements for sexual services seems to be on attracting clients to the appearance of the sex worker. The emphasis of BD advertisements appears to be more about the type of service provided than looks, although physical features do play a part in attracting some clients. Repeat business is dependent upon the ability to provide the required service rather than simply 'looking the part.'[12]

The advertisements in the personal section of newspapers are written in a coded language, dictated by what is currently allowed by the newspaper, which sex workers learn through trial and error when placing advertisements. The people working in the classified advertisements section of newspapers have guidelines as to what wording is currently acceptable in the personal columns, and they are able to suggest alternatives when advertisements are being placed.[13] As a consequence, a complicated system of abbreviations, words and phrases is used to describe services offered. These change over time, with a word not being allowed for a few months and then being allowed again, while another word is banned. For example, the phrase 'strap on' is sometimes allowed and then suddenly has to be replaced with 'st/on'. However, abbreviations can lead to confusion, with potential clients not always certain what these mean. From the evidence I have gathered, one of the drivers for banning specific words is pressure from lobby groups, "who seem to spend quite a lot of time studying this section of newspapers, looking for words and phrases that might be construed as offensive by the general public."[14] According to the Australian sex industry support group Scarlet Alliance, the same words are used in other advertisements within the same newspaper, seemingly without causing offence. The word 'spanking' is a case in point. However, describing a home for sale as having a 'brand spanking new kitchen' is a little different from advertising a BD Mistress who is willing to provide a 'good spanking'. Context plays a large part in the acceptance of words and phrases by the wider community.

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[11] From discussions with men who have visited both sex workers and BD providers it seems that advertisements are taken at face value. The same is also a comment made by some members of the general public when interviewed.

[12] This example was told to me by a Mistress who had worked in New York and Sydney, and the sentiment was reiterated by three submissives working in Perth, as well as by several of the clients I spoke with at Perth dungeons.

[13] This was told to me by a woman I interviewed who used to work in this section of a Perth newspaper. I then phoned the advertising section of two newspapers and verified this information.

[14] A comment made during an interview by a woman working for a Perth newspaper classified advertisements section, September 2011.

Another driver for words and phrases to be abbreviated is the cost of these advertisements, which is considerably more than similarly sized advertisements in the same newspaper for something else like a car, furniture or hairdressing service.[15] According to Scarlet Alliance, newspaper companies are discriminating against sex workers by charging high fees for placing advertisements. Some Australian newspapers also dictate the number of days per week an advertisement is run, with the minimum purchase being a full week. Working seven days in a row is not good from the perspective of occupational health and safety, and yet sex workers advertising in these newspapers are not given the choice to work fewer days in a week; an option available to advertisers in other fields. The high cost of this type of newspaper advertising makes it expensive for someone to advertise and then choose not to work on that day.

The advertisements for BD services are representations, as each person attempts to attract clients in a world where competition is fierce and fantasy is the dominant theme. Each advertisement is a single entity, bought and paid for separately, but together they provide a powerful appearance of coherence in an industry that in reality is a collection of private individuals who hide behind their invented public personas. Anonymity is paramount for the majority of these advertisers, for although they can be seen as providing a saleable commodity, no amount of framing Mistresses and submissives as service providers will take away the stigma attached to this kind of work.

Public perceptions

Newspaper advertisements for BD services are written to attract clients, not to influence public opinion. However, the wording in the advertisements can lead to misconceptions, prejudice and sometimes fear of the people working in this industry or for their health and safety. These views are often held by members of the community who have never used the services of a professional BDSM provider or who have never knowingly met one socially.[16] Framing advertisements to appeal to clients does not always give an accurate picture of the service provider. However, people who find the idea of BDSM abhorrent will use the narrative in the advertisements when forming opinions of those who work in this field, subjecting them to moral judgements, perhaps forgetting an advertisement of this type must be written more as fantasy than reality.[17]

If newspaper advertisements are used as a frame of reference, inaccuracies may be perpetuated with regard to understanding what motivates a person to either work in this industry or to use the services it provides. Professional Mistresses and submissives are not necessarily depraved individuals who enjoy inflicting or receiving pain and humiliation. They have simply honed skills to accommodate the needs of a niche market. This does not imply the BD provider really enjoys every activity; merely that they can provide for someone who requires a particular service. One Mistress I spoke with is very good with clients who like to cross dress, but this does not mean she enjoys this in her private life. While I would argue submissives could not do the type of work expected of them if they absolutely hated it, this does not

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[15] Evidence of advertising costs gathered from phoning newspapers.

[16] Information gained through extensive interviews.

[17] These opinions were given by some of the interviewees with no experience of BDSM.

mean they love every aspect of bondage and discipline or want to be dominated in their private lives.

Those who participate in BDSM practices, either professionally or as a lifestyle choice, tend to be wary with whom they share this information. Telling partners, friends and even health professionals can expose participants to unwelcome comments and judgements. Mandy, a submissive, found her physiotherapist was quite understanding and even interested in her work when she said she was a private escort, but his attitude seemed to change when he saw some marks on her caused by being flogged. He suddenly became concerned for Mandy's safety and suggested her clients must be dangerous if they wanted to physically hurt her. As shown by Williams and Storm (2012, p9),

Because secrecy associated with BDSM has a protective function, participants, when exposed, sometimes may be mislabelled as being psychopathological, morally deficient, dangerous, and/or sex addicts due to pervasive social discourses concerning sexuality.

A regular client of a professional submissive could not admit to his doctor the pain in his forearm was caused by regularly spanking a woman, for fear of being judged as depraved. Instead, he was treated for a supposed tennis injury, which did not help the problem. He told me the two actions were different, but it was the nearest injury he could think of at the time. His fear of being judged is reflected in the following quote from researchers in the field of bondage and discipline.

Despite accumulating evidence to the contrary, consensual participation in sadomasochistic (BDSM) activities often is assumed to be related to an underlying psychopathology by many professionals and members of the general public. (Williams and Storm, 2012, p2)

I have discussed BDSM with many participants. The majority reported they experienced feelings of release from the tensions of everyday life, with role play allowing them to explore their inner feelings, pleasures and fears. Endorphins released during activities such as bondage and physical punishment often made these pleasurable rather than painful experiences. However, I have also observed reactions from people who do not understand the erotic exchange of power that occurs during a BD session. They can be scathing in their comments about those who engage in such practices.

Public images, private lives

Managing relationships between ourselves and others is a core feature of maintaining privacy. Altman (1975, p10) refers to privacy as a "boundary regulatory process by which a person (or group) makes himself more or less accessible and open to others." While such boundaries between provider and client may be relatively easy to maintain in many occupations, working in the sex industry has its own set of issues that make negotiating privacy both important and difficult for many people. Others' perception of us is affected by what we reveal to them, so blurring truth and fantasy becomes paramount in the provision of sexual and erotic services, where providers do not wish to reveal their true identities. All of the professional service providers I interviewed

work under what they refer to as their professional names. The reason given for this was to separate personal and professional life. It is interesting to note that the practice of adopting a name while participating in BDSM was also prevalent among those I interviewed who attended social BDSM functions. They also said the reason for this was to separate the two aspects of their lives, particularly when using social media sites to connect with each other.

Many BD workers are able to survive in the industry by blurring truth and fantasy to provide for their clients' different fetishes and fantasies. However, being convincing as a Mistress or submissive can lead to some problems when the public persona is confused with the private life of the service provider. Fantasy and reality become difficult to separate when some clients are surprised to discover the professional providing a service is excellent at her chosen career, yet may not be into a particular fetish as a lifestyle choice. One Mistress, Amy, regularly sees adult babies, but one of these men was almost offended she did not want to take him on as her very own 'little baby boy' for fun rather than payment. According to Mistress Amy, "He suggested he would not have to pay for future sessions, in return for me having the pleasure of a (120 kilogram) baby to feed, change and mother." Amy reports the tone of his comment, "But I thought you would like having your own baby to play with," indicated he seemed quite surprised and hurt she did not take him up on this offer. He appeared to have framed their relationship as mother and baby, rather than professional and client.

A fairly common problem for professional BD workers I interviewed is the client who wants a free session because the Mistress or submissive he is seeing appears to enjoy the session so much, "Why wouldn't she want to do it for free?"[18] The other request is to exchange 'slave' or 'Sissy Maid' services such as cleaning, making coffee, being a willing body for the Mistress to practise on, instead of payment.[19] These submissive clients can be quite demanding of attention, often performing tasks badly in order to be punished. This takes up valuable time when a Mistress has other things to do.[20] Professional submissive workers have told me clients will ask if they have a Master,[21] and offer to fulfil this role in a non-paying way, under the assumption the submissive needs and wants to be dominated by someone. This type of role play often occurs in lifestyle BDSM. One woman working in Sydney reported she had agreed to this sort of non-paying BD relationship with a client, but then was expected to be available any time he felt like a session. This caused her to lose bookings, and therefore income, because of this man's excessive demands on her time. The situation soon became one where he monopolised her time, but provided neither payment nor the benefits of a lifestyle relationship, resulting in the woman feeling used. There are many reasons why she might have entered into this type of arrangement with a dominant client who had previously paid for sessions, but a detailed discussion of them is beyond the scope of this paper. Evidence gathered from both professional BD providers and their clients indicates there is a common misconception among some clients that just because a session appears to be pleasurable, the BD or indeed sex worker would be prepared to provide the service for free. Here we see blurring the fantasy of a fun session with the truth that someone is trying to make a living. Clients may confuse intimacy with

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[18] Comment made by a client of Miss Treat.

[19] Evidence from several Mistresses and submissives.

[20] I witnessed this while observing at dungeons.

[21] In this case, someone in their private life who dominates them.

friendship and read more into the relationship than is actually there. It is hard to think of another industry where it is frequently assumed, just because the provider appears to be having fun, the fee could be waived. Daisy, an experienced submissive, makes the analogy "A mechanic may love working on cars, but is not likely to fix yours for free."

While the Mistresses I spoke with certainly do not enjoy clients who turn up with a fully scripted scenario, written out in great detail, some guidance is appreciated. In their view, it is hard to work with someone who wants a lengthy session of "Whatever you want to do to me, Mistress." One Mistress told me she really feels like saying, "I'd rather you just stay here and I'll go have a nice cup of tea!" Professional BD Mistresses I interviewed said they need to make their clients feel special and to help them explore their sensuality and limits safely. However, with no guidance as to what the submissive client feels like doing on that particular day, it would be easy for a session to fall flat if the worker does not do what the client wanted to do (or have done to him). This affects repeat business. In lifestyle BDSM, there is an idea the dominant person is responsible for and in charge of the submissive's pleasure, wanting to push the submissive's limits through training, guidance and discipline. This allows the submissive to explore his/her sensuality and limits safely. This is more in tune with a non-commercial/lifestyle relationship than a professional one, where the BD worker has no personal attachment to the client. Here, clients may miss the distinction between a commercial BD session and a BDSM lifestyle relationship, thus blurring the boundary between public images and private lives.

Conclusion

This study has focussed on BD service providers in Australia, a country where the sex industry is not illegal and advertising sexual services is allowed in daily newspapers, albeit with many restrictions. In this paper I have shown newspaper advertisements for BD service providers do not reveal the real people behind them. They are constructed to portray an image designed to sell a service and representing a fantasy which will hopefully attract clients. Unfortunately, these manufactured personas may be judged as deviant by some members of society as they read these small pieces of narrative. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), ordinary citizens try to understand events in light of what touches their own lives, bringing their own life experiences and thought processes into play when trying to understand how others behave and act. It would be difficult to understand the practices and complex relationships of either professional or lifestyle BDSM purely from outside these experiences, and yet judgements are made, seemingly without the benefit of knowledge.

The people who work in the BD sector provide dominant or submissive services, usually controlled by set rules of conduct. From my observations I have found that the women who provide professional domination do not usually have some hidden desire to inflict torture on the men who visit them. Rather they allow their fantasy persona to act out the role of a Mistress, while the reality may be quite different. They are filling a niche in a market which understands people have different needs, wants and desires. The people I have met who work in BD seem to have a genuine understanding of various fetishes, whether they follow a BD lifestyle or not. It is the professional way they deal with client-specific requests which ensures repeat

business. However, it would appear some members of the public may confuse fantasy with reality, viewing professional BD services as acts of sadomasochism, performed by sex workers who have a perverted view on sexuality, either wanting to dominate or to be dominated and abused. According to abolitionists, prostitution is a way of training men to abuse women, with BD establishments being the worst offenders (Jeffreys, 2002).

There are many reasons why people use professional service providers to cater for their sexual needs. While brothels are available, not all clients feel comfortable entering such public establishments, preferring to connect with private service providers who advertise individually. These connections form part of the underground network that can be found in Australian cities. While a city's brothels may be visible to those who pass by, with a tell-tale red light and the name of the establishment on a sign, I found the professional dungeons of Perth were indistinguishable from the inner city or suburban homes around them.

Newspaper advertisements provide a window into this underground city, through which one can catch a glimpse of what goes on. From the evidence I have collected, it is not the aim of sex workers advertising these types of services to influence public opinion about fetishes or their services, while they try to attract clients in a very competitive niche market. However, without knowledge of the limitations of these narratives, wrong impressions can be formed and judgements made about consenting adults who are simply making connections for business and pleasure.
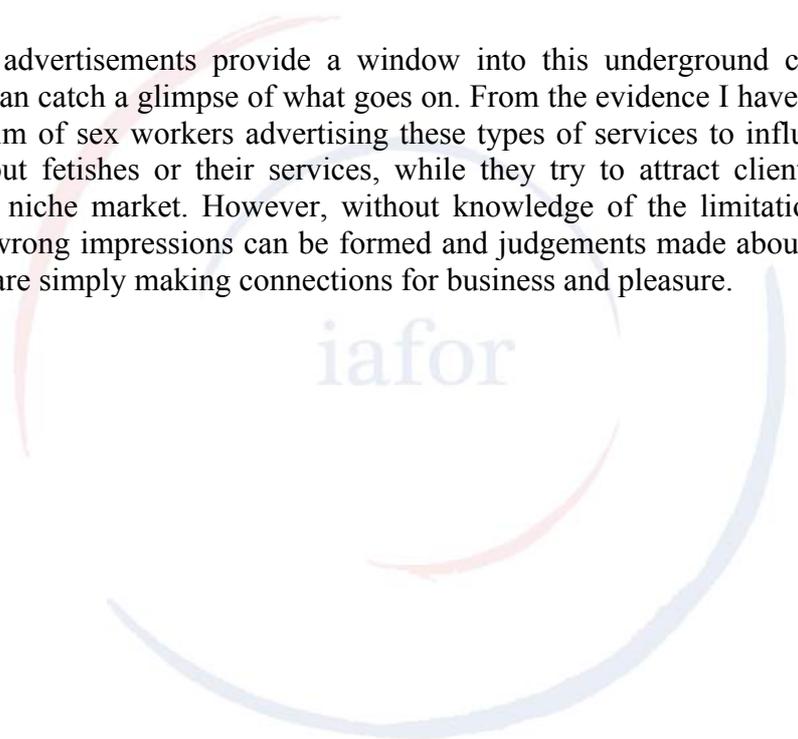
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Rugao and Water Garden in Seventeenth Century China

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Abstract

My paper focuses on Rugao, a city on the northern bank of the Yangtze River, during the fall of the Ming dynasty and the consolidation of Qing rule in the mid and late seventeenth century. The unique status of Rugao was due to its location in one of the most prosperous and cultivated areas of China, as well as the area that suffered greatly in the war and violence during the dynastic transition. It also had the reputation of a literary city, thanks to a local writer Mao Xiao (1611-1693) and his estate, the Water Garden. Mao's estate became ruins after the conquest, but it was a heaven for Mao and his politically marginalized friends, as the old sites on the ruins symbolized their aesthetics and sensibility. One such site was the Tree-Nest, a pavilion, built on an old tree beside a river. The Tree-Nest showed Mao's attempt to emulate the ancients' simple life, but it was also in tune with the Ming literati's interest in strangeness and artfulness. Only when the pavilion collapsed and the tree alone was left after the conquest did the Tree-Nest recover its original significance and invite Mao and his friends to contemplate what it meant to live on a tree while no place was left for them in the world. By examining how the estate obtained new meanings, I will explore how the city survived the destruction, how destruction led to reconstruction, and how the literati culture of the Ming was commemorated.

Keywords: East China, seventeenth century, garden culture, ruins

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Introduction

In seventeenth-century China, Rugao was a county of Yangzhou, one of the empire's most celebrated cities of wealth, culture, and refined taste. The special cultural and geographical status of Yangzhou made it vulnerable to the catastrophic dynastic transition in the mid and late seventeenth century, when China witnessed the Qing conquest of the Ming.

Mao Xiang (1611-1693) was a crucial figure in the history of Rugao. The Mao family was one of the most prestigious local families. Mao Xiang's grandfather and father were high officials of the Ming dynasty. Mao Xiang failed in the national examination, and never served in the Ming government, but his literary talent and broad social connections contributed to his important role in the literary and cultural history of seventeenth-century China.

Estates and gardens of famous literati, scholar-officials, and wealthy merchants constituted an important aspect of city life in late imperial China. The Mao family also owned such a garden, called the *Shuihui yuan* (The Water Garden), which comprised many sites.[1] These sites were the venues of literary gatherings organized by Mao and contributed to volumes of literary collections written by Mao and his friends. These literary gatherings and collections both advocated local culture, and contributed to establishing a literary network that crossed geographical barriers. The gatherings were held both before and after the fall of the Ming dynasty, and therefore the accompanying collections suggest aesthetic and cultural changes in tune with the dynastic transition. They provide us with a lens through which to perceive the impact of political circumstances on culture.

The Tree-Nest

One of the sites examined in this paper is called *Puchao*, the Tree-Nest.[2] In 1634, Mao returned to Rugao after his second failure in the national examination. He found a big, old tree beside the Floating Dragon River in the southern corner of Rugao. The bent trunk of the tree stretched over the river like a bridge, and its shade could shelter hundreds of men. Mao had the Tree-Nest, a pavilion, built on the tree, and had the pavilion connected to the bank by a bridge. His inspiration came from the Song poet Zhang Zi's (1153-1221?) invention of the Clouds-Riding Pavilion, which hung in midair, propped against four surrounding pines with iron chains, and accessible only via a staircase. However, unlike Zhang who had the pavilion built to satisfy his taste for luxury, Mao suggested that he, like a clumsy bird too tired to fly, wanted to rest in the Tree-Nest, and spare himself the pain and struggles in the examination.[3]

Many seventeenth-century Chinese literati showed interest in constructions similar to the Tree-Nest, because the design not only reflected their wish to withdraw from the noisy city and boring officialdom, but was also in accord with their fascination with *qi* (marvel, strangeness) and *huan* (illusion). In an essay, Zhang Dai (1597-1684) records a study space in his childhood, a pavilion that seemed to be dangling among the tree

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[1] The literal meaning of *Shuihui yuan* is that streams converge in the garden.
[2] The Tree-Nest was outside the Water Garden, but like the sites in the garden, it was an indispensable part of Mao Xiang's estate.
[3] Mao Xiang, "Account of the Tree-Nest," in Mao Xiang, ed., *Tongren ji*, 3.25.

tops and was thus entitled the "Suspended in the Branches Pavilion." The title borrows a line from the eighth-century poet Du Shenyan (ca.645-708): "On the tips of trees dangles the jade hall."[4] This is Zhang Dai's description of the pavilion. "I remember the pavilion was situated at the foot of a sharp precipice, perched on pilings of wood and stone. No soil had been used at all. It was a flying space in a building without mass, with the eaves aligned like combs' teeth. The edge of the cliff rose over the roof, a mass of dense trees and foliage, all tangled in confusion with the eaves and the roof tiles."[5] Zhang loved the pavilion, because it had, in his own words, "strange charms." The painter Gong Xian (1618-1689) portrays this type of pavilions in several paintings. The pavilion in the following painting seems to be a visual counterpart of Zhang Dai's study space.

Figure 1: Gong Xian, *Marvelous Peaks amid Autumn Clouds*

The precarious pavilion in the next painting, propped against two steep cliffs, captures the seventeenth-century literati's fascination with strangeness and illusion. A pavilion like this may only exist in the artist's imagination.

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[4] Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi*, 199-200.
[5] English translation from Jonathan Spence, *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man*, 64.
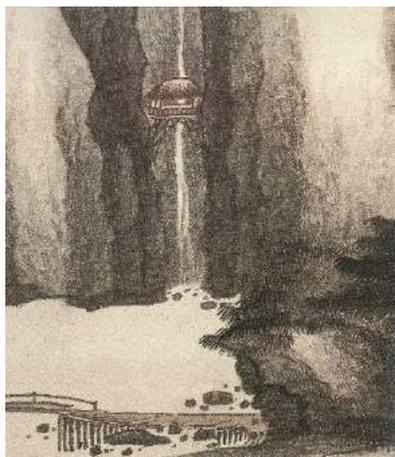
Figure 2: Gong Xian, *Landscape*

The next painting of a pavilion among tree tops carries an inscription, which indicates that such a design helps one seek quiet and transcendence. The inscription reads: "The limpid pool of water, the sapphire sky steeping. / White gulls fly high, riving blue-gray mist. / The zither is stretched and books are displayed on thousands of trees. / In the whole day only stillness is atop the tower."

Figure 3: Gong Xian, *After Dong Yuan's Landscape*

In late imperial Chinese gardens, a special design called *geshan* (Storied Tower Mountain) also bears some resemblance to the Tree-Nest. Storied Tower Mountain is a two-storied tower built on or next to an artificial mountain. No staircase is found inside the tower, and one can only approach the second story through the stairs on the artificial mountain. The design creates the illusory effects of one walking in the clouds to a heavenly building, because legend has it that when vapors touch rocks they turn into clouds and that clouds emerge from grottoes. The *Tiyun shi* (The Ascending to the Clouds Hall) in the *Wangshi yuan* (The Master of the Nets Garden) is such a two-storied tower. Its second story is only accessible through the stairway on the adjacent artificial mountain.

Figure 4: The Ascending to the Clouds Hall, The Master of the Nets Garden, Suzhou

Another example is the *Mingse lou* (The Bright Tower) in the *Liuyuan* (The Lingering Garden), built in 1593. The adjacent artificial mountain, on which the stairway leads inside to the upper story of the tower, is entitled the *Yiti yun* (A Ladder of Clouds).

Figure 5: The Bright Tower, The Lingering Garden, Suzhou

Figure 6: A Ladder of Clouds, The Lingering Garden, Suzhou

The next similar building is the *Jianshan lou* (The Mountain-in-View Tower) in the *Zhuozheng yuan* (The Humble Administrator's Garden).

Figure 7: The Mountain-in-View Tower, The Humble Administrator's Garden, Suzhou

Artfulness and Simplicity

The Tree-Nest was more complex than those clever constructions, because it combined two opposite qualities— artfulness and simplicity. The Chinese term of the Tree-Nest—*pu*—means both the pine tree and simplicity. Mao Xiang write in his essays and poems that he had the Tree-Nest built to emulate the simple, modest life-style of the ancients who nested on trees. The simple life-style he looked for was also associated with his pursuit of spiritual independence. Because the Tree-Nest dangled on the tree top, it seemed to rest on nothing. This in turn made Mao Xiang feel that he, like the Tree-Nest, was free of worldly concerns: "Fleeing from the world, I should feel self-realized. / Standing alone, at last I have nothing to rest on."[6] He thus took the Tree-Nest as his alter ego, naming after it both his studio and his literary collections. On the other hand, the Tree-Nest was artful and artefactual, creating illusory effects. Mao also had hundreds of plum trees planted near the pavilion, a tower built in the center of the plum grove, and described the view as illusory as mirages. He invited many friends to visit the pavilion and write poems on it, and exchanged his poems with his friends. All these writings emphasize the opposed qualities of the Tree-Nest. Take two poems written by his friends Fan Jingwen (1587-1644) and Ni Yuanlu (1593-1644) as examples.

Its root has had its fill of windblown surging waters since high antiquity. / Here I should look at this nest twice. / Luckily it's a plant without value, like the useless *chu* tree. / But it turns out to be a country in the ash tree. / Suddenly a path appears, leading through to the terrace and kiosk. / Birds in flight have no home, lodging their feathers here. / Artful, natural, simple, and lacking polish, / The great tree still remains, sleeping at the river bank.[7]

In the third line, Fan alludes to the stories of useless trees in the Taoist classic, the *Zhuangzi*. Useless trees are able to grow old, exactly because they are useless, unfit to be made into anything. The tree on which Mao's pavilion was built was such a useless tree, like an unsophisticated person left to live his simple life. However, the next line suggests that the tree opened a window to illusions, by alluding to a ninth-century

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[6] Mao Xiang, "Twenty Rhymes on the Tree-Nest When It was Built," in *Tongren ji*, 5.22.

[7] *Tongren ji*, 5.14.

tale, "The Governor of Nanke" ("The Governor of the Southern Branch Commandery"). In the tale, a demoted official dreams of visiting the country in an ash tree, where he becomes the prime minister, marries the king's daughter, and enjoys all the pleasures of life for twenty years, only to find his wealth and rank taken away in the end. After waking up, he finds outside his house an ash tree with a nest of ants. He then realizes that he in the dream has entered the kingdom of ants, and thus is enlightened about the illusory nature of life. If the useless tree symbolizes simplicity, the tree that leads to illusion is a token of pleasure and enchantment. The opposed alternatives collapse in the last couplet to a single oxymoron, *gongqiao tiancheng*, meaning both artful and natural.

Ni's poem begins with the malleable nature of the Tree-Nest. Its shape evoked a ladle, a boat, and a cave. It could either sail to the legendary River of Stars, or lead to the realm of immortals as found in the Taoist classics. However, the description of the Tree-Nest's illusory effects is balanced by the discourse of its simplicity in the third couplet, which suggests how Mao was content with his simple life as a bird is with a single branch.

You lodge your life neither on land nor on water. / Your chamber is like both a ladle and a boat. / It's an entrance to Heaven, Small Presence Heaven. / You look down over where there is no Earth, like Master Hill Adrift. / A single branch makes one feel the tree-nest is secure. / One should pity the bird circling the tree three times around. / It can be a raft sailing to the River of Stars. / Why would one envy the plans of the sparrows, who fly no further than mulberry or elm?[8]

The juxtaposition of simplicity and artful illusions is also found in other writings on the Tree-Nest. Mao's friends called him a *yiren* (a rare, strange person), his tree a *yishu* (a rare, strange tree), applauded the Tree-Nest as *qihuan* (a marvel) or *huangou* (an illusory construction), and described their experiences in the Tree-Nest as making them feel like both birds and fish, but they always returned to the moral message of simplicity. Everyone could own a simple life, and recluses could embrace simplicity, but only the wealthy and privileged could enjoy artful illusions made possible by such an artifact as the Tree-Nest. Such opposed alternatives marked the vitality of Mao Xiang's period.

Poetics of No Place

That period would face an abrupt end ten years later. It was no coincidence that the two poets quoted above died the same year in 1644. In the spring of 1644, the peasant rebels seized Beijing and occupied the Forbidden City. The last Ming emperor, Chongzhen, abandoned by many of his ministers, took his life by hanging himself in a tree in the garden of the palace. The two poets were among the officials who followed the emperor by committing suicide. In the summer of that year, Manchu troops aided by Chinese collaborators marched into the capital and declared the Qing dynasty. Meanwhile peasant rebels sacked Rugao. After Mao Xiang was forced to flee the city, the Tree-Nest was destroyed. The Tree-Nest was a symbol of the aesthetic tastes of the early seventeenth century, and its collapse signified the end of that period.

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[8] *Tongren ji*, 5.14.

Mao Xiang returned to his hometown in 1646. In the next few years, he participated in the underground anti-Qing resistance, but his effort was of little avail. From the 1650s onward, he devoted his life to creating his private sphere, having the Water Garden expanded and new sites built. He also made his garden a haven for the descendants of many of his close friends who died in the war and violence during the dynastic transition or in the anti-Qing resistance. Some of them had lived in his garden for more than ten years, receiving his guidance, and writing extensively on his estate, before they ventured out into the world. He continued to host literary gatherings in the estate, exchanging poems with his guests, and entertaining them with the theatrical performances of his family troupe. These activities represented his attempt to continue the literati culture of the Ming, despite the political discontinuation.

Nevertheless, the aesthetic tastes and life-style of the Ming only belonged to the past. Beneath the seeming continuation of Mao's artistic pursuits lay subtle variations. He turned the title of the Water Garden into the Water Temple, because after the dynastic transition he began to enjoy the company of monks, and thought that the monks should be the real master of his garden. The associations of simplicity and austerity with the temple and monastic life differ drastically from luxury and enchantment promised by the garden. Mao and his friends continued to write on the ruins of the Tree-Nest and the adjacent bridge. These writings, in particular, suggest that a new poetics of space appeared after the dynastic transition and began to replace the old aesthetic tastes. Ji Yingzhong's (1609-1681) poem on the ruins of the Tree-Nest ends with these lines: "One realizes there is no place for an awl to stand on the whole earth. / Here it is alone outstanding, the feeling of high antiquity."[9] Gu Mengyou (1599-1660) writes: "In an alienating land, I force myself to raise a cup of wine. / … Lodging on a single branch, reaching the far ridge."[10] The Tree-Nest that neither rested on land nor on water evoked the literati's feeling of having lost their homes, been displaced, or been forced to live as exiles during the dynastic transition. The Tree-Nest had contributed to these literati's celebration of optical illusions, but now their delight in illusions gave way to the sadness in the new poetics of no place. Indeed, the phrase and idea of "no place" are often found in the writings of the Ming loyalists. "Over nine continents, no place to bewail mountains and rivers" (Chen Zilong [1608-47]). "Just when in all under heaven there is no place for mountains and waters" (Qu Dajun [1630-96]). The special design of the Tree-Nest allowed the loyalists to feel that they stood in the middle of nowhere and beyond the territory of the new regime, while lamenting over their displacement.

In 1684, fifty years after the construction of the Tree-Nest, Mao Xiang came across another big, old tree, this time behind the ruins of his ancestors' house. Amazed by his discovery, he writes: "Heaven returns my Tree-Nest to me." He had his studio built beside the tree, and named the studio *huanpu*, "Returning to Simplicity" or "Recovering Simplicity." As the title suggests, the antithesis of simplicity and artfulness was replaced by the focus on simplicity.

Fifty years ago, I nested on the tree. / At the age of seventy-four, the tree/simplicity returns to my nest. / For several generations, the fragrance is kept in my former fort. /

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[9] *Tongren ji*, 5.17.
[10] Ibid.

After waking up from the dream under the southern branch, I lodge on the empty gourd. / No single branch ruined, its life has been preserved. / I'm used to being quiet, only observing the lines of the hexagrams of the *Classic of Changes*.[11]

Mao indicated that he woke up from the dream of the tree, a period when he and his friends had enjoyed pleasures and been fascinated by artfulness and optical illusions. Now the period was regarded as an illusion. The tree that had survived the war and violence had an affinity with Mao, who had outlived most of his contemporaries. Many of them either perished in the war and the cause of recovering the Ming, or disgraced themselves by serving in the new regime and collaborating with it. He attributed his fortune to the moral meanings associated with the old tree—simplicity, modesty, and perseverance. Since the tree grew behind his ancestors' house, its root naturally evoked the root of his family, his lineage. He inferred that the tree symbolized the family legacy, and that he was awarded the tree because he carried on the merits of his family. Mao's claim of studying *The Classic of Changes* in the end well suggests his way of coming to terms with political changes and the vicissitudes of life. After all, the hexagram 24 is named *fu* (returning), and the basic teaching of *The Classic of Changes* is that everything is in the process of changes. The cyclic idea of time means returning to the beginning point to start the circle again, and filial piety suggests resorting to the moral authority of ancestors to redeem lost individuals. Both seem to promise the recovering of the loss by invoking the origin.

Conclusion

The Ming literati's fascination with artfulness and strangeness in architectural constructions was closely related to their interest in the theater, the domain of fantasy and illusion. It was no coincidence that Mao Xiang even wrote a play named *Story of the Tree-Nest*. The play, no longer extant, seems to share the same fate as its subject. The same can be said for the Ming literati's fascination with artfulness and illusion. The Tree-Nest captured this fascination, but it also showed Mao's attempt to emulate the simple life of the ancients. Only when the pavilion collapsed and the tree alone was left after the conquest did the Tree-Nest recover its original significance and invite Mao and his friends to contemplate what it meant to live on a tree while no place was left for them in the world. Not only did the Tree-Nest recover its original significance, but it also heralded a new poetics of space. The records surrounding this particular site of Mao Xiang's estate indicate how the city survived the destruction, how destruction led to reconstruction, and how the literati culture of the Ming was commemorated.

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[11] Ibid., 10.7.

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Urban Aspirations: A Field View from the Margins of the City

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Abstract

Cities in India are transforming rapidly. Though there is a huge variation between the transformation of various cities but metropolises like Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai are witnessing major changes as they are making their ways into the global economic networks. These transformations are not apolitical in nature rather represent the imaginations of the people occupying dominant city spaces, largely middle class. Urban transformations, therefore, are manifestations of city visions of the dominant class. Post-economic liberalisation period has seen major shifts in the way Indian cities are planned and structured. There has been a gradual increase of exclusionary city spaces and gated enclaves. Development plans justify these transformations as fulfilling people's aspirations and reflect homogenous and uncontested imagery of city. But are these visions really homogenous? Do alternate city visions exist? Do transformations silence these alternate visions and result into the divided city? What is the nature of this divisiveness? Is this restricted to physical segregation or present at subtle levels of urban social fabric? The present paper which is a synthesis of the ethnographic study done in a rapidly transforming metropolis of India, Delhi, aims to address these questions and challenges the homogenous idea of the city as projected in development plans. It explores the alternate visions, visions from below, of the urban poor through their aspirations for the spaces around them.

Keywords: Aspirations, Urban, Urban Poor, City,

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Introduction

Delhi is the capital of India. With the population of more than 16 million[1], Delhi stands as second most populous city after Mumbai in India. The city holds a significant position not only from a demographic perspective but also because of its ever increasing political and economic influence in the country. From the colonial period to present times, Delhi has been a centre of the political action and decision making that has impacted the larger political scenario of the country. Beyond these characteristics, the city has an identity of being multicultural and multilingual. The constant inflow of population in the city is certainly the reason for its diverse socio-cultural character. Delhi is reported to record an increase of 23 percent of its population due to migration between the years 2001-11[2]. Kumar (2013) explains that Delhi's first Human Development Report indicated Delhi, not Mumbai to be most sought after city of dreams for the common India. Nearly 40% of the population of Delhi is composed of migrants. On an average 665 people migrate to the capital city every day. About 63% of migrants in Delhi from Bihar and 46% from Uttar Pradesh are 'poor'. Employment and livelihood opportunities are the major reasons for this population to migrate to Delhi.

The city of Delhi has always found itself at the crossroads with this population. On the one hand, this population is the source of the majority of essential services in the city; while on the other hand, their habitations have been seen as a blot on the image of *'world-class'* Delhi. The urban restructuring and transformation practices that took place in Delhi specifically post-1991[3], are along the lines of a *'world-class city'*. The urban renewal practices hence followed have aimed at making city spaces impeccable, well-ordered and opulent. A direct implication of these practices has been the invisiblisation of the urban poor from the city spaces and their peripheralisation to the marginal locations. This paper is a synthesis of the ethnographic work done in one such settlement located on the peripheries of Delhi, *Bawana resettlement colony*. This settlement came into existence in the year 2004 after the demolition of the Delhi's one of the largest slum clusters, *Yamuna Pushta slums*, situated on the banks of the river *Yamuna*.

The paper deals with the imaginations and the aspirations of the people of the *Bawana resettlement colony* about the spaces around them. It aims to explore the way the urban poor aspire for the spaces around them; the nature of this imagined space and its relation to the contemporary discourses of urban spatial transformations. The sections following will delve briefly into the history of the emergence of *Bawana resettlement colony* amidst the discourse of *world-class city*. The paper problematises the concept of 'aspirations' and makes an argument that although aspirations are located in the everyday and appear as a natural phenomenon, a specific research focus on aspirations is significant while understanding cities. It further goes on to elaborate the aspirations and imaginations of people of *Bawana* for their private and public spaces and analyses it in relation to the planning of city of Delhi as exhibited in the master plans.

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[1] As per Census 2011

[2] http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/a-city-with-room-for-migrants-if-not-a-roof-over-their-heads/, accessed on February 29, 2016

[3] In 1991, India adopted New Economic Policy that resulted in economic liberalisation of the economy resulting in the opening up avenues for more private and foreign investment. This was implemented by adopting structural adjustment programmes like decentralisation, devaluation and disinvestment.

Bawana Resettlement Colony: An Aftermath of *World-Class* Delhi

Situated on the North-West corner of Delhi towards Delhi- Haryana border, *Bawana resettlement colony* is almost 30 km away from the *Yamuna Pushta* slums. *Yamuna Pushta* was a cluster of slums located in the eastern part of Delhi, near the banks of the river *Yamuna* and housed almost 35,000 working class families and a population of 1, 50,000. Almost 70% of these families were Muslims[4]. The majority of the population residing in these slums belonged to the category of construction workers, who had been brought to Delhi by labour contractors during the Asian Games in 1992 (Bhan & Menon-Sen, 2008). There was also a substantial population of wage labourers and informal workers like rag-pickers, rickshaw pullers, head-loaders and domestic workers, largely migrated from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.
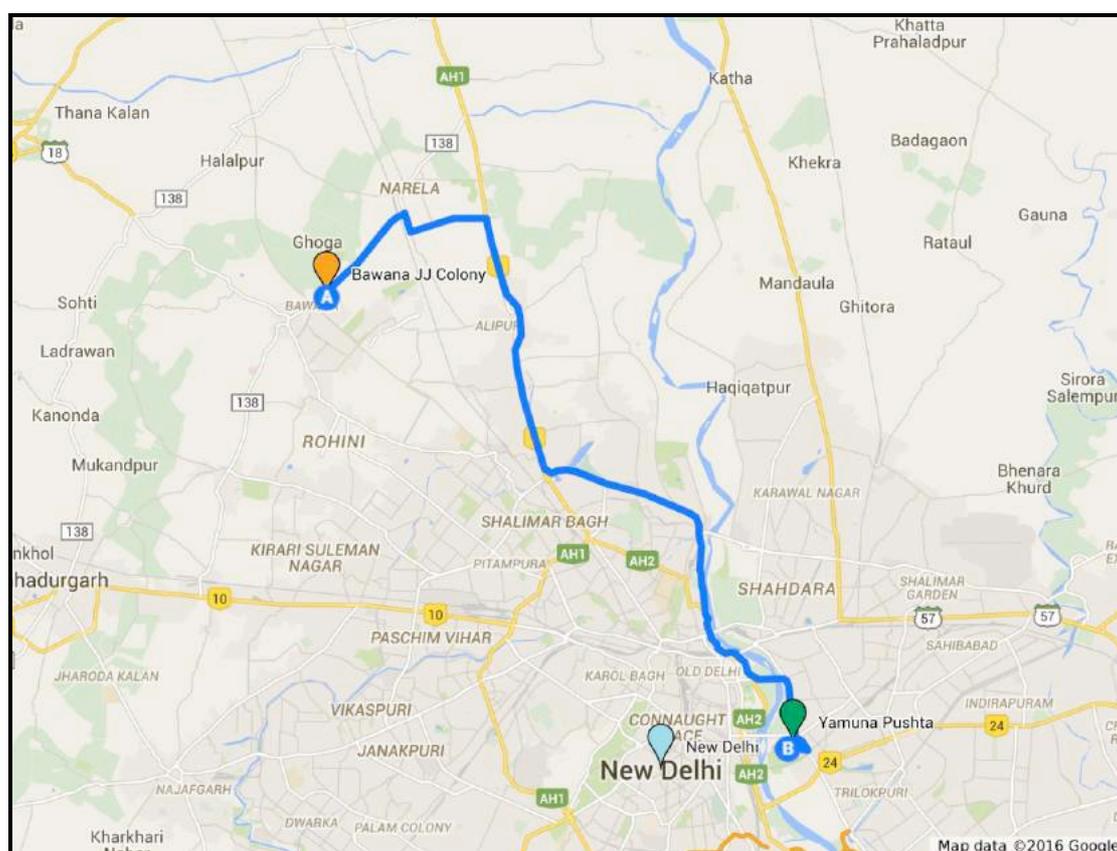
Figure 1 Bawana Resettlement Colony and Yamuna Pushta on the map of Delhi, Source: Google Maps

In the year 2004, these slums were demolished citing various reasons such as illegality of these settlements on the riverbed and being cause of pollution to the river *Yamuna.* However*,* the fact-finding report by Hazards Centre[5] reported that only 0.08% of waste was generated from slums of *Pushta*. The evictions were also motivated by the petitions from the middle-class groups and Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) to clean up the Yamuna and its surroundings and make filthy images of slums invisible from neighbourhoods. In addition to these, the demolition of *Yamuna* slum cluster was part of the grandiose plan to convert Delhi into the

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[4] A religious minority in India

[5] A non-profit organisation set up in 1997 working with the purpose of providing professional services to community and labour organisations. The organisation aims to identify, understand and combat the Hazards that beset communities and workers.

world-class city. Pushed aggressively by then Union Minister of Culture and Tourism, Mr. Jagmohan, the demolitions paved the way for the riverside promenade along the river Yamuna as a major attraction for tourists that Delhi was expecting in the Commonwealth Games to be held in 2010.

Delhi took its first major step towards becoming *world-class* in the year 2003. It was by winning the bid to host the Commonwealth Games. The opportunity was strong enough to provide reasons for planners to remodel and facelift the city and prepare it for the spectacular international event. This required a preparation that demanded the city to look like the modern international cities at least in appearance and infrastructure. Dupont (2011) argues that like Olympics elsewhere, in Delhi, the Commonwealth Games are used by the city's authorities as a 'catalyst of urban change' and an 'international showcase' to enhance the city's global recognition. The preparation for games saw huge investments in the creation of world-class infrastructure in Delhi to attract tourists, boost local jobs and incomes, developing world class transport for tourists, expansion of Delhi airport through a joint venture with GMR-Fraport, a German firm, a makeover of public facilities like revamped bus stops, redesigned dustbins, newly styled street lights and other street furniture. Beyond the infrastructure, there were numerous attempts to improve the public order and aesthetics of the city during games. However, the cost of this aestheticization was paid heavily by the poor. Delhi government made all the attempts to hide the poor as well as other elements (beggars, homeless, dogs, cows) that it considered 'nuisance' from the streets of Delhi. Slum demolitions surfaced strongly on Delhi's urban fabric as part of this process of aestheticization.

Although, the Commonwealth Games marked the beginning of concrete attempts for city transformation, the idea of the *world-class city* in India, or to be specific in Delhi, has its inception in neo-liberal economic reforms and free-market policies introduced in the year 1991. Though the plans aiming to convert Delhi into the *world-class* city do not provide any concrete definition, but general governance perspective defines such city as the one that attracts more foreign investments by showing increased potential for the economic development and improved standards of living for people. Amongst the dominant public discourse, it implies a city that offers leisure living, high-end infrastructure, faster mobility, 'clean' businesses, a spectacular consumptive landscape, and nodal positioning in the global flow of transnational capital and international tourists (Batra, 2010). Slum demolitions and their subsequent resettlement at the city margins appropriately served the purpose of creating spectacular city centre that is devoid of any traces of impoverishment, dirt, and poverty.

Locating aspirations in understanding cities

Cities are inherently aspirational in nature. They are the product of imaginations; imaginations of planners, politicians, architects or dominant class. These imaginations project a future image of the city. Often, these imaginations are reiterated in the planning documents that play a crucial role in transforming the city. But are these imaginations homogenous? Are they uncontested and shared equally by all of its inhabitants? Certainly not, since the urban fabric is heterogeneous and is composed of distinct social identities, it would be a fallacy to assume that city visions are homogenous. This hence points to three major positions that provide a strong

foundation to locate the aspirations while understanding city spaces, specifically in the Indian scenario.

Firstly, Indian urban studies literature has dealt with the question of city imaginations by focussing largely on the middle class visions. It has been seen that city planning and redevelopment practices are often aligned towards the visions of the middle class group. These middle class centred city visions have been critiqued heavily for being exclusionary and alienating for the urban poor (Fernandes, 2006; Srivastava, 2015; Deshpande, 2003) however, parallel visions for the city from the perspective of the urban poor have not been explored.

Urban poor have been viewed as mere recipients of the city transformations practices. Their struggles for survival, issues of accessing basic services, everyday negotiations, and contestations with the state and their claims for rights to the city have been at a centre stage of urban studies. Scholars and researchers (Baviskar, 2003; Bhan, 2009 Dupont, 2008; Ramanathan, 2005) have critically engaged on issues of slum demolitions and associated aspects of illegality, citizenship and rights of poor in the city. Though this has significantly enriched our understanding of the urban issues in the context of the poor, politics of urban development and agency of poor in asserting their rights, there has been limited focus on understanding the imaginations of the urban poor for their city spaces. Hence, there is significant need to bring imaginations of the urban poor for their city and neighbourhood spaces into the existing contours of urban studies.

Secondly, exploring the spatial imaginations of the urban also points to acknowledging their world views, their voice and hence their identity on the urban social fabric. Das (2007) argues that capturing the voice and narratives is not about solving the problem but it is about acknowledging. It is one of the ways to understand the most ordinary and everyday life practices of people. Bringing the voices of any particular group into the domains of research, academic, planning or policy is an acknowledgement of their identity. Taylor (1994) argues for moral cognizance for persons who share different worldviews than us. In a multicultural society, the hegemonic representation of the voices of people from different groups, ethnicities, class, caste and gender puts subaltern at the lowest level and thus amounting to complete neglect of their perspectives. It is not just negligence and silencing the voices from below, but also an attempt to erase the identities of people. Taylor argues that misrecognition is a form of oppression and, therefore, giving recognition is not just a courtesy that we owe to people but it is a human need.

Thirdly, the idea of city aspirations is closely related to the rights of people to their city. Lefebvre (1996) in his famous text, 'The Right to the City', argues in favour of varied city imaginations and considers them as utopianisms. He argues that there is no single imagination, not one utopia but there are utopianisms, *"who is not a utopia today? Only narrowly specialised practitioners working to order without the slightest critical examination of stipulated norms and constraints, only these not very interesting people escape utopianism. All are utopians, including those futurists and planners who project Paris in the year 2,000 and those engineers who have made Brasilia! But there are several utopianisms. Would not the worst be that utopianism which does not utter its name, covers itself with positivism and on this basis imposes*

the harshest constraints and the most derisory absence of technicity?" (Lefebvre 1996:151)

For Lefebvre, these utopias are alternate for the present conditions. It is a possibility of tomorrow. He sums this idea as, *"utopia today is possible of tomorrow".* City imaginations conceived by the urban poor, therefore, reflect their utopias and the alternatives that they envisage as opposed to present city planning practices.

Harvey's conception of the Right to the City though primarily drawn from Lefebvre yet is more contextualised to present conditions and is rooted in the situations of neo-liberalism. Harvey argues that excessive urbanisation and dominance of capitalism in the cities has changed the spatial forms and has resulted in segregated places, gated communities and privatised public spaces kept under constant surveillance. These conditions have led to the threatening of urban identity, citizenship and belonging in the urban life. He argues that such processes have hugely impacted the poor and underprivileged as they have been removed for the sake of capitalist production and have never been given their rightful places in the city. This can only be combated by democratic control over the process of urbanisation and use of surplus (Harvey, 2012). For Harvey, this 'democratic control' lies at the heart of the Right to the City which according to him is both a working slogan as well as political ideal to enable dispossessed to take back the control of the city. This, therefore, calls for the participation of people in the discourses of the urban planning and decide the way they want their cities to be. This kind of participation reflects the need to focus on the aspirations that people have for the spaces around them.

A field view of spatial imaginations

Aspirations of people from *Bawana resettlement colony* are closely connected to the limitations and challenges that they face in accessing the spaces at present. Their aspirations also unravel the middle class hegemony in visualising the neighbourhood and city spaces. People's aspirations move from the private spaces of their homes to the public spaces in the neighbourhood and larger city spaces.

Aspirations for housing space: An entry into narrow lanes of the Bawana resettlement colony provides a glimpse of limited housing space available to people. People use the same space of house for almost all household purposes with no separations for cooking, washing, living etc. Limited housing space has forced people to construct rooms over one another resulting in the weakly built housing structures.

Figure 2 Vertical rises in housing structures due to limited housing space, Source: Author

At the time of resettlement, plots in two sizes, 12.5 square meters (sq mts) and 18 sq mt are allotted to families depending upon the residence proof they could show. The families, who could prove their residence in slums of *Yamuna Pushta* before January 1990 through documentary evidence, were given plots of size 18 sq mt. And those having proof of their residence after January 1990 but before 1998 were given plots of size 12.5 sq mt.

Allotted size of plots is too less for most of the families as the average family size in Bawana is above five. The small size of the dwelling and people's discomfort with them emerged prominently when they were asked about their aspirations for the space of the housing. In almost all the interactions with families, people asserted that government should re-consider the size of plots allotted. The minimum size of the house that people aspire for in Bawana is between 35 sq mt to 45 sq mt. An old couple living in Bawana with their family of four sons and one granddaughter expressed their concern over the small size of the plot and their expanding family, *"it's just not enough. It is so small. What can you do with 12 sq ft plot? This is the place to live, cook and do everything. You can't do any separation here. It's so small..... It is so difficult for all of us to stay here comfortably. I have four sons. Till what extent will you keep building one floor over other?"*

There has been a gradual decrease in the size of plots allotted to evictees during resettlement in Delhi, from 80 sq mts as prescribed in the first master plan[6] of Delhi in 1962 to 12.5/18 sq mts at present. However, Masterplan 2001 for Delhi prescribes 'a minimum size of resettlement of JJ plot is 25 sq mt which may be reduced to 18 sq mt **with 100% coverage** provided 7 sq mt per plot is clubbed with cluster open space'. This was further revised with Masterplan 2021 that recommends for relocation on built structures (or flats/houses) on at least 25 sq mt in size (DDA, 2010).

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[6] Master plan is a perspective document that envisions the development of a particular city for a period of upcoming twenty years. Delhi is presently led by the third master plan, *Master Plan, 2021*. It was prepared in the year 2007 aiming for development goals for 2021. First master plan of Delhi was prepared in 1962 with the perspective of 1981, that is, it planned for the development of Delhi till the year 1981. This was followed by the second master plan, which was prepared in 1987 and aimed for Development of Delhi till the year 2001.

Nevertheless, in *Bawana resettlement colony*, in spite of the fact that 100% coverage could not be achieved, the size of plots was 18 sq mt and 12.5 sq mt only.

Living on such small piece of land has deteriorated the quality of life substantially. A survey conducted by Bhan and Menon-Sen (2008) during the initial days of resettlement reported that 56% of households (1.451 families) lived in 12.5 sq mt plots while 44 % lived in 18 sq mt plots (1,126) families. At an average household size of 5.35, this housing space implies that a 5 people share a space of 10*12 feet, roughly the size of the kitchen in a middle class apartment and about one-third the size of the average size of plot in informal settlements like Yamuna Pushta (estimated at about 33 sq m.). A constant desire for an increase in living space, therefore, appears significantly in the narratives of people.

Aspirations for neighbourhood spaces: People's imaginaries are associated with the physical form, structure, and appearance of neighbourhood places as well as the social values like safety and spaces being free from discrimination and crime. People's imaginations for public spaces and neighbourhood spaces range from material to non-material aspects. Material aspects are related to the concrete appearances of spaces, the way they are maintained, the role of people as well as administrative bodies in maintaining these spaces, basic hygiene conditions, and structures of these places. These aspects influence the access of people to the public places.

Non-material aspects of public spaces are more complex than the material peculiarities. Non-materiality pertains to differential claims of people over the use of space. 'Who uses which space' is a pertinent question within the context of the use of public spaces. For instance, it is usually seen that women and girls desist using public spaces if there is the dominance of men or if women perceive a threat to their safety in these spaces. This results in a limited access of women to public spaces. Also, the instances of harassment, violence, and crime in public spaces determine people's accessibility to these spaces. These non-material aspects are more significant to people than physical availability and appearances of public spaces.

Within the neighbourhood spaces, a first material aspect that appears in the narratives of people is related to infrastructure related to basic services or community infrastructure. Non-availability of cemented roads and streets make people question the administration for the work that has been done in last ten years of resettlement. Apart from roads and streets, community toilet complexes (CTCs) are significant neighbourhood spaces. Due to limited housing space and unavailability of toilets inside houses, these CTCs are essential service resource in the community. However, these CTCs have not been maintained properly resulting in the issues related to sanitation and basic hygiene in the community.

Lack of maintenance of CTCs has direct impacts on the mobility of women and girls in the colony. The majority of dysfunctional CTCs have become waste dumping zones or dark corners used for drug abuse. This has serious repercussions on the safety of women and girls in the community. An instance of sexual harassment around the CTCs is quite common in the colony. Open defecation further makes girls and women more vulnerable to sexual abuse. This further restricts their mobility in the public spaces.

The non-availability and limitations related to basic community infrastructure are not just expressions of their imaginations but it also conveys consistent neglect and apathy of municipal authorities towards the resettlement sites. However, this neglect has not been new. There has been consistent disregard towards developing quality infrastructure in resettlement sites[7]. In a study conducted by Sheikh & Mandelkern, (2014), one of the government officials from Delhi Development Authority (DDA)[8] reflects that 'in the planner's vision, there has been neglect of economically weaker sections within planning.' The planning documents have been critiqued heavily for providing a superficial analysis of the problems of urban poor and issues with resettlement sites and for being silent on the issues of unavailability of the basic services like water, sanitation, health and education facilities at resettlement sites. It has been seen that plan documents have failed to provide any comprehensive strategy for developing basic services in the resettlement sites.

The above discussion certainly points that though fundamental, yet physical community infrastructure is a beginning point in imaginations of people for the places they wish to inhabit. These demands are strongly linked to the limitations that people face in their everyday life.

In addition to basic community infrastructure, open spaces like parks, gardens, and spaces for leisure and entertainment within the colony are exemplars of the desires that move beyond fundamental. People believe that these spaces might not be essential for survival but they have a role to play in improving the quality of life of people in the colony. Interestingly, such spaces appear more strongly in the narratives of adolescent boys and girls. These spaces provide young adults with an avenue for their personal freedom and space for expression for intimate relations. Through such aspirations, they demand non-discriminatory spaces where they can interact freely with each other with being judged or labelled stereotypically. Both boys and girls face restricted and conservative social environment where their intimate relations and communication are curbed. This influences their aspirations for spaces of leisure, recreation, and entertainment that might not constitute as basic and essential but have the potential to enhance the quality of their living by providing them freedom.

Field narratives on imaginations of people about space reflect on the social character of space, relations that people have with the spaces around them and the way they relate to them. Lefebvre (1974) in *The production of Space* argues that space is social. It is socially produced and is rooted in the relations of production. Social space according to him is an outcome of a set of operations and cannot be reduced to a rank of the object. Space is consistently shaped by the human activities and relations. Massey (2009) drawing from Lefebvre argued that space is a product of relations and is a complexity of networks, links, exchanges, connections, from the intimate level of our daily lives. She considers spatial relations within the home as well as outside significant in the production of space. Space is produced by the establishment as well as the refusal of relations. Social relations are central to space and determine the way

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[7] Studies conducted in other resettlement sites in Delhi like *Bhalswa, Narela, Madanpur-Khadar* have shown similar findings.

[8] DDA is an institutonalised body formed under Delhi Development Act, 1957. It is a powerful body which owns almost about a quarter of Delhi's land and is involved in almost all the activities related to land, housing and infrastructure in the city. Major functional areas of DDA are planning, housing, land disposal, land management, horticulture, architecture, sports, landscape and urban heritage. Thus, it incorporates almost all the aspects directly or indirectly related to the development and planning of urban areas.

space is conceived by people. The association between social relations and nature of space that is produced is mutual. While nature of space decides the kind of social relations that are developed, social relations, in turn, influence the production of space. Field narratives exemplify this relation and reflect that nature of the neighbourhood and public spaces has a significant impact on the formation of the social relations of people.

People in the *Bawana colony* make an immediate comparison between the memories that they attach to the place before resettlement (slums near the Yamuna) and at present in the resettlement site. The space of *Yamuna Pushta* furthered the establishment of social relations through the safe, secure and familiar environment, which the space of *Bawana* failed to provide. Instances of everyday violence and criminality due to excessive alcoholism and drug abuse among men makes public spaces of *Bawana colony* unsafe. Lack of safe and secure environment and limited availability of collective spaces has restricted the social relations. These restricted social relations have in turn made the spaces alienated to people with which they do not feel any attachment. The narratives from *Bawana*, therefore, explain that space produces as well as is produced by social relations. And these social relations determine the way people associate with space.

Aspirations for city spaces: For people, city spaces beyond their own habitation are impersonal yet the imaginations for the same are connected to the struggles that they had to face in the city. Aspirations for the city are not as precisely defined as they are for their spaces of habitation as well as neighbourhood spaces. They assess the city spaces in connection with the spaces that they have inhabited.

The changes that have taken place around *Yamuna Pushta* after the demolition of their houses appear in their narratives about the city. During the interaction about the city, people constantly relate to space where they used to live and reflect the changes that have happened there. The dominant discourses of transformations of the city into aesthetically appealing spaces through structures like flyovers, malls, high-rise buildings appear clearly in their assessment of the changes that have taken place at Yamuna Pushta. Though, due to their peripheral location and limited means to connect back to the city, people find themselves disconnected to these beautiful places and with the city of Delhi as a whole, yet, these spaces represent the way city spaces should appear.

For the people of *Bawana colony*, the spaces of the middle class and upper-class societies are the benchmark for them in terms of the physical structure of the city spaces. One of the female residents of community expresses this as, *"there are no such parks or places, where we can go and sit. All the parks that you will see around are in bad shape. People cannot go anywhere relax... When I go towards Rohini[9] I see such nice parks where people just sit and chat. Children play there. There are chairs, trees, green grass and those places look so beautiful. We also want such spaces around our homes so that we can also sit and relax for some time and our children can also play. We can also hold some function or ceremony there if we want to. Right now there is no such place around. Whatever empty places are, they are dumped with*

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[9] Rohini is a residential area near Bawana colony comprising of many gated enclaves housed by mainly middle class and upper-middle class population.

garbage all over. They stink every time and are of no use. The government should do something to clean them."

However, in terms of the social environment, people express their aspirations in relation to their own experiences and struggles. For them, liveability for poor in the city is crucial. Not only livability in terms of affordability but in terms of access to jobs is an important concern for having a good city life for the poor people.

However, aspirations of people also reflect a middle class fixation. Their aspirations mirror the middle class discourse of beautiful, ordered, segregated and pure city spaces and neighbourhood spaces. The conception of 'urban' is, therefore, constricted and is limited to the dominant ideas of cities as aesthetically pleasing spaces with access to luxury infrastructure. The discourse reflects that a 'fixed' idea of the 'city' is formed over the period and gets entrenched amongst its inhabitants and shape up their desires. It further reveals that are no radical re-imagination of the spaces but there are aspirations to re-order and re-structure the spaces according to the dominant discourse.

Conclusion

Understanding a city, its imaginations, and transformation from the perspective of imaginations of poor inverts the vision that has always been projected for the city. It provides an alternative vision for the city, a vision from below. These visions contest the homogenous imaginations of the city and show an alternative vision that emerges from the poor. Interestingly, these visions from below do not radically re-imagine the city spaces rather reproduce the present dominant narratives of ordered and aesthetically appealing spaces to a certain extent. However, for the poor, their aspirations for spaces around them emerge from their everyday encounters and needs. Their imaginations are not an unreal phenomenon, the way they are usually understood but rather embedded deeply into their rights and urge for equal entitlements in the city. They are part of the real world for the poor. Although conceptualised as dreams, desire, and imaginations, but these aspirations have the potential to alter the quality of present life of people to a great extent. For people, however, they are their utopias, but not the unachievable ones. These utopias are rooted in their present and everyday life. They are part of their everyday struggles that they involve in to make these utopias a reality. As Lefebvre, says, these utopias, are their alternatives that they imagine, their visions for tomorrow. They might appear as utopias today but they are the possibilities of tomorrow.

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The Impacts of Globalization on Urban Peripheral Villages of Iran

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Abstract

Globalization as an ongoing economic, social, political and technological process has various impacts around the world, which its quantity and quality has been different in terms of various countries conditions. One of these impacts is spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages. The objective of this research was consideration the impacts of globalization on spatial transformation of Iran's urban peripheral villages. Study area of research are selected urban regions in different parts of Iran. Research required data are collected through field study and some documents. Collected data are analyzed through grounded theory. Findings show that globalization has leaded to urban peripheral village's transformation through seven processes including pseudo-modern bureaucratic system, health care technology and population growth, land reform and spatial movements of population, economic integration and domination of oil economic surplus, de-industrialization , information technology and capital and power accumulation. As a result urban peripheral villages have experienced several unfavorable phenomenon including physical chaotic structure of villages, unfavorable land use changes, forming unofficial textures, lack of service spaces, and inconsistent architecture. At the end some correcting viewpoints are introduced.

Keywords: Globalization, urban peripheral villages, spatial transformation. Iran

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Introduction

Globalization is a set of economic processes in which production, marketing and investment are integrated across the borders of nations. The liberalization and opening up of markets to the global economy is leading to the emergence of a single market for goods, capital, technology, services and information and to some extent labor (Suresh, 2003).

Rural space of Iran has influenced by special residency pattern following neoclassic economic theories and growth pole spatial planning approaches since 1920. Most of rural settlements have lost their population as a result of urban-rural differences intensification and emigration process. The high immigrant population concentration in the urban peripheral villages have leaded to their unequal extension. Most of these villages have found dormitory role, their economic structure have changed from agricultural production to a place which are depended on the cities completely. Economic structure of villages have taken distance from organic dynamic transformation in compliance with urban economic process. This social and cultural structure are in contrast with existing social structure of villages (Saeidi et all, 2014, 11).

Physical extension of cities caused agricultural lands of urban peripheral villages convert to residential and services land use. Changes in rural land use have led to changes in rural function and its physical texture. Because of low price of land, urban population have been settled in these villages therefore, uncontrolled construction of housing and service building have leaded to chaotic texture of urban peripheral village. These villages also have faced with managerial problems.

Uncontrolled urban growth has rooted in various factors but the most important one is uncontrolled rural-urban emigration. Cities are unable properly accommodate all the increased population, therefore parts of added population are driven to urban peripheral area (villages).In fact, emigration to urban area provide services and economic possibilities for the people but emigrant and even urban citizen return to peripheral villages, because the cost of living and specially the price of land and housing are rather low at urban peripheral villages than cities. Due to such a process, most of these villages find dormitory function that means most of their residents work at the city and commute to rural area as their living center. Therefore, the economic structure of villages change, agricultural economy weakened or remove. As a result economic structure of villages depend on urban economic process (Ziahe tavana &Ghadermazi, 2010: 119-135).

 Spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages in Iran have leaded to spatial disorder and unwanted socio-economic consequences. Spatial development authorities cannot ignore these process and their impacts, it is necessary to analyses these trends deeply and try to manage them. The objective of this research is considering factors affecting spatial transformation of Iran's urban peripheral villages.

Methods

Research study area are selected urban regions in different parts of Iran including Gorgan, Kirman, Zahedan, Tehran, Birzand Karaj, Robatkarim, Nazarabad, Fouman and Sanandaj. Research method is based on grounded theory. Research required data are collected through field study and some documents. Collected data are analyzed through spatial approach and grounded theory.

Result and Discussion

Table no 1 shows research simple villages in terms of their central cities, percent of native people, effective factors on village's area extension, and physical problems from people's viewpoints based on field studies (interview, filling questionnaire) and some documents.

Table 1: research simple villages in terms of their central cities, percent of native people, effective factors on village's area extension, and physical structure problems from people's viewpoints

City	Village	Percent of native people	Effective factors on village's area extension	Physical structure problems
Gorgan Najafi Kany et all , 2014	Ozin eh	20	1-Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Unofficial texture formation
	Anji rab	22		
Karaj (Zaman i,2013)	Farh abad	31.75	1-Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants. 3- Land Grant by institutions. 4- Villa building. 5-Invasion of urban service land use.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Unofficial texture formation
Zaheda n(Afrak hteh,20 06)	Hem atab ad	9.7	1- Land occupation by people and migrants. 2- Lack of	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development

			competition potentiality traditional production land use with housing and service land use.	plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Unofficial texture formation
Robat karim (afrakht ehm Yosefy, 2005)	Orin, Khai raba d, Ham adan ak	31.2	1- Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants. 3- Lack of competition potentiality traditional production land use with housing and service land use.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Unofficial texture formation
Sanand aj (Ziahe tavana &Ghad ermazi, 2010)	Nay sar, Hass anab ad	17.5	1- Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Unofficial texture formation
Birjand (Afrakh teh, Hajipou r, 2014)	Neg hab, Mas uma bad	47	1- Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants. 3- Lack of competition potentiality traditional production land use with housing and service land use. 4- Villa building.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use. 5- Building Materials changes and using nonnative materials.

Fouman	Nog urab	45	1- Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants. 3- Lack of competition potentiality traditional production land use with housing and service land	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Disproportion of residential land use and service land use.
Fouman	Mak leva n	68	1- Population natural growth. 2- Land occupation by people and migrants. 3- Lack of competition potentiality traditional production land use with housing and service land use. 4- Villa building.	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes. 4- Building Materials changes and using nonnative materials
Nazara bad(Do lati, 2015)	Tan kam an Sho mali (10v illag es)	60-70	1- Villa building. 1- Acceptance of emigrant from Azerbaijan 3- Extension of small industrial firms. 4-Extension of poultry Farming	1- Constructing outside of village's official territory. 2- Constructing regardless development plan's criterion. 3- Uncontrolled land use changes.
Tehran (Nedaei , 2014)	Kas har, Sang an, Vard ij)	25.05	74.5 percent of construction are built by Tern's citizen outside the villages' official territory.	1- Villa building. 2- Uncontrolled land use changes.

Table no 1 shows that Iran's urban peripheral villages are encounter with seven negative spatial transformation. Including:

a)   Construction outside the legal boundaries of villages and physical disorder;
b)   Construction regardless development plan criterion in the project area;
c)   Sever changes of land use, especially from agricultural fertile lands and natural resource to building;

d)   Disproportion of residential land use and service land use;

e)   Unofficial texture formation;

f)   Changes on building materials and using nonnative building materials and architecture that is not in harmony with nature; and

g)   Violations in the operation of Privacy Rivers.

For understanding the processes effective on spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages, grounded theory method has been handled (table 2).

Table 2: Processes effective on spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages analysis through grounded theory method

Main phrase	Concepts	Category	Macro Category
There aren't strong will in the government to stop illegal construction.	Land occupation by immigrants	Governmental Bureaucratic	Government policy
It is possible to make hosing regardless bureaucratic process in the urban peripheral villages.			
Land use changes is possible quasi-legally.			
Illegal land use changes in not difficult.			
The land be delegated by institution to their members.	Governmental management		
The tasks of responsible instructions are parallel.			
Residential lands in urban peripheral villages are cheaper than urban lands.	Economic efficiency	Economic efficiency due to construction possibilities in the places without infrastructure	
Agricultural land use cannot compete with residential, commercial and services land use economically.			
After illegal construction in a places by poor people. Finally government recognizes there officially and the price of land increases.	Poor people supporting policy		
Legal construction is expensive	Cost differences	Lack of regulation coordination with target gropes abilities	
We cannot borrow for housing because we do not have sponsor			
We cannot borrow for housing because we can't pay installments			
Population natural growth increase construction demands	Population natural growth	Population growth	population
Emigration and immigration have	Fluidity of		

faced construction management with difficulties	population		
Public transportation extension have caused population daily commuting between town and county	Population daily commuting	The separation of work and accommodation	Transportation technology
Public transportation extension have caused people work at the city and accommodate at village			
Traditional production has eliminated by importing similar goods	Land uses competition	Optimal use of land by private sector	Land yield
Traditional production has eliminated due to economic inefficiency			
Agricultural production has limited due to lack of irrigation water			
Health gropes build villa (Apartment)	Power and capital accumulation at cities	Capital accumulation	The rule of capital
Poor gropes build unofficial construction			
Urban lands private ownerships has limited poor people residence space in the cities			

According table no 2, seven interdependent process derived from globalization has affected urban peripheral transformation (Fig 1). Including:

Context

Globalization Radiation

Processes

| Accumalation of capital and power - polarization of society | Comunication Technology | Deindustrialization and lack of traditional production competing abilities | Economic Integration and oil economy domination | Land reform and population spatial movement | Health Technologty and population growth | Quasi-modern bureaucratic system |

Spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages

| Inconsistent architextrue | The relative lack of service space | Unofficial texture formation | Inappropriate land use Conversion | Physical disturbance |

Fig 1: Conceptual pattern resulted from research

a)   Inefficient bureaucratic system:

Mirza Taghy khan Amir kabir, Iranian prime minister attempts to establish an efficient bureaucratic system in the 19th century, but failed because of old social structure, social traditions resistance and lack of financial resource to pay cost of a modern bureaucratic system.

Establishment of quasi modern bureaucratic system is related to Reza Shah and Iran's economic integration with Europe. This system couldn't save himself from strong political, social and cultural customs in spite of many efforts and various reform. This system have characteristics like concentration of power and authority, lack of meritocracy principal, lack of independence for directors, limited efficient staffs and corruption. The management of affairs are in the hands of parallel institution that sometime neutralize each other's activities. Domination of oil rentier economy reinforces the corruption, because oil rentier government has much interdependency from community, since are not depended on society's taxes and income, while modern bureaucratic system with characteristics like enough power and authorities, meritocracy, real interdependency and technical competence manage community development processes (Delfroz, 2015: 334-354).

Spatial planning of Iran has been based on growth pole approach which encourages industrial investment in the urban centers. Fowling from neoclassical economic approaches based on growth pole have leaded to urban slum and physical disorder of urban peripheral villages. One phenomenon in the cities all around the world is annexation, through this process urban spaces extend to peripheral territory and joins the peripheral spaces to urban area (Saeidi , Hoseini Hasel, 2006, 7-18).Extension of motor vehicles causes peripheral spaces occupied by the cities (Memford, 2009:

678-699). Based on this process the annexation of peripheral spaces has been very fast by the cities all around the world including Asia, Europe, and America (Charrier, 1995: 243-254). Housing by poor people and villa building by riches are including responsible factors of urban sprawl (Bastie & Dezert, 2004, 204).

b)   Health care technology and population growth:

Extension of health care technology is a phenomenon related to globalization trend which often have extended from western countries to developing countries. This trend has decreased mortality rate and caused population growth. Absolute population growth and immigration trend has increased construction demands and insatiability of population which in turn has faced urban peripheral villages with management problems. In these villages, services space are not in accordance with population needs, therefore, rural population commute to urbans centers for access required services that in turn increased traffic and social problems.

c)   Land reform:

Land reform which have accomplished by Iran's previous regime has been a global trend. In fact, this trend was the result of global peasant's movement and pressure from western countries, especially USA to the Shah of Iran which executed in a very complex condition of Iran (Pacoima, 1984:96). Land reform has been one factors which reinforced rural-urban emigration in Iran; emigration process has been main effective factor of urban peripheral transformation.

d)   Iran's Economic Integration:

   Domination of oil in Iran's economy has been the result of Iran economic integration with global economy which reduced agricultural economy in the country economy. This trend caused rural-urban emigration process due to increases of urban economy prosperity and job opportunities. Rapid population growth of urban centers have leaded to urban sprawl and spatial transformation of urban peripheral villages.

e)   De-industrialization:

   De-industrialization of third world countries is driven from economic globalization's new phase. In this stage, traditional production including agricultural production, animal husbandry production and even traditional workshops production such as copper utensils or carpets were eliminated, they were labor intensive and relatively expensive and similar production were imported from industrial countries. Traditional production have not competing capabilities. Iranian products such as silk, tea, cotton and hemp have removed and nowadays, the markets of country are full of western imported goods. Therefore, Production spaces are devoted to service and residential spaces, which have leaded to land use changes of urban peripheral villages.

f)   Communication Technology:

Communication technology as main globalization factor has facilitated foreign goods importing, this technology have also reinforced mass rural-urban emigration and population commuting possibilities due to reducing cost of communication and transportation (Hite,1998:1-15). With increasing population concentration in the cities and peripheral villages, the need of required drinking water is increased, so water deficiency especially deficiency of drinking water is a common problem which acts in loss of agricultural production in the urban peripheral villages. Based on spatial distribution approaches (operation of the circuit) there are positive relation

between location of any activity and economic value of land. Any activities locate in the place far or close to the urban centers based on its location rent (Saeidi, Hoseini Hasel, 2010: 29-31).

g)   Accumulation of Capital and Power:
There are meaningful relationship between capital accumulation and urban growth. Accumulation of capital in urban centers especially big metropolitan cities has been accompanied with power accumulation due to various economic, social and political conditions. Above mentioned situation has been intensified by globalization process. The outcome of this trend has been polarization of society, the poor, whom have not any access to benefits of economic development and the rich, that has completely benefited from globalization, industrialization and commercialization. Polarization of society regarding existing social, political and managerial characteristics have greet impacts on urban peripheral villages.

Economically, village have neither completely urban economy nor original rural economic activities.

From the lifestyle, villages are experiencing a transition from tradition to modernity or even postmodernity, different aspects of lifestyle are somehow mingled; young people in rural areas show a tendency toward urban lifestyle while older people prefer local rural lifestyle.

Spatially and physically affluent groups rush to village for production workshop, annoying land use and sometime villa building in the pleasant climate area, while poor people build unofficial and disorder housing in the villages. Therefore, urban peripheral villages experience complex spatial, physical and social conditions.

Conclusion

According Harvey, competition within capitalism, has led all social actors to generate intellectual physical and social landscape favorable for the accumulation of capital in developed countries. But in Iran, governmental economy and quasi modern government based on brokerage doesn't provide healthy competition, as result, attempt for capital accumulation and added value doesn't lead to favorable transformation. Land role changes from production factor to commodity influenced by urban demand, has provided condition for land use changes from agricultural land use to service, housing, commercial and small industrial workshop land use. As result, unfamiliar spatial structure has imposed to the region.
Spatial planning is a key instrument for establishing long-term sustainable frameworks for social, territorial and economic development both within and between countries. Its primary role is to enhance the integration between sectors such as housing, transport, energy and industry, and to improve national and local systems of urban and rural development, also taking into account environmental considerations. Six key principles define the scope of spatial planning including: the democratic principle, the subsidiarity principle, the participation principle, the integration principle, the proportionality principle and the precautionary principle (United Nations, 2008:2-12). These are dreams which access to them is not so easy in a centralized and quasi modern system.

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The Dimensions of Childhood in Modern Architecture: From Urban Scales to Domestic Spaces

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Abstract

According to many authors, architecture is more than meets the eye: it is the image of a certain historical, cultural, and social context, as it reflects the ideals and longings of the society by which it is built and inhabited. In the eventful years of the 20th century, amid a context punctuated by the horrors of war, society gradually began to revolve around children, their rights, well-being, and education. Seen as an innocent figure, the child represented hope in a better future, for today's children would be tomorrow's society. This change of attitude toward childhood will therefore be evident in both practical and theoretical forms of architecture and urban planning, ranging from the large scale of the city, to the intimate scale of domestic space.

Spaces for play, such as playgrounds and playrooms; the walking distance at which a school is placed from home and, inside the dwelling, spaces for social interaction and introspection – these all consist of evidence of how childhood started integrating the discourse of modern society and, thus, of architecture. By looking into the work of architects from this period – like Ernst May's *siedlungen* in Frankfurt, Ernö Goldfinger and his exhibitions, Aldo Van Eyck and his playgrounds in Amsterdam, to name a few –, one can unveil the various interpretations of childhood in architecture, never forgetting that the architect who thinks the city also designs the home, the latter "being regarded as the very centre of town planning concerns and the focal point of all measures".

Keywords: Childhood, children, domestic space, urban planning, public space, play, playground, playroom, modern architecture, design.

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Introduction

'*Architecture (...) is everywhere with us, is a vital influence in our lives and a major expression of our culture, the most extensive and universal of the arts, experienced and used by all people.*' (Erskine, 1982: 642)

Architecture is a useful art that witnesses the way people live, their culture, and their ideals. Conceived as a shelter that 'both protects our bodies and expresses our dreams' (Erskine, 1982: 643), architecture has through time reflected the ways of life of society, and has changed its form to respond to specific contexts, wills, and needs. Besides, not only does it mirror the shifts in society's ways, it also actively participates in those changes. In fact, the manner in which the architect configures domestic space – that portrays his convictions and interpretations of the current ways of life – will dictate how people live in private. Architecture can therefore be used as a means of shaping certain behaviours and habits, and serve as an instrument to educate the population on how to live in modern spaces, thus repelling attitudes deemed undesirable. And in fact, as an example, the realisation that hygiene was essential to maintaining a healthy living ended up extending to all the population and becoming a synonim of basic need, which resulted in the necessity of a bathroom in each dwelling. Likewise, the disappearance of customs, habits, or the obsolescense of certain elements also provoked changes is domestic space. For instance, the model of upper middle-class european families with an internal maid led to the need of a bedroom, small bathroom and service entrance close to the kitchen. As this domestic configuration disappeared, the maid's quarters stopped being included in the design of domestic space.

This paper aims to show that, just as in the examples above, the new position of childhood in society changed modern architecture. In fact, the 20th century was marked by a series of events that provoked a rapid shift in society's attitude toward children. On one hand, the difficult times of war, along with the *Baby Boom*, the lowering child mortality (due to the improving living conditions and to vaccination), and the realisation that a child could become a better adult if educated, gradually pushed children to a more central position. At the same time, the development of certain industries found support in the new ideas on child development (particularly divulged by Psychology), which they used as arguments to sell their products – toys, magazines, books, food, among others –, ending up implying the entire family in a consumption cycle centred on childhood. On the other hand, the destruction of the World Wars brought the need to rapidly rebuild cities and house the population in better conditions, so as to ensure public health and project the image of a renewed, modern society. This led to the reformulation of architecture itself which, according to Benevolo, established in this period 'a fundamental connection between form and function', acting simultaneously 'in spatial organisation and in human and social aspects'. And, effectively, 20th century architects were rather prolific in the creation of new urban theories and spatial solutions that satisfied the needs of a changing society.

The Idea of Childhood

Despite being today often seen as child-centred, society not always cared for children, their rights, or their well-being. Historically, childhood is a rather recent concept, built along the last few centuries from the work of various philosophers and pedagogues. In

fact, according to Philippe Ariès, until the late 17th century children were regarded as small adults, pets, or even toys, and their untimely death wouldn't come as much of a problem, for new children could be made in replacement of the ones who died. A new attitude toward childhood arose, however, with the end of the *Ancien Régime* and the emergence of the bourgeoisie, who understood the importance of investing in the education of their descendance in order to create a better adult – and therefore a better society. The affective value of the family, inexistant until then, was thus created.

As mentioned above, this new idea of childhood would be, through time, consolidated by the efforts of several people; a shift marked, according to George Boas, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's declaration that children were *children*, different from adults and animals. Other important contributions are those of John Locke, who before Rousseau stated that people are born without innate ideas, or that the mind is a *tabula rasa*, and that knowledge is only acquired by experience – that is, by learning; Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and his *Pestalozzi Method*, which consisted of having children learn according to their age or development, starting from simpler and continuing to more complex tasks; and Friedrich Fröbel, who declared learning is acquired through action, work and play and that children need activity and liberty to properly develop their cognitive, physical, emotional and social skills. Founder of the *kindergarten* and a disciple of Pestalozzi, who greatly influenced his work, Fröbel was also the first to realise the importance of play – in itself a language, he believed, with all its sounds, gestures, and words –, reason that made him create the *Fröbel Gifts*, a series of educational toys structured in different levels according to each stage of development, designed to help children express themselves. In the early 20th century, Maria Montessori further developed the work started by Pestalozzi and Fröbel, notably by inventing a new method that emphasised the independence of each child, their liberty – although supervised –, and their natural development. Written in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, *The Century of the Child* is a manifesto penned by Ellen Key in which she expresses her thoughts on how society should seize the opportunity of the years ahead to restructure itself. Key argued that childhood should have a more determining role in this renewed society, stressing that children's rights and needs should therefore be at the forefront of people's concerns.

The appearance of Psychology would also have a fundamental impact in the consolidation of childhood's position in society. The contributions of Wallon and Piaget are the most relevant here, for they, based on observation, examined in depth the mental and physical development of children and classified their development in different stages. Particularly in the 20th century, these studies and findings shed some light into children, their characteristics, behaviour and development; knowledge that proved essential to the emergence and evolution of new educational theories and that helped open up the way, as mentioned before, to a consumption cycle that would revolve around the figure of the child.

Through time, these theories and ideas would infiltrate the mentalities and shape the way children were perceived by society. The groundbreaking work of these philosophers, educators, pedagogues and psychologists would lead the way to new theories, but above all it would build the foundations on which modern society stands.

Children in Public Space

As aforementioned, the profound changes that in the 20th century occurred in modern society reshaped architecture in both its theoretical and practical approaches. The new attitude toward children brought new needs, which would inevitably translate into new spaces. Supported on the theories of child development established by the efforts of the personalities above mentioned, these needs can be divided into different types – the physical, intellectual, and emotional needs – that, together, will be determining to a child's well-being and growth. And in fact, a healthy body and a stimulated mind were recognized as the pillars to a good cognitive development. Invariably, physical development was thought of as only being possible if the child lived in a good environment, which resulted in the creation of exterior spaces in direct contact with the sunlight and the clear air, and composed of stimulating elements. The maturing of children's intellectual capacities, on the other hand, was perceived as only attainable if in a good learning environment. This being said, the ideas of body and mind can be associated to specific spaces: the city is thus understood as the place for the child to explore with the body, to see and feel different scales and dimensions; whereas the school is the place for stimulating the mind. Unsurprisingly, these interpretations of childhood will be visible in the theoretical and practical production of 20th century architecture, particularly in the postwar period when, according to Kozlovsky (2004), the child became a common theme in discussions on urban planning.

This being said, the notion that an educated child could result in an 'improved' adult – or that by educating children one can reshape tomorrow's society – led to the need of creating more and better spaces for learning. According to Ogata (2013), the new school programmes – centred on the individuality of each child instead of in the authoritarian figure of the teacher –, required large areas that could accommodate a variety of activities. This resulted in spaces equipped with light furniture to be rearranged by each child according to need, and connected to the exterior so as to ensure a healthy, aerated and naturally illuminated environment for the children. Furthermore, the vital role education plays in society led to the realisation education should be universal, idea that would also be illustrated in architecture projects and theories of inter- and postwar periods. The new *siedlungen* in Ernst May's *Das Neue Frankfurt* and Ernö Goldfinger's exhibitions provide good examples of this frame of mind, for both architects placed kindergartens and schools within easy reach of each home in the new neighbourhoods they designed.

Moreover, the notion that play is a fundamental learning mechanism and that the environment children live in influences their cognitive development, would gradually turn architects' attention to the importance of having well-designed spaces for play in a city.

A closer look into Ernst May's *siedlungen* in *Das Neue Frankfurt*, built between 1925 and 1930, reveals strategically placed playgrounds in each neighbourhood, within easy visual reach from each dwelling (Figure 1). An even more attentive inspection unfolds May named some elements after Pestalozzi: a street and a square in the *Bornheimer Hang siedlung* and a school in the Riederwald siedlung (*Pestalozzistr*, *Pestalozziplatz* and *Pestalozzischüle*, respectively). Furthermore, *Das Neue Frankfurt*, title of his monthly publication on urban planning and where he divulged his ideas, projects and experiments of cultural interest, devoted in 1931 a number to the creative

child (*Das Schaffende Kind*), clearly indicating May was conscious of the importance of play in a child's development.
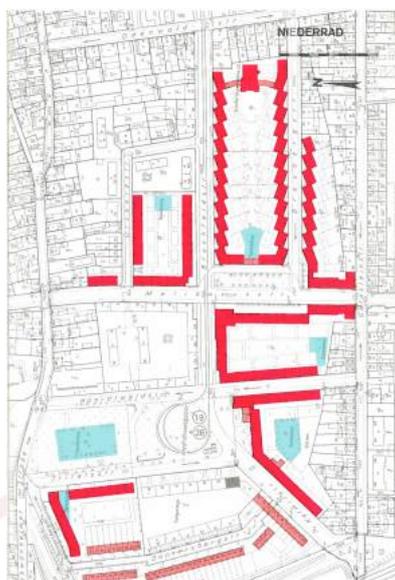

Figure 1: Niederrad siedlung, Frankfurt (Dreysse, 1988: appendix). Playgrounds signaled in blue.

Having designed, in 1936, a toy store in London – as well as some of the toys and furniture – for Paul and Marjorie Abbatt, Ernö Goldfinger was well familiarised with play and its vital role in a child's life. In 1937 he prepared, again with the Abbatts, the child section of the British Pavilion at the *Exposition Internationale* in Paris, which would also be displayed, the following year, at the MARS Group exhibition in London. The exhibitions he later designed for the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (A.B.C.A.), meant to launch discussion on postwar reconstruction, and particularly one displayed in 1944 and titled 'Planning Your Neighbourhood: for home, for work, for play', repeatedly emphasised how fundamental places for play were, both indoors and outdoors, for a healthy living. Besides this, Goldfinger also designed several nursery schools, holiday and evacuation camps for families and a series of differently sized homes, with areas exclusively depending on the age and number of children in a family.

At the Unité d'Habitation de Marseille, Le Corbusier placed the *maternelle* at the rooftop of the building, offering children a safe, well aerated, and illuminated place to learn and play. The outdoor space of the *maternelle*, composed of a succession of abstract volumes with different textures and colours, was conceived so as to stimulate children at play. The existence of a small pool where children can play with water, the contrast between light and shadow, the possibility to explore, with the body, the different proportions in space, either by running, crawling, jumping, climbing or hiding, allow for a challenging experience, meant to stimulate children's spatial cognition and to have them learn through sensation, just as in Fröbel Gifts. Similarly, albeit on the ground floor, Goldfinger designed a space for children in Rowlett Street; a sunken play area comprising a tower, a sandpit, a slide and a small pool.

Despite the examples shown above, Kozlovsky (2004) states that childhood only became an assiduous presence in discussions on architecture and urban reconstruction after Alison and Peter Smithson presented their *Urban Re-Identification Grid* at CIAM 9 in 1953. Illustrated with photographs of children at play, this panel was used by the Smithsons to criticise the strict, overly rational approach of the Modern Movement – and particularly of the *Charter of Athens* – to urban planning, which they classified as a 'too diagrammatic a concept' (2005: 24). The functionalist city thus failed to incorporate what, to the Smithsons and the Team 10 members, was the essential component of a city: the relations and interactions between its inhabitants, particularly well conveyed by the movements and appropriations children make of space, of which the Smithsons' *'diagram of child association pattern in a street'* (Figure 2) is rather illustrative.
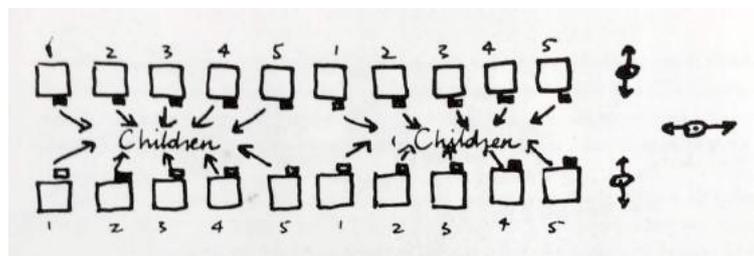

Figure 2: *Diagram of child association pattern in a street*, Alison Smithson (Chung, 2005: 23).

A core member of Team 10, Aldo van Eyck carried on with the criticism to the Modern Movement started by the Smithsons, arguing that the city comprised a network of human associations and was therefore rich for its movements, for the appropriations people made of space, for, in sum, its *in-between realms*. He presented, in the following CIAM, his *Lost Identity* grid, in which two contrasting images of children at play in different environments – in one, dangerously near passing cars and, in the other, in streets covered by snow – evinced how urban space disregarded children despite their importance to a city and to a society's life. In fact, the snow temporarily erased all urban boundaries and limits, allowing children to play everywhere. However, van Eyck defended urban space needed to offer children 'something far more permanent than snow' (van Eyck, 1956: Lost Identity grid). His view on the city is well conveyed in this *Team 10 Primer* (1968: 53) excerpt: 'To cater for the pedestrian means to cater for the child. A city which overlooks the child's presence is a poor place. Its movement will be incomplete and oppressive. The child cannot rediscover the city unless the city rediscovers the child'. A restless advocate of children's right to the city, he expressed his views not only in the CIAM meetings, but also in his writings and projects. As an example, he built close to 700 playgrounds in empty plots in Amsterdam between 1947 and 1978 (Figure 3). Composed of abstract shapes and offering contact with different colours, textures and materials – some featured sandpits, for instance –, his playgrounds offered children the possibility of different types of play according to their age and to whether they were playing alone or with other children. Just as Le Corbusier's *maternelle* playground, and just as the *Fröbel Gifts*, the different volumes in van Eyck's playgrounds were meant for children to incorporate into their activities, therefore triggering learning mechanisms only play allows. The most interesting side of van Eyck's designs, however, was that they perfectly blended into their urban context and

met the needs of its other users, reuniting all – instead of isolating children, adults and the elderly from each other – in a true community.

Figure 3: Playground, Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam. Retrieved from:
www.play-scapes.com

Similarly to van Eyck, Lady Allen of Hurtwood suggested the use of bombsites and empty plots as playgrounds. Although van Eyck's playgrounds already distanced themselves from the typical playground based on kinetic sensations – such as those equipped with slides, swings, or seesaws –, Lady Allen's *Adventure Playgrounds* offered children the possibility of using the different elements composing these play spaces and giving it the meaning they wanted. Here, children could take risks and be autonomous, which was in good agreement with Montessori's theories on child development. These playgrounds, in existence since the 1940s[1], were especially popular between the 1960s and the 1970s, during which period they proliferated in the United Kingdom. As Aldo van Eyck, Lady Allen of Hurtwood campaigned tirelessly for the rights of children and divulged her ideas in both her projects and writings. One of her most important contributions was 'Planning for Play', a book first published in 1968 detailing instructions on how to design an adventure playground.

The same year, artist Palle Nielsen designed *The Model - a model for a qualitative society* (Figure 4), an adventure playground intended to show how art can be actively used to trigger emotions and creativity. This installation proved a true social experiment, for its space only became alive when used, living from the freedom of each individual and the collaboration between users.

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[1]. Lady Allen of Hurtwood borrowed the idea from Sorensen, who built the first *Junk Playground*, as these used to be called, in Denmark. It was with Lady Allen, however, that these playgrounds reached their highest success, when she brought the idea to England and started building playgrounds on bombsites under a new name: the *Adventure Playground*.

Figure 4: *The Model*, Palle Nielsen (Villel, 2014: 175).

At last, the perception that body and intellect are closely knit together and that learning does also occur through play, led to the emergence of new spaces that promoted interactions between user and environment. Besides the adventure playground, museums started offering interactive exhibitions, designed to teach children through an engaging, amusing and 'hands-on' experience. Commissioned by IBM, the exhibition *Mathematica: A World of Numbers... and Beyond*, served as a model for countless other museum displays, making Charles and Ray Eames – its creators –, pioneers in the design of interactive learning environments.

Children in Domestic Space

If the school is seen as the place for stimulating the intellect, and the city as that of a healthy body, home is the place of affection. In fact, home is the child's first contact with the world; it is, as Bachelard (1983: 24) said, 'our corner of the world, our first Universe' and where we establish our strongest relationships – the bonds between child, mother, father and siblings. At the same time, it is the place where we first experience introspection, socialisation, and come in contact with different emotions. But most importantly, domestic space is what most accurately mirrors people's ways of life, longings and ideals that, as shown before, were in this period deeply connected to the innocent figure of the child. And if the most relevant theories of this period declared that urban space was to 'be based exclusively on human proportions', the dwelling being 'the very centre of town planning concerns and the focal point of all measures' (*CIAM: Charter of Athens: tenets*, 1941: 138; 140), it is fundamental to look into domestic space to assess the impact of childhood in modern architecture, for the architect who conceives the city is also responsible for designing the home.

The central role of children in society – and the way the notion of childhood swiftly blended in the discourse of modern architecture – is perfectly conspicuous in Northern-American postwar construction. Effectively, examples such as Marcel Breuer's 1949 *House in the Museum Garden* (Figure 5) reveal a playroom in the centre of the house, connected to the kitchen through an opening on the wall, that not only reflects the models of family accepted as normative, but also expresses the idealised role of each family member. In this case, it portrays a family where the mother is expected to be in the kitchen, occupied with domestic chores, while supervising her children through the opening on the wall.
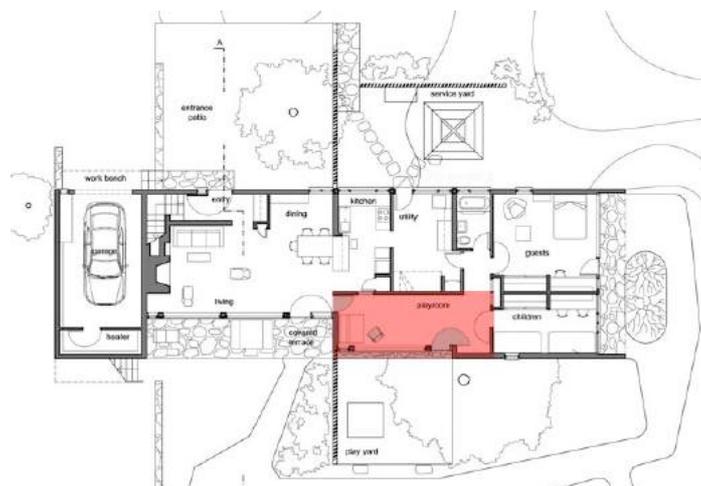
Figure 5: House in the Museum Garden, Marcel Breuer, 1949. Playroom signaled in red. Retrieved from: www.archweb.it

The playroom, just as the playgrounds shown before, allowed children to develop their autonomy and engage in different types of play, yet under close adult observation. In the USA, these spaces became products of great desire, which led to an increasing search for solutions that integrated these areas in domestic space. In fact, Snyder (2004) shows how, in a short period of time, playrooms in postwar north-american homes seized the place of the living room, featuring larger dimensions and a franker connection to the kitchen.

In Europe, some examples of the same kind can be found – it suffices to observe the considerable size of the child's bed- and playroom at the Haus Am Horn, built in 1923, and how it connects to both the mother's chamber and the dinning area.

However, whereas Northern-American construction was mostly based on detached houses for single families, in Europe it found its utmost expression in collective housing buildings that followed the principles of urban planning in discussion. The apparent lack of space in this type of dwelling might make one doubt of the existence of individual playrooms in each flat; nevertheless, architects presented rather ingenious solutions for this problem and still offered children their spaces for play within domestic space.

One of these solutions is well portrayed in the *Les Buffets* project designed by LWD Atelier (Figure 6). In-between bedrooms – parents to one side, children to the other –, a large hall opens into the living room through a sliding panel, creating a playroom for the children and ensuring the privacy of parents while in their bedroom. Similarly to Breuer's prototype, this playroom allows parents to watch over their children at play without interfering; again demonstrating that architecture absorbed the discoveries and theories on childhood cognitive development of that period and turned them into new spatial forms.
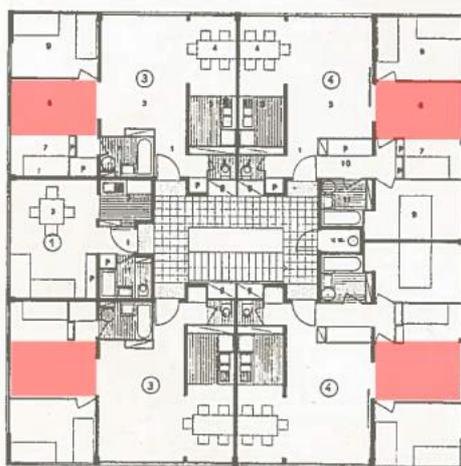
Figure 6: Les Buffets, 1960, LWD Atelier. Children's play area signaled in red (Portas, 1960: 38).

The *Unité d'Habitation de Marseille* (Figure 7) presents yet another solution for the space of childhood in domestic space, showing some affinities to Breuer's House in the Museum Garden. On one hand, in a similar way to Breuer's prototype, the openness of the kitchen and the position of the parents' bedroom allow for the easy supervision of the living room. On the other hand, most importantly, a simple mechanism turns the children's bedrooms into a playroom: a sliding wall between them creates, with a simple gesture, a wider space where children can play together. As the sliding panel is closed, each child can return to the privacy of their *own corner of the world*. The bedroom, here, is a universe of multiple activities, a space that holds the possibility of social interactions, introspection, and, as Fröbel defended, *activity* and *liberty*. A place that contains various rhythms – from those in a day to the successive times in life –, the child's bedroom encloses the possibilities of sleeping, working, playing, and dreaming. And at the *Unité*, the sliding wall transforms this place at the user's will, offering, if not morphologically, a playroom in essence.
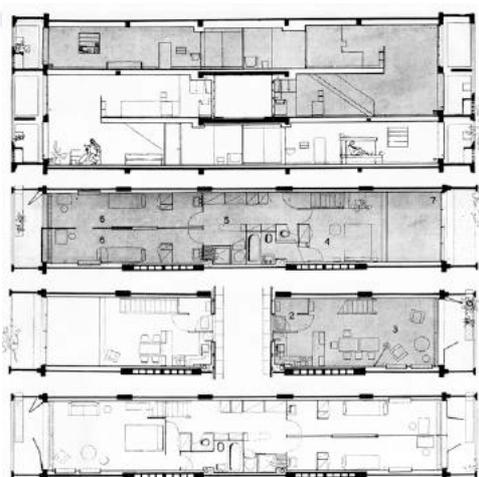

Figure 7: Unité d'Habitation de Marseille, plan and section of a typical flat, Le Corbusier, 1953. Retrieved from: www.mobile.ztopics.com

This connection between form and function in architecture did also imply the redesign of the furniture that equipped the new spaces. The schools, as previously mentioned, came accompanied with furniture at the child's scale, light enough to be moved around according to the activities in occurrence. These objects, meant to fit new spaces and needs, and many of which were specifically designed for children, were often conceived by architects. It suffices to take the example of the Haus Am Horn, where the child's bedroom displayed furniture and toys designed by Alma Buscher-Siedhoff; or that of the playrooms in the USA, frequently sold with furniture that would serve different uses according to the child's size or age. Besides, the child's bedroom previewed multiple activities, including play, which resulted in spaces furnished with elements children could climb, jump from, or hide in – as in the examples provided by André Arbus' *chambre d'enfants* (Figure 8), and Bruno Munari's *Abitacolo*.

Figure 8: *La Maison d'une Famille Française,* André Arbus, *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*, Paris 1937: *Chambre d'enfants*. Retrieved from: www.ribambins.canalblog.com

Closely connected to the idea of play, the toy constituted an object that both belonged to the culture of childhood and was deeply linked to a domestic living and to the child's space in the dwelling, which explains the attraction of many architects – from Bruno Taut, to Goldfinger and the Eameses –, for their design. Toys, furniture, playhouses, playrooms and other objects and spaces associated to the material world of childhood were, particularly in the postwar period, publicised on television, magazines, World Fairs and other exhibitions, which as Ogata (2013) explains helped expand the culture of childhood to the general public.

Conclusion:

The projects shown above strongly suggest that the renewed idea of childhood changed 20th century architecture. As the innocent figure of the child took centre stage in society, architecture incorporated the different ideas, ideals and conceptions relating to childhood into its theoretical and practical production of public and

domestic space. From playgrounds to playrooms, new spatial solutions were used in order to satisfy children's physical, intellectual and affective needs. In a period when building fast and in large numbers was essential, architects sought efficient and replicable solutions for answering to the demands of the new ways of living, which they thoroughly discussed in meetings such as the CIAM. Furthermore, exhibitions displayed in museums and at world fairs provided efficient means to spread not only novel attitudes and ways of living, but also the objects and spaces to them associated. The divulgation of these projects and solutions, many of which were later replicated by other authors in different projects, led to the unequivocal dissemination of the culture of childhood, thus making the 20th century *the century of the child*.

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"Up and down the City Road": London in the Other's Eyes[1]

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Abstract
This paper probes into two facets of the life of Indian immigrants in post-war London portrayed in Anita Desai's *Bye-Bye, Blackbird*. On the one side, there is the expected and familiar outburst of nationalistic xenophobia on behalf of the domestic population of this urban landscape, triggered by the arrival of numerous immigrants from the Commonwealth countries during the fifties and the sixties, and fuelled by the fact that all of them seemed to have come to stay. However, on the other side, almost the same amount of detestation for the former colonisers is demonstrated by the Indians themselves: both the newcomers and those who have already spent some time in this hostile environment. This intense dislike is pervaded with their own nationalistic feelings and tinted by patriotic love for the far-away country of origin. In this exquisite study of the confrontation arising between two differently coloured races, of the clash between the East and the West, the conflict of the Self and the Other, Desai humorously translates nationalism into nostalgic intolerance in the hearts of the young prejudiced Indians. Consequently, one of the main protagonists, despite being imbued with British culture since an early age, concludes that the time has come for Indian immigrants to take over London, spread over England, feed the Brits on Indian dishes, clothe them into Indian costumes – in one word, 'strike back' by doing everything that the colonisers had done in their country and to their people.

Keywords: London, the Other, Indians, coloniser, immigrants

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Introduction

Literature and history have always been inseparably and dialogically related to each other, since the socio-historical background both shapes a literary work and is reflected in it. Anita Desai's 1971 novel *Bye-Bye, Blackbird* is no exception in that sense, as it represents a testimonial to life in London in the sixties, viewed by immigrants of Indian origin, according to the statement by the author herself: "*Bye-Bye Blackbird* is the closest of all my books to actuality – practically everything in it is drawn directly from my experience of living with Indian immigrants in London." (as cited in Jee Jha, 2007, p. 157).

The protagonist of the novel, Dev, a young man from Calcutta, joins his friend Adit Sen in London, where the latter has lived and worked for several years, having married an Englishwoman named Sarah. Though Dev's initial idea was to study economics and then go back home, especially as he is often confronted with xenophobia there, he eventually starts liking London so much that he stays to live and work in England. *Bye-Bye, Blackbird* thus confirms the statement made by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, in their study of Naipaul's *The Mimic Men*[2], about the "recourse to the city by the colonials in order to find an identity" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2004, p. 89), since being has to be positioned in the city as the centre, while the margins represent nothingness.

The purpose of this paper is therefore to reveal why Dev liked London so much as to decide to spend the rest of his life there, by following his steps through The City as not only the centre of a former empire, but also an urban landscape at times both strangely familiar and surprisingly enticing to a newcomer from its largest colony, India.

London in the Other's Eyes

The novel starts with an extremely picturesque description of Clapham, a south-west London district, and within the first sentence the author mentions: birds, new-leafed hedges and "milk bottles on the steps" (Desai, 1985, p. 5). But not only does the reader enter the physical world of this community, since the passage also includes other audio-visual elements, such as colours and sounds emanating from the following words: bright; liquid light; "the milky fingers of morning"; "silver caps of the milk bottles"; brass door knockers; rang; clinking and clanking; good-morning voices; "ticking of the watch"; bird-and-bottle sounds; and, last but not least, "red roofs and blackened brick walls of Clapham" (Desai, 1985, p. 5). This last phrase at once creates in the reader's mind the image of the favourite British dwelling, the so-called terraced houses or terraces. Their most important connotation is that they are usually inhabited by people of limited means, which immediately though subtly posits the protagonist in the right milieu.

The second stereotype about British culture, which has already become its symbol, is mentioned right after that: the protagonist craves to drink a cup of tea. However, in this context it is no longer a symbol of Britain itself, but of its former colony – India,

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[2] Which was published in 1967, just four years before Desai's novel.

and therefore has implications linked with the culture of that country, from which Dev has emigrated, and where he used to be served by his mother or their servants, which is evident when he recalls "the cup of tea that would have been brought to him if he were at home in India now, by a mother fresh from her morning prayers, or a servant boy scorched and sooty from a newly made fire" (Desai, 1985, p. 6). Having just arrived in London, moving from a collectivist East Asian to an individualist European culture[3], he concluded that "It was the first lesson his first day in London taught him: he who wants tea must get up and make it." (Desai, 1985, p. 6).

Another stereotype, this time in reverse direction, regards the famous Indian meal, but eaten in London and not in its country of origin: "the chicken curry with which the Sens had celebrated his arrival in England" (Desai, 1985, p. 6). It is well-known that Indian cuisine has become an integral part[4] of British gastronomy, and in 2001 the then foreign secretary of the UK, Robin Cook, acknowledged that – as one of the most popular dishes in the country, and having replaced the notorious fish-and-chips – "Chicken Tikka Massala is now a true British national dish, not only because it is the most popular, but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences." (Cook 2001). When we read these words we cannot but realise that what Desai wrote in 1971 became British reality in the 21st century: "No one shall cook stews any more, or bangers and mash. Let us feed them all on chilli pickles, *tandoori* chicken and *rassum*." (Desai, 1985, p. 62).

Talking about food and drinks, it is well-known that the most important symbol of London is the pub, which is meticulously depicted in the novel. The famous 17th century MP Samuel Pepys in his diary "described the pub as the heart of England" (Fletcher 2013). The pub is the first place in London in which Dev's knowledge of Britain, gathered through the literary works of the English authors[5] he had to study at school, puts him in a strange position of feeling that he had already been there and at the same time that he sees the original place for the first time. In order to conjure up the atmosphere of the London pub, Desai presents to the reader the following pieces of the jigsaw puzzle: "the rich, plummy, semi-darkness of the local pub, lit by the gleams of glass, brass pale ale and Sunday leisure"; "a wooden bench by the wall"; "the "mullioned windows," the "horse brasses" shining against the stained woodwork, the "casks" and mugs and portly British faces"; the scarred tabletop; "the rich foam of ale frothing over the tumbler tops"; "New moons and half moons of tumbler stains on the worn tabletops"; "The strange and hieroglyphic variety of horse brasses dangling from the wainscot"; "The tumblers hanging upside down on their hooks"; and again she adds sounds above the picture: "The pop and gurgle and swizzle and gush. The growl and hum and chuckle and swish." (Desai, 1985, pp. 10-11).

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[3] See more about the dimension of individualism/collectivism in Hofstede 2001.

[4] There are about ten thousand Indian restaurants in the UK, and this number also shows the popularity of Indian food in the country of the former coloniser. Many of these restaurants are in London, so for example, Brick Lane is nowadays famous because it accommodates numerous curry houses as part of the large British Bangladeshi community, the so-called Banglatown.

[5] Desai's explanation of this phenomenon – that "He had known them all, he had met them before, in the pages of Dickens and Lamb, Addison and Boswell, Dryden and Jerome K. Jerome" (Desai, 1985, p. 10) – immediately recalls the legendary words of Stuart Hall: "When I first got to England in 1951, I looked out and there were Wordsworth's daffodils. Of course, what else would you expect to find? That's what I knew about. That is what trees and flowers meant." (as cited in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2003, p. 457).

The second instance when Dev sees the original for the first time, but already has some presupposed knowledge about the place, is in the High Street, where he recognises parts of his mother country. Namely, in the colonial era, many Indian towns were constructed as imitations of London and other British towns, so consequently:

> strolling lopsidedly down the High Street, it seemed to him he was strolling down the Mall of a Himalayan hill station, the Mall of Simla or Mussoorie or Darjeeling or any one of the little towns that heat-maddened, homesick British colonists had created in the incongruous Himalayas, created in the shape and memory of little English country towns and little English suburbias, left oceans behind. ... Now, recognising in the High Street those echoes of the Indian hill station Malls, he realised that the holiday retreats of his childhood had not been the originals he had taken them to be, but copies. The original existed over here, in the High Streets of London's suburbs and England's villages. Here were the bow windows and the red roof tops, the coffee shops and the dipping side lanes, the strolling crowds and dogs on leashes, the cakes and flowers and magazines on display. (Desai, 1985, p. 13).

For Dev, the High Street is an 'echo' of India, as he has believed that India is the original, and in his eyes the coloniser's city is the space marked by otherness in the same way as India is otherness for the Brits. In this interplay of hybridity and imitation we can recognise Homi Bhabha's concept of mimicry, of being "almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

Strange as it may seem at first glance, Desai makes many comparisons between London and Indian cities, other than the layout of the Malls, which becomes only logical when we think about the mutual influences of both the centre on the margin, and vice versa. Thus, for instance, the Victorian era also left an important mark on architecture in the colony:

> Whenever chance takes him past Hyde Park, he stops to walk up to and stare at the Albert Memorial. Its ballooning grotesquerie, its fantastic black-magic brew of marble, bronze, mosaic, brass, black and white colours, all drawn out, beaten, and billowed out into the most fearful shapes – like a piece of architecture having a nightmare following an ample Victorian repast – recall to him similar nightmares of stone and marble in India: the Victoria railway station and the University, the Clock Tower and Flora Fountain in Bombay; the Victoria Memorial and the Marble Palace in Calcutta; the big-thighed, deep-lapped, pigeon-nestling statue of Victoria outside the Old Delhi railway station – all these pockets and stretches of Victorian India which continue to have a life of their own, a dream life out of touch with the present. (Desai, 1985, pp. 83-84).

Another similarity that Desai points to are bazaars, which represent Indian atmosphere in the very heart of London:

> "This could be one of our bazaars," says Dev, standing stockstill in the middle of Petticoat Lane. "It is a bazaar, Sarah, really it is." Out in the open, between grimed walls, there is an Oriental turmoil of shove and bustle, push, pinch and pickpocket. There are jugglers of china cups and glasses, there are hangers displaying coats with secret rents and dresses with crooked hems, hot dog vans streaked with mustard, toffee apples and ices, prams and pearly kings, guitars

and mouth-organs. To make it all the more authentic, there are even Indian traders with little trays of Moradabad brassware and Kashmir papier-mâche. (Desai, 1985, pp. 60-61).

The same atmosphere is found in another London market: "With its open-air booths, its leisurely crowds and loud brass bands, Portobello Road has the air of an Indian bazaar though not its appearance" (Desai, 1985, p. 70), but here again Desai underlines the contrast between such binary oppositions[6] as the centre and the periphery, the self and the other: "Dev, accustomed as he is to the Indian trader's obsession with the newest, the "novelties" – in plastic and tin and nylon, wanders glaze-eyed at the profuse manifestation of the young English people's obsession with the past" (Desai, 1985, p. 70).

On the other hand, "the rowdy, libertine Indian atmosphere" in London bazaars is a sign that the situation has changed and the colonies are ready to strike back[7], so when Sarah tells Dev and Adit: "It seems to me the East India Company has come to take over England now" Dev elatedly and joyfully shouts: "Let history turn the tables now. Let the Indian traders come to England – the Sikhs and Sindhis with their brass elephants and boxes of spice and tea. Let them take over the City, ... Then let them spread over the country" (Desai, 1985, p. 61).

However, in depicting London, Desai finds many contrasts with Indian cities, as well, for instance regarding the difference in their urban layout. This not only reflects the problem of overpopulation in the former colony, on the one side, and the fact that in the United Kingdom town and country planning is regulated by law, on the other, but also hints to the (post)colonial binary dichotomy between the coloniser as civilised versus the native as savage and primitive[8], thus considered to be unable to regulate the urban environmental issues:

> Cities in India are tight, insular clusters, built like fortresses on plains and sea-coasts – houses, streets, windows, lives, all turned inwards, with rarely a slit left from which to gaze outwards. But, in London, built on hills and with its roads curving and dipping, Dev is caught up, again and again, by the swift wonder of a vista suddenly opening out where he has expected nothing but city. (Desai, 1985, p. 69).

Nevertheless, crowd is an element of Indian life that can again be found in London, too, especially regarding the transportation, and there are many passages in the novel about the infamous London traffic jams, either above or under the ground. In one of these, Desai describes the horrible conditions on London motorways, which were obviously traffic-packed already in the sixties, so what should have been a relaxing weekend escape from the city for the protagonists turns into a true hell:

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[6] See more about this in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, especially in the following chapters: Binarism, pp. 18-21, Centre/margin (periphery), pp. 32-33, and Other, pp. 154-156.

[7] In his exquisite study *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (2005), Andrew Thompson argues that for Britain the main impact of having been such a huge empire remains the question of the vast immigration of people from the Commonwealth, especially India, since the post-war period, which has led to the diversification of the British society.

[8] Which Edward Said (2003, p. 207) names "the advanced/backward binarism" in his seminal work *Orientalism*, explaining that in this dichotomy the Oriental is "designated as backward, degenerate, uncivilized, and retarded".

> the highways leading out of London on this weekend afternoon soon became more and more of a sticky nightmare in which one had packed and prepared and set off on a journey only to find oneself unable to move, to travel, ones' feet stuck like those of ants to rivers of glue. Every road and lane an unbroken chain of cars, linked together by their obedience to the rule of weekends to be spent in the countryside, inching along, then halting for hours, unable to break up and speed away. (Desai, 1985, pp. 126-127).

Such chaotic situation is not limited only to the rush hour on London motorways at weekends, but is also an everyday feature of downtown traffic, and that can be seen from the following paragraph, which at the same time demonstrates the difference between crowded but well-regulated London streets and the unruly movement of vehicles in Indian cities, including those pulled by animals:

> He stood in the middle of Oxford Street, watching the traffic that kept him trapped on an island. Bus, taxi, car swept by – bus, taxi, car, with a monotony, a predictability that made him burn with longing to see one bullock-cart wander into the fray, only to make an alteration in the single, swift tempo of the London traffic. (Desai, 1985, p. 192).

The infernal atmosphere of the former coloniser's capital is likewise aptly illustrated by one of the symbols of London – its tube[9]. This passage follows Dev going down into that hell, almost certainly for the first time in his entire life, with some nice intertextual touches:

> Dev ventures into the city. He descends, deeper and deeper, into the white-tiled bowels of Clapham tube station. Down into the stark caverns artificially lit, by way of long, ringing staircases where draughts sweep icily up and down and yet leave the underground airless, suffocating. The menacing slither of escalators strikes panic into a speechless Dev as he is swept down with an awful sensation of being taken where he does not want to go. Down, down and farther down – like Alice falling, falling down the rabbit hole, like a Kafka stranger wandering through the dark labyrinth of a prison. On the platform, with blank lights glaring at the cold white tiles all around he stands fearfully with his fellow travellers and darts horrified glances at the strange look these people, who had seemed natural enough in the sunlight of High Street, have acquired in these subterranean depths. (Desai, 1985, p. 57).

The ending to his tube experience reveals the protagonist's fascination by London parks, which reflect the city's immenseness and strength: "He does emerge, to his amazement into the most natural freshness and light of Leicester Square – its little park ringed with tulips and green benches on which old men sit, under early summer foliage, reading their papers and scattering crumbs to fat, overfed pigeons." (Desai, 1985, p. 58). There are also many nice descriptions of the Clapham Common, Greenwich Park, Kew Gardens, and other beautiful green spots in the city, but of course the most striking is Dev's experience of the most famous London park: "He has never seen a green like the green of Hyde Park in that Sunday sunshine – never

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[9] London Underground, not only the oldest in the world, since it was opened in 1863, but also among the largest ones, with eleven lines, 270 stations and over 400km of railway tracks, is best described by the following headline of a review at a touristic site: "London Underground: Can feel like hell on earth" (see https://www.tripadvisor.rs/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d187536-r344840060-London_Underground-London_England.html).

seen such a sheen, such a gleam, such a freshness of green in grass and leaf-inlaid sunshine." (Desai, 1985, p. 63), together with its lake: "the Serpentine, ruffled by the breeze, stirring and waking to the summer sun. The wind bellies out the red and white striped sails of the boats, and swans compete with them, graceful and languid." (Desai, 1985, p. 64).

On the contrary, opposed to the greenery of London parks, everything else is grey, as Desai highlights in this paragraph, among many others:

> Out in grey-blue Trafalgar Square, they stand at the foot of Nelson's column amongst the fountains. Everything about them is in the colours of a gay-necked pigeon's feathers. The buildings are slate grey, the sky blue-grey, the shadows deep and violet. The fountains spout and sparkle about the grey column and the grey lions (Desai, 1985, p. 60).

This greyness is above all due to climate in London, mentioned every now and then in the novel, either explicitly or implicitly: "Rain on Sunday. Damp raincoats ... wet umbrellas ... Smell of rain, fish, mildew and mud." (Desai, 1985, p. 54); "the cold and the rain" (Desai, 1985, p. 63); "a rain-shrouded window in a bus" (Desai, 1985, p. 85); "the drip-drop of rain"; "Long rows of trees weeping down his neck." (Desai, 1985, p. 105); "dense damp greenery" (Desai, 1985, p. 106); "the grey-and-dun setting of Oxford Street in a drizzle" (Desai, 1985, p. 111); "the drops of rain that were now breaking upon the pane and the clouds that were hanging low over the fields like sodden smoke." (Desai, 1985, p. 175); "He gazed at Big Ben's face looming through the first autumnal mists" (Desai, 1985, p. 181); "chill drizzle" (Desai, 1985, p. 208); "The London fog lapped the windows" (Desai, 1985, p. 230), etc.

Of course, British climate is opposed to the Indian sun, and the importance of weather conditions for the inhabitants of a country or region had already been put forth long before it became part of the Oriental/Occidental dichotomy, as early as in Montesquieu's 'theory of climates', which stressed 'strong passion' of Orientals as a result of their living in hot climates. Therefore, it is not at all strange when Dev so passionately but also desperately concludes: "You must be masochists to live in this climate ... Masochists. What a climate, what a stinking climate." (Desai, 1985, p. 55).

This binary opposition has been used by other postcolonial authors as well, among others the late Indian English writer, Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, who was also a great friend[10] of Anita Desai. In her collection of stories appropriately for this discussion named *A Stronger Climate*, Jhabvala mocks the presupposed impact of climate on passion and sensuality in the East:

> It was, they said, the climate; and of course the food they ate, all those curries and spices that heated the blood. Miss Tuhy [an Englishwoman] wondered: if she had been born in India, had grown up under this sun and had eaten the food, would she have been different? Instead of her thin, inadequate, English body, would she have grown up ... like Sharmila with flashing black eyes and a big bust? (Jhabvala, 1986, p. 172)

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[10] In fact, it was due to this friendship that Desai became a writer, according to her own words (see http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/how-odysseus-hit-the-hippie-trail-1584502.html).

Conclusion

As we have seen so far, in this novel Desai repeatedly highlights the contrary feelings of immigrants towards their new country, which Dev emotionally calls 'teapot' (Desai, 1985, 17), or 'emerald isle' (Desai, 1985, p. 28), or 'the land of opportunity' (Desai, 1985, p. 19), but on the other hand he also exclaims that London is 'a jungly[11] city' (Desai, 1985, p. 10). Endearing as the description of London may sound, it is always spoilt by images of immigrants and the xenophobia they face there, which Desai evokes, for instance, by phrases like the following: 'hordes of black invaders' (Desai, 1985, p. 28), 'Littered with Asians' (Desai, 1985, p. 16), 'Bloody Pakistani' (Desai, 1985, p. 26), '*Nigger, go home* graffiti' (Desai, 1985, p. 181), etc. Therefore, no wonder Dev at first does not want to stay in London, where even small children insult him and his friend by calling them 'wogs' in the street (Desai, 1985, p. 14), where there are "three kinds of lavatories - Ladies, Gents and Asiatics" (Desai, 1985, p. 17), so he concludes thus: "I wouldn't live in a country where I was insulted and unwanted" (Desai, 1985, p. 17).

However, once he arrived in London, England which he had previously met in "all of picture-book nursery-rhyme" (Desai, 1985, p. 85) suddenly came alive, and this renders sense to the title of the novel:

> "Up and down the City Road,
> In and out the Eagle,
> That's the way the money goes......." (Desai, 1985, p. 12).

Part of London's charm for Dev, besides its being a place from his childhood dreams, is certainly contained in what Buruma and Margalit explain when they describe the Occidental city, the City of Man, namely London, as opposed to the Oriental City of God, stating that the modern Western metropolis is "given to commerce and pleasure instead of religious worship" (Buruma and Margalit, 2004, p. 16). As such, The City has also become "a wicked symbol of greed, godlessness, and rootless cosmopolitanism" (Buruma and Margalit, 2004, p. 21), and this is something that constantly bothers the protagonist:

> Another thing to which Dev cannot grow accustomed, in all his walks and bus rides through the city, is silence and emptiness of it – the houses and blocks of flats, streets and squares and crescents – all, to his eyes and ears, dead, unalive, revealing so little of the lives that go on, surely must go on, inside them. The English habit of keeping all doors and windows tightly shut ..., of guarding their privacy as they guarded their tongues from speaking and their throats from catching cold, cannot quite be explained to him by the facts of the cold and the rain. ... the emptiness of the city ... utterly silent, deserted – a cold wasteland of brick and tile. (Desai, 1985, p. 63).

This last sentence immediately recalls the following verses of T.S. Eliot's long poem "The Waste Land": "Unreal City, Under the brown fog of a winter dawn" (Eliot, 1988, lines 60-61), and by that intertextual reference to Eliot's words, Anita Desai decidedly leaves the final stamp on the protagonist's reactions to his life in a

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[11] Thus strangely recalling in the reader's mind India and its jungles, as well as *The Jungle Book*.

new but already known country, and reveals his feeling of alienation in that Unreal City which we know by the name of London, and which used to be the centre of the greatest world Empire, whose biggest colony used to be Dev's country of origin, India.

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City Colour: South Korea Gimhae City Colour Palette of Representative Colours and Symbolic Colour Development

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Abstract
Gimhae city in South Korea has high cultural properties from both tradition and modern era. Through an analysis on Gimhae city dominant colours; environmental colours and regional colours were extracted and identified to develop the representative colours and main symbolic colour of the city. Representative natural environment, artificial environment, humanity & cultural environment and objects were selected as the study object. The objects' colour identities were captured with the technique of CADI (Color Analysis through Digital Imaging) and analyzed through KSCA (Korea Standard Color Analysis) for colour extraction. Gimhae city colours palettes were arranged with 100 environmental colours, 50 regional colours, 10 representative colours and one main symbolic colour. A further research is expected to be carried out on the Gimhae city color guideline according to the representative colours extraction of this study.

Keywords: Gimhae Color, City Color, Representative Color, Symbolic Color

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Background

City colours analysis and guidelines development could be a way for the city to become more sustainable and be developed with an excel city image. Gimhae has high unique cultural properties from both tradition and modern era due to Gaya Kingdom's culture.

Gimhae city has a long history and tradition based on the Gaya Kingdom from AD 42–532 in Korea. It is one of the leading kingdom of Korea's history. King Kim Suro had founded Gaya and married to Heo Hwang-ok, a princess from the Indian country of Ayuta. It was the first international marriage in the history of the Korean Peninsula. This is one of the reason making the Gaya culture to be more unique and special. Gaya Kingdom was advanced in the production of earthenware and ironware compared to the other nation by that time, thus, Gaya created a splendid civilization in short time. And the products were traded with neighbour countries like China and Japan. Come out with, Gaya has thrived as a center of international exchange in Northeast Asia in that era, and its culture was also remarkably developed.

Gimhae, which is a city in South Gyeongsang Province of South Korea. It is the birthplace and root of the Gaya culture, it has a important rule of continueing to preserve, build on, and develop the Gaya culture and heritage. This study was carried out to extract the Gimhae city's overall environmental colours, regional colours, representative colours and a main symbolic colour.

Purpose

Developing a systematic and designed city color palettes is one of the way for the city to developed with an excel city image, harmony environment between artificial and nature, and to become more sustainable. This project was carried out to extract the Gimhae city's 100 environmental colours, 50 regional colours, 10 representative colours and a main symbolic colour.

Literature Review

Every city has it's unique color identity. This study was started with analysis and study on other leading citys' city colour plannings and guidelines around the world.

London, England, the representative color of London, comes from it's historical background form the beginning until now. The governemnt has firstly made red color as the color of the public transportation since 1910. As the time goes, red color has became the main color of the traffics and facilities to ease the citizen from recognising. As a result, red color that gives a strong impression has became a significant color of the city for citizen and foreigners. And other than that, London has grey series of basic color, and blue series for harmonious color.

Berlin, Germany, the historical buildings were being preserved strictly by the government. Thus, modern and newly built buildings must take the historical buidings'colors as a consideration and reference. And Berlin has developed a 100 city colors palettes or system after the country's reunification. The government has soon made a strict color guidelines for the whole city. For example, gorverment officers

and proffesional designers will go throught and discuss all the sign board design submissions of every company. To be more detail, the rule has even made the font color of every signboard must match with the buildings'color.

Japan, every city of Japan has it's own developed city color system according to thier natural environment colors and the cultural colors. They take the harmony of the natural environment color and the artificial environment color very seriously, because they consider human is a part of the nature.

Yokohama, Japan, has chosen white color as the symbolic color of the city. Because white has a great contrast with the sea view environment of Yokohama. Thus the whole city look very clean, modern and harmony with the great view of white colour. Kinda like the Santorini Island of Greece.

By looking at how well the color of natural environment, artificial environment and the cultural environment mixing together of a city, you got to know the easthetic landscape value of the city.

Research Method

First, a process to choose all the synificant study objects in Gimhae city was carried out. The objects are separated in 3 catogeries, natural environment, artificial environment or cultural environment. This process started with a survey to the citizens of Gimhae to list out the significant location or object of gimhae that they prefer. A survey that about gimhae's image and landmark from the citizen and non citizen was done.

A list of 108 objects from natural environments, artificial environment, humanities & cultural environments and objects that able to represents Gimhae city were selected. 20 objects from natural environment, 72 objects from artificial environment, and remaining 16 from humanities & cultural environment.

Data was collected by the technique of CADI (Color Analysis through Digital Imaging), more than 1200 photos were captured by DSLR during the data collection stage from the 108 locations mentioned just now. All of the photos were captured in two version. One is the full view version, and one is with a color reference tool. Next, all the data will undergo filtering process to find out the best significant and representable images by the expertise. At the end, 248 photos were brought to the next step. Then, Colour correction was done in the software E-Lightroom for ensuring the best white balance image for the color extraction in the next step.

Color extraction was carried out through a software called KSCA (Korea Standard Color Analysis). This software was created since 2008, And it is recommended by government as the standard color palette extraction method. It's able to differentiate 2676 colors from images. All the color will be analyzed with standard colour codes(KS, LAB, RGB, CMYK), and also in the table of chroma and value. All of the data for this project was analyzed with this method.

Discussion and Conclusion

From the 108 representative objects of Gimhae City, 248 colours were extracted. Among 248 colours, 19 natural environment colours, 70 artificial environment colours, and 11 humanities & cultural environment colours, total of 100 Gimhae city environmental colours was extracted. The 100 colors was arranged by the name GC (Gimhae Color), from GC001-GC100.

Figure 1: 100 Gimhae Environmental Colours.

From the 100 environmental colours, 50 colour with better value in uniqueness, aesthetics, and meaning was selected and named Regional Colours with 12 natural environment colours, 30 artificial environment colours, and 8 humanities & cultural environment colours.

Figure 2: 50 Gimhae Regional Colours.

A citizen investigation survey was carried out from 208 Gimhae citizen for the Gimhae's identity, possibility and etc before creating the 10 representative colours palette. And based on the survey data, and also a discussion with the city colour expertise, 10 Gimhae representative colours with great value of history and cultural were selected.

Figure 3: 10 Gimhae Representative Colours and relevant images.

Each of the 10 representative colours GC018, GC020, GC041, GC046, GC062, GC063, GC074, GC080, GC089 and GC99 were named accordingly with their own identity and relevant meaning that corresponding with Gimhae city in Korean.

A survey from 321 surveyees from online survey system and 768 surveyees from offline survey, total in 1089 was done before deciding the symbolic colour that represent the whole Gimhae City.

The result for the first second and third place that online surveyees think the colour that can represent gimhae city is green, yellowish orange and orange among the 10 representative colours of gimhae.
And the first second and third place that they personally prefer is blue, green and yellowish orange.

For offline survey, green is first place, blue as second and deep green as third for the Gimhae symbolic color preference. And the color that they personally prefer is blue, green and orange.

수로녹색
GC063
KS 6.25GY 7/10
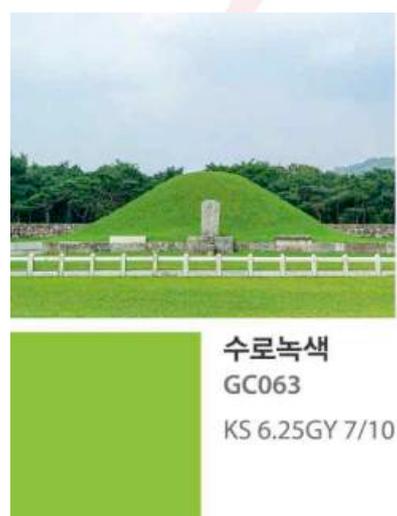
Figure 4: Gimhae Symbolic Colour and relevant image.

Thus, After the survey result and the discussion, the final result of the symbolic colour of Gimhae city is Suro Green (6.25GY 7/10). This green colour are extracted from the the green filed of the King Suro's Grave in June. And King Suro also is the key person of the whole Gaya Culture. This Suro Green will be the symbolic color that help the city to heritage and develop the historical and cultural value of Gimhae.

This project will be carry on to the next step to build a detail city colour guideline according to different catogery of environment. For example goverment building, facilities, living area's buildings, historical and cultural buildings, and etc. So that Gimhae City can use this city colour guideline to create a well designed and better living city.

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Talking Like a (Foreign) Man: Diaspora Teenage Languages Shaping Urban Spaces in Gautam Malkani's **Londonstani**

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Abstract
The purpose of this research is to disclose the role of language for the British Indian diasporic community teenagers of London, for whom the research of an identity also includes the definition of belonging within a postcolonial frame. The issue will be tackled by reading Gautam Malkani's debut novel, Londonstani (2006), in which the issue of identity is played into language. Language is a means that becomes the message, thanks to its multiple code-mixing: British English becomes one with Punjabi and African American English. The latter is adopted in the form of a stereotype shaped by the media, an exogenous model adopted to fill in a void of identification. Being Londonstani is an existential condition, it means being a new kind of Londoners, trans-cultural and trans-national, but still urban.
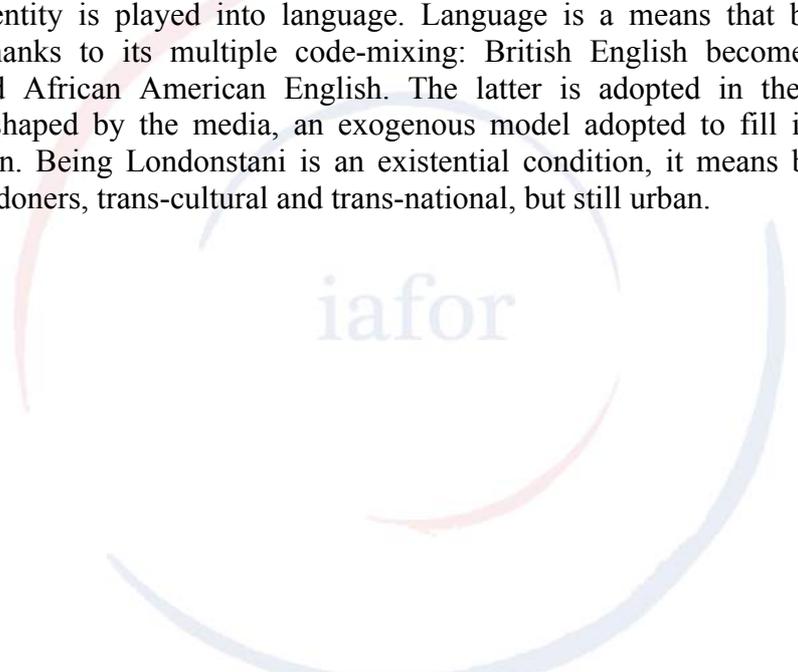
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Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the role of language in shaping urban space and environment, in a practice that seems to recall a role play, but at the same time reveals a much deeper identity issue. The analysis will focus on the teenagers of the British Indian diasporic community of London, for whom the research of identity that is typical of their age also calls belonging into question. The issue is tackled by reading Gautam Malkani's debut novel, *Londonstani* (2006). The amazing ability of Malkani is to create a multilayered linguistic and narrative structure, able to disclose how the issue of identity is played into language, which can simultaneously reflect and determine belonging in itself, thus becoming able to modify an urban environment where the Londonstani feel they do not fit completely. In fact, according to the author, the Londonstani are "a bunch of 19-year-old middle-class mummy's boys trying to be men [...] trying to talk and act as if their affluent corner of a London suburb is some kind of gritty ghetto" (Malkani, n.d.). The whole novel is focused on the speech patterns enacted by the main characters, and on the way they create reality. That is the reason why the analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of this text will show the transforming power of language and its role in the shaping of the urban landscape.

Theoretical background

To understand how language can have such a strong impact on identity and reality, it is necessary to re-define language, beyond the mere concept of words and grammar rules. While talking, speakers interact, socialise and establish relations. Alastair Pennycook affirms that "once we accept that language is a social practice, it becomes clear that [...] the speakers that negotiate what possible language forms they want to use for that purpose" (2002, p. 129). The constant development of urban space and its ever increasing multilingualism has triggered a growing interest in the topic since, in shaping space, interacting languages in the urban context also serve to define and negotiate identities (Gogolin et al. 2013, p. 9), especially among adolescents in multiethnic contexts (Rampton 2005).

To understand the importance of space when it comes to language practice, it is important to specify how space has not to be regarded as a mere container, but as a "relational concept" (Schroer 2006, p. 175). Such a space cannot be one-dimensional, but has to become more complex, like in Läpple's (1991) "matrix space," in which there are a series of interacting layers:

- the physical constitution of space;
- the normative and institutionalised regulatory system, result of social practices: its role is to regulate the treatment and occupation of physical space and can be respected or violated;

- the social practices, interactions, structures and processes enacted by differentiated actors when producing and occupying the physical space – they are intertwined with both the physical restraints and the normative system, as they are influenced by them but can also alter them;

- the system of signs, symbols and representations enabling to recognise the social function of spaces and potentially allowing identification of the individuals with the

spaces; they can be considered "appropriate" or "not appropriate," according to the existing norms and consolidated practices.

Language, being both a social practice and a system of signs, inevitably acquires a vital role in the shaping of such a multilayered space, whose complexity increases along with the multifaceted ethnic and linguistic configuration of contemporary metropolises (Breckner, Peukert and Pinto 2013, p. 216).

Place and language in *Londonstani*

Londonstani teenagers live in a state of geographical displacement – they are diasporic, *non-white* young men living in a wealthy condition that would associate them to the dominant *whites*. The displacement is also linguistic: in fact, although they have access to education like their white counterparts, they still come from a linguistic community associated to poverty and migration (the "freshies"[1]). Their multilingualism contrasts with the (nationalist) idea of nations held together by a shared language, rather seems to confirm that "the English language has always evolved through corruption" (Malkani, n.d.). This brings their identity into question.
The complexity deriving from such issues is hard to tackle especially during the adolescence, the age of uncertainty *par excellence*. That is probably the reason why, instead of dealing with complexity, the Londonstani choose to imitate an exogenous model, the media stereotype of African American rappers, anti-heroes that become rich and prevail thanks to (alleged) non-legal activities and have their revenge against white oppression, becoming a new elite subverting the power relation. In so doing, they use the language to articulate the meanings of physical space, but also to create a fictional space – the ghetto that only exist when they perform it (Jänicke & Lenehan 2010). However, this cut-and-paste language has a high level of syncretism, holding together the numerous minimal selves (Hall 1987) that create their identity. In fact, they blend in part of their Punjabi linguistic heritage, repurposing it to mark a new locality (Dyer 2002). Language is also crucial to narrate the self, making sense of one's existence (Bruner 1989) in a coherent story. A credible story needs the right scenario – but if a wrong scenario is given, the only solution is to alter it through language, in a pretend game with profound implications. Through language, they become Londonstani, a new kind of Londoners.

Code mixing

The multiple layers that constitute their language collapse on one another as they create their fictional space through a particularly complicated code mixing – (British) English, Punjabi and African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Heritage Punjabi and AAVE are used in different ways, to different extents and with different purposes.

Punjabi mostly appears in the form of lexical loans, both when English translation is possible or a term is linked to untranslatable aspects of Indian culture: the first category of loans worth noting in this context is that of the familiar words. Such

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[1] A "freshie" is, as found on the Urban Dictionary, "Someone who has just entered a English speaking country, and has poor English skills and has a very odd and mocked accent." (Freshie, n.d.).

words have the particular function of "desifying" everyday life, making London seems closer to India. They include terms linked to:

- names of *family members and people* in general, e.g. Auntyji/Uncleji: respectful term for elder Indian women; Bache: kids; Desi: a typical Indian person; Kurhiyaan: girls;

- common *attributes*: Mohti: fatty; Shareef: innocent; Sher: lion; Gandh: dirt; Sona: nice; Gandh: dirt;

- *clothing*, e.g. Salwar kameez: typical Punjabi outfit; Chapples: flip flops; Banaan: bra;

- greetings and *politeness*, e.g. Satsriakaal: formal greeting; Shukriya: thank you; Theekh hai: ok; good; Kiddan (informal): how are you?;

- typically Indian concepts and *values*, e.g. Izzat: "the Muslim word for a family's honour (…), but non-Muslims use it too." (Malkani 2006, p. 93); Nakhra: drama; Tamasha: covering someone with shame, especially in public.

Moreover, using Punjabi words for expressing racism has an important function. It means to establish a hierarchy, on top of which there are the Desi kings of the ghetto. White people are the main objective, clearly inverting the "paki" insult, generally used by white people referring to any Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bengali etc.); since they also represent a role model, black people will be mostly referred to as "brothers." The word for a white person is Gora (pl. gore, f. gori, f.pl. goriyan). Although it would not have a pejorative meaning, it is often used as an insult, especially when preceded by "dirty" (at times in Punjabi "gandah," otherwise in English but spelled in the rap-like style "dirrty").

The general use of Punjabi insults may represent an empowerment practice: the insults in Punjabi are not understood by white people, which become "foreign." Some examples: Bhanchod: motherfucker (literally "sisterfucker"); Khota: donkey – stupid; Pehndu: someone from a village – stupid; Tutty: shit; shitty.

The Londonstani speech is especially created for turning them from wannabes into rudeboys[2] with street credibility. This is made evident by their stereotyped Black talk, which comes from a keen replica of African American English – or, better, of its media stereotypes, seen on MTV and copied without any interest in its history. The author, speaking about his characters, reveals their different levels of street credibility can be evinced from their way of speaking: "I adapted the slang for different characters depending on how hardcore they were" (Malkani, n.d.). AAVE proficiency is the primary skill to convert and re-signify the urban space they occupy.

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[2] As stated by the protagonist/narrator, Jas:

> First we was rudeboys, then we be Indian niggas, then rajamuffins, then raggastanis, Britasians, fuckin Indobrits. These days we try an use our own word for homeboy an so we just call ourselves desis but I still remember when we were happy with the word rudeboy. (Malkani 2006, p. 5)

For what concerns the morpho-syntactic level, the use of *auxiliaries* is often calqued from AAVE, mostly their frequent omission, e.g. I been there, man (Malkani 2006, p. 193), or in the construction of questions without "do," e.g. Hear wat my bredren b sayin, sala kutta? (Malkani 2006, p. 3). *Negations* are also adapted to AAVE, for example with negative inversions and multiple negations, like in the sentence "ain't nobody callin nothing off" (Malkani 2006, p. 189). In addition, the *verb "to be"* (often spelled "b") is used as uninflected auxiliary or omitted completely (Tottie 2001, p. 221-222).

The lexical loans also come from the media representations of rappers and tough ghetto people (Taronna 2005). Through the set of words concerning gang friendship and competition, they transform themselves from shareef munde to bad bad boys, making their performance more credible: an argument becomes "beef" or "dissin," and friends become "brothers." Some examples: Beef: feud; Blud: mate; Bredren: brother, homeboy, close friend; Diss, dissin: shorter version of "disrespect" (Tottie 2001, p. 225).

Being "cool" is also crucial. In fact, the Londonstani could not be real gangsters if they were not as "cool" as their African American counterparts, first of all by possessing objects that show their status, which is the case of the "bling" jewellery inspired by those gangsta rappers wearing remarkable quantities of heavy jewelry, and especially chain necklaces that jingle one against the other producing the "bling bling" onomatopoeic sound. Also, they define themselves with "fly" attributes, like in the case of Da G: someone really cool; Da mack: often referred to a pimp, in AAVE is used for a man who is "conspicuously successful, especially through the use of flattery or deceiving talk" (Lighter 1997, p. 493). Dangerous ghetto people also have natural enemies: the police. In particular, the Londonstani call ordinary police, or even traffic wardens, with the typical rap attribute "feds." It clearly is an hyperbole, as it is originally a shortening for FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation).

While some words are exclusively borrowed from one language or the other (Punjabi or AAVE), the derogatory terms are multifaceted. In fact, some insults will be drawn from the African American rap vocabulary, probably because they (especially shouted in public) convey a strong idea of ghetto. Insults (especially racial and homophobic) are particularly efficient, because they show disrespect for the rules and practices of a wealthy suburb, e.g. Batty boy (originally Jamaican; "batty" is someone's back): homophobic insult, can be referred to someone that actually is homosexual or just is not being "man" enough in a given situation; Muthafucka: the typical rap-like spelling for "motherfucker;" Honky: derogatory term for a white person, normally used by black people only (Cagliero and Spallino 2010, p. 371).

Thanks to their keen listening of MTV rap music, the Londonstani teens also make sure they "play the role" of their idols, impersonating characters of dangerous men who have to run away from the police, as in the following quotes:

Don't b needin no shit wid da feds (Malkani 2006, p. 132)
Yeh, bredren, knock his fuckin teeth out (p. 9)
Fuck you, man. Do you think you da only one who's been there, done dat, shagged that bitch, done dat ho? (p. 20)

Many times they will recall speech events, especially woofing (Green 2002) as in the following excerpt:

Come out wid dat shit again n I'ma knock you so hard u'll b shittin out yo mouth 4 real (Malkani 2006, p. 3)
Fuckin five-ounce white gold, innit. Call me a Paki n I whip yo ass wid it (p. 4)
They will also resort to toasts filled with braggadocio boasting:
Yeh you know it, Ravi. Back then when I boned Mandeep I was jus using a large size [condom]. Now I need extra large, you get me? (p. 20)
An as 4 dis organised trouble u chattin bout, u'd b surprised how organised our shit (illegal business) can b when we proply incentivised. (p. 118)
Yeh, man, nobody mess wid us, we bad muthafuckas (…) da gangsta, da killa n da dope dealer (p. 122)
All my sperms are men, innit. Matter a fact, my sperm cells got bigger dicks then that chota maggot you got between your legs, you get me. (p. 180)

From Rudeboys to shareef munde: the performance disruptions

Malkani will use a series of characters to ridicule their attempt to mould the space; for example, white people representing institutions (policemen, teachers, receptionists etc.) but also the older family members of the Londonstani – especially their mothers and other Aunties, which represent the family as an oppressive entity but also their cultural heritage. The family plays a big role when it comes to performance disruption – the Londonstani know it, and the sole presence of an Uncle and especially of an Auntie leads them to change their register completely, like in the following example, when Amit (one of the rudeboys) calls his mum:

Soon as Hardjit hangs up, Amit takes his Nokia 6610 back an starts makin a call beside me. He's being all polite an in't using no swear words so is clearly chattin to his mum. But he makes sure he don't *look* like he's chattin to his mum, narrowin his eyes, suckin in his cheeks an noddin as he stares out the window. (Malkani 2006, p. 16)
The kids are in Ravi's car, a Beemer, acting tough around the city. However, Amit remembers he needs to call his mum for some food shopping. To her, he talks politely, mixing Punjabi and English but not AAVE, because he knows this would not be convenient nor appreciated by his mum. The same happens in other occasions, for example while the Londonstani are in the middle of their illegal business (phone unlocking), when the mother of the gang leader Hardjit enters the room:

Amit's kit [...] also included a money counter an some small weighting scales. He was settin it all up on Hardjit's bed when Hardjit's mum came in the room with her tied-back silver hair an matchin silver tray full a samosas, pakoras, glasses a Coke an cups a chai. [...] Coke not too flat an with slices of lemon an some crushed ice made by their top-a-the-range fridge. [...] I'm positive we din't look like we needed frilly pink paper doilies. – Shukriya, Auntyji, we all said like cheerleaders as she placed the tray on the desk. Each a us gives it another Shukriya again as she handed us a mini-plate an then Shukriya again as she put a dollop a that red napalm in it. Gotta respect your elders, innit. [...] – But please, beita, don't ruffle bed cover. Is made from really real, genuine silk. [...] beita, please, why not use desk Papa got for you? (Malkani 2006, p. 68-69)

This example reveals how their mothers represent their cultural heritage, but also their age and their "financial" status. Hardjit's mother brings samosas, pakoras and chai, which are typical of the Indian tradition, but also glasses of coke – and "frilly pink paper doilies:" the behaviour of the Auntie actually projects an image of the Londonstani as even younger than their age and less virile. Masculinity is in fact anther crucial reason for borrowing the African American gangsta style, as a rapper's dignity and credibility are given by the fact of acting "like a man". The allegedly dangerous ghetto rudeboys are wealthy, young shareef munde, ready to switch to politeness when talking to an Auntie, giving up on the masculinity and talking "like cheerleaders" to show respect. The consciousness of their choices reveals a real skill in code mixing. So, when they choose not to switch back to standard English while talking to white adults, they choose to keep their AAVE as a form of resistance to their wealthy environment, which they have to live in but does not represent them. In fact, most white people they interact with represent British institutions –it education, law and order or simple admin staff. These white people, however, immediately recognise the roleplay. In the case of a traffic warden who is going to fine one of the kids because of the way he parked his car, the appearance of the warden in the street will be sufficient to drag the Londonstani out of their fictional world of gangsters:

The fucker's standin right in front a me, wearin that yellow jacket that glows in the light an that traffic warden's hat, the kind security guards wear to look like cops. [...] – Thirty fuckin seconds, man, dat's all I wos, goes Davinder. – I got food poisoning, innit. Had 2 vomit in Nando's toilets. Or wudyu prefer if I threw up in da street? (Malkani 2006, p. 37)

The traffic warden is disgusted by a detailed description of vomit and gives up, abandoning the scene. Obviously, real gangsters would have intimidated the traffic warden. The situation gets even worse when they face actual police, for example when a planned fight between the Sikh Hardjit and the Muslim Tariq, to which the gangs they lead and a number of girls are assisting, gets interrupted when a police car silently approaching the spot.

One a the feds took his hat off an crouched down to inspect the bloody mess below Tariq's left eye. – You alright, son? That's a nasty injury. You may need some medical attention for that. – No sir, don't worry, Tariq says in a fake poncey accent that I figure is his version a actin polite. [...] It was a shame the feds had snuck up on us stead a coming with the sirens cos then Davinder's crew would've jumped around singin 'Whoop, whoop, Dat's da Sound A Da Police'[3] like they normly do. [...] only one cop car showed up. One shitty Vauxhall hatchback, two feds. [then Mr Ashwood, their former teacher, intervenes to save the kids] Vouching for our good character was one thing, sayin it so loud that even the girls heard it was another. – Absolute little angels, good to the bone, so to speak. [...] the girls carried on giggling. – Oh, Hardjit, you're such a goody good little angel boy, said Priya. – Such a good shareef munda, I should introduce you to my mama. (Malkani 2006, pp. 111-113)

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[3] Refrain from a famous song by the rapper Krs-one, *Sound of da Police* (n.d.).

The official reason for fighting is the never-settled feud between Muslims and Sikhs, which traces back to the partition[4] of India. However, the main purpose of the rudeboys is to be noticed and appreciated by the girls, it is literally their showcase. The arrival of the policemen wrecks it, and the Londonstani are saved and at the same time doomed by the arrival of a former teacher of theirs, the white Mr. Ashwood. Saved, because the police will believe him and let the kids go with no further consequences. Doomed, because to achieve their safety Mr. Ashwood has to claim in a very loud voice the truth about them: they are "little angels," who would never disgrace their families by causing real trouble. The girls laugh at them and, by stating that they are shareef enough to be introduced to their mothers, they once again emasculate them. The attempt to emulate the rappers is made even more evident by the fact that they normally use a rap song to signal the presence of the police officers – given that the police car enters the scene in the typical American movie style: big noisy cars, sirens full blast, police officers coming out screaming and pointing their guns. Right after being saved by Mr. Ashwood, they decide to steal his phone, in order to replace one that they have damaged. Immediately discovered, they talk to the teacher in his office to avoid prosecution. There, they try to maintain their performance; the teacher immediately recognises and discloses their intention, ridiculing it as out of context.

– Yeh, man, nobody mess wid us, we bad muthafuckas, Ravi said, getting all excited an usin the fact that he was standin up as an excuse to adopt one a his gangsta-rap poses. With his neck raised now an givin it anther lick-a-shot flick with his right hand, he continues: – Da gangsta, da killa n da dope dealer, [...] – I cannot believe you're sitting here aspiring to be a gangsta rapper at a time like this, Ravi. Because if you want that kind of notoriety, then quite frankly I could fulfil your fantasy by calling the police and having you arrested while they search your houses for stolen phones. (Malkani 2006, pp. 122-123)

This is a key passage for their identity: as much as they present themselves as bad gangsters, the emulation does not work on adults and quickly becomes a childish pretend game. At the same time, this means a failure to transform the space – if Ravi wants to be a real gangster, he will have to go to a real jail. The points of view between the Londonstani and the whites are irreconcilable, until Jas decides to abandon AAVE and Punjabi, and talks to the white adults using a formal British English, like when they are trying to join a prestigious sports centre, but the receptionist needs prove that Hardjit's exceptionally well built muscles are not obtained with the help of steroids before accepting them.

– Look, chief, ma cash is all good. I earn'd it doin ma business, a'ight. I'm a businessman, a successful businessman cos dat's da way I do ma business, u get me? U lot shud b beggin me 2 b a member a dis place, not aksin me if I ever took no steroids n shit. – Sir, please keep your voice down. And I'd appreciate if you'd kindly refrain from swearing. The health club's policy is to take signed assurances from new members when we deem it prudent to do so. [the argument goes on, until Jas intervenes] – Er, I think what my friend Hardjit means is that we'd really regret it if we couldn't jin up today, I go. – We've come all this way with our gym kit, the lady

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[4] During the colonial era, Britain seemed to adopt a *divide et impera* policy with India, fomenting the conflicts among the numerous religions widespread in the colony, to then pose itself as the one holding the balance of power (Lal, *Manas*, n.d.).

on the phone said it'd be no problem. I appreciate my friend is well built but I've known him for years an trust me, he got his build through sheer dedication, six full meals a day an a protein milk shake in between each one. (Malkani 2006, p. 186)

Hardjit acts like a bad gangster, but the performance does not impress the receptionist: from the inside of the gang (and their role play) Hardjit is the toughest and most credible, but his behaviour creates a short circuit with the surrounding environment. At the same time Jas, who is the best one at switching to politeness and whose ability is appreciated outside the gang, is seen as a newbie from the inside. In fact, Jas himself is one of the main performance disruptors: sometimes, like in the previous example, he does so voluntarily to allow the communication with the white adults, while in other cases he does it by just not being "tough enough." For example, before the fight between Hardjit and Tariq, Jas and Hardjit are waiting for the rest of the gang, and Jas looks at the city environment around him and lets it "penetrate" their fictional space.

It was the morning a Hardjit's big fight an the two a us were kickin bout on the corner a Hounslow High Street and Montague Road. Right outside the Holy Trinity Church. [...] The place looks more like some school sports hall stead a some church, an in case you're ever hagin outside long enough to wonder why, there's a sign tellin its history. – Bruv? I go to Hardjit. – Bruv, d'you know the original church got burnt down by two schoolboys in 1943? Hardjit's busy lookin too hard an sick to be hangin round with someone like me. So I try again. – This one here was rebuilt in the 1960s, in the exact same spot. – No shit, Jas. Does it look like I give a shit? Som'times I's embarrass'd 2 b hangin round wid'chyu. Why da fuck'd I wanna know bout some church's history 4? Do I look like a vicar? U da one wat probly likes choirboys. (Malkani 2006, p. 79)

Jas, the newbie of the gang, used to be a "book worm," devoted to studying and pleasing his family and teachers. Then, Hardjit decided to help him becoming "cool" and tough by allowing him in the gang. However, this operation is not fully successful. Jas is still aware of the space around them, and will often notice how it does not reflect their performance.

The world going by outside the window tells me that in olden times, before the airport, Hounslow must've been one a them batty towns where people ponced around on cycles stead a drivin cars. Why else we got such narrow roads? [...] I hope the skint people who work for the council would just finish the fuckin job an chop em all down. Make room for more billboards, more fuckin road. (Malkani 2006, pp. 16-17)
Jas is hanging out in his friend's car with the whole gang, a ritual that serves to build their street credibility. The problem is, the street is not suitable for their fiction: the roads are too narrow for big American-style cars and there are trees instead of billboards. Probably, before the airport was built nearby, the town was not trafficked at all. Once again, the urban setting proves its crucial role – and so does his absence, leading the Londonstani to create a fictional one.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show how language as a social practice can influence the construction and perception of its context. The Londonstani teens transform their wealthy quarter in a ghetto, so that they can find or create a continuity between their complex identity and their space by resorting to a performative use of language. However, the lack of authenticity is revealed by language itself, when the white bourgeoisie ridicules their spoken ghetto performance or when their mothers take their newly-purposed urban Punjabi back to a more traditional use. Moreover, the whole process is described by Jas, who provides a particularly peculiar point of view, made even more dysfunctional by the final revelation about his identity: his real name is Jason Bartholomew-Clivenden, "aged nineteen, white, male" (Malkani 2006, p. 340). Thus, not only he pretends to be Black, but he pretends to be an Indian who pretends to be Black. His Punjabi is learned as much as his AAVE. The final revelation, apart from having strong political implications, once again stresses the performative aspect of their identity. There will also be bereavement in Amit's family, when his brother Arun commits suicide, brought to the limit by the family drama triggered by his engagement with a girl from a different caste. This suicide will cause, along with the love story with the Muslim Samira, the banishment of Jas from the gang – Jas is blamed for Arun's suicide, since he encouraged him to face his family. Moreover, while pretending to be gangsters, they will end up dealing with a real criminal, Sanjay, who has set up an international fraud in which the Londonstani will be involved. They face the complexity of their situation while their fictional world falls apart.

Ethnicity, gender, identity, language – both in their undeniable existence and lack of clear definition – permeate the life of this new Londoners, the Londoners that make the city what it is today. The very essence of London as a multicultural urban space is language, which has the amazing potential to represent heritage and contamination at the same time. Although with an often awkward result, the effort of the Londonstani teens reveals the need for a re-localisation of London: not just a Western metropolis, but the crossroads of a history made of colonisation, migration, contamination and reinvention of the most disparate, fragmented and complex identities.

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Trieste, Crossroads of Cultures in Central Eastern Europe: Transformations, Contradictions and Continuities at the Italian Eastern Border

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Abstract
This paper aims to highlight some peculiarities of this border region contested between Italy and Yugoslavia where the ethnic differences, cultural and the geographical characteristics blend together in an extraordinary example of European multiculturalism.
Thanks to its location, on the eastern border, the city has always played an important strategic role and exchange with the world of the Slavic peoples and Austria. For this reason, Trieste was one of the most important Italian cities, in particular, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century. His soul mixes Mediterranean and Central European characters and its harbor is the largest and most important of Italy, one of the most important maritime cluster in Europe. This has made and still makes Trieste a place of exchanges and meetings. But Trieste is also a city that has been a refuge, a second chance and, at times, even an exile for many people who have come to live. This quality has made this city very lively and original and is evident in its urban fabric and in its monuments.
Trieste is also the mingling of Greek and Slovenes, Jews and Christians, of Austria and Italy, of invaders and fugitives, sea and Bora recounted in the books of Claudio Magris, Scipio Slapater and Laura Boschian. Trieste is a interlacement of art movements, literary, historical, social, geographical, natural and architectural, the paradigm of that which once was studied such as the famous "Mitteleuropa": and is now, of course, the complicated "plural society" in which we all live.

Keywords: Mitteleuropa, Trieste, multiculturalism, transformation, Adriatic, Central Eastern Europe, exile, Magris, Slapater

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Trieste: one-thousand faces of a single city

From the 18th Century onward the important port city of Trieste and its hinterland has formed a peculiar and complex geopolitical, economic, and social reality. With the passage of time an extraordinary example of multiethnic coexistence emerged that, however, in the 20th Century also saw strong conflicts.

Trieste is the location where the Adriatic Sea meets Mount Carso. Differently from nearby Venice, Trieste is known for its amalgam of ethnic groups and cultures. Italians, Germans, Slavs, and also influential Greek, Armenian, and Jewish communities have all coexisted. At the same time, however, these groups have maintained their own identity with recurring temptations of isolation and reciprocal mistrust.

As the city's monuments testify, Trieste has played the role of conquered city, a place of refuge and exile, and site of rebirth. The Roman amphitheater, the bas relief of the altar of San Giusto, the neighborhood of Teresiano, the Grand Canal built by the Austrians, and lastly, the Jewish ghetto with its buildings on Via del Monte are witnesses to the intractable struggles in the city.

The heterogeneity and multiplicity of the elements that make up the city have created a model for the complexity of all of modern civilizations.

Trieste is also the Bora, the East-North-East wind that in the winter can surpass 100 kilometers per hour. It is a wind that changes the face of the city and the Triestines are accustomed to it. In the end Trieste is also identified by its port; this natural extension of the city is looked upon by the peoples of Eastern Central Europe, today in crisis but one time a flowering source of power and income for its residents. The port has occupied and continues to occupy a central role in the economic history of the city, strongly influence the life of its inhabitants.

The City and its Port

Throughout the 18th Century, the Austrian Empire developed a growing interest in Trieste as a secure maritime link to the various regions under its control. The two fundamental events were the 1717 declaration of Charles VI of the Habsburg dynasty on the freedom of navigation in the Adriatic and the Certification of a free port that Trieste and Fiume obtained in 1719.

Charles VI's concession was intended to increase the commercial traffic on Trieste and to economically develop Austrian possessions at the expense of then-decadent Venice. The Eastern Company was founded for the same reason to expand commerce with the Middle East with the concession of financial and commercial privileges.

The economic takeoff of the port was not immediate. The most important changes arrived beginning in 1740, under the reign of Maria Teresa and continued under her son Joseph II. With the promulgation of the Edict of Tolerance of 1781, non-Catholic minority

immigration to the Adriatic port was encouraged with would eventually constitute in the following century the multiethnic bourgeoisie of Trieste, the economic motor of the city until the second half of the 19th Century.

The commercial hub of Trieste in the first half of the 19th Century attracted groups of Protestant, Jewish, Greek, and Armenian bankers and merchants who believed in the economic potential of the free port and created dense networks of commercial relations. IN this period the German component played a central role in administrative positions, and among the artisans and employees. This situation changed due the block of commercial traffic during the First World War which caused the city to be abandoned by the German component.

The free port attracted also Slovenian communities and many merchants joined the privileged Imperial Eastern Company as minor shareholders. The Slovenian merchants that reached Trieste at a young age are those who managed to fully integrate themselves in the society of the city, contracting advantageous matrimonies as full members of the Triestine bourgeoisie.

Following the French Revolution, the Treaty of Campoformio made Trieste the main transit point of the commerce of the whole Mitteleuropa which created great wealth a subsequent population increase in the city. The three following French occupations and the naval blockade against England caused a grave economic crisis for the port and the city population was reduced by 35%.

The Port of Trieste in the 19th Century

The Restoration and the renewal of the certification of free port ended the economic crisis and gave birth to a rapid revival of the port's activities: the maritime commerce opened to traffic with the Middle East, the Indies, and Mediterranean countries. The Austro-Hungarian Empire with the three ports of Fiume, Venice, and Trieste thus controlled a vast area of commercial importance. In only three years, from 1812 to 1815 the population of Trieste doubled. The number of workers grew continuously due to the consolidation of the harbors and the creation of new structures in the port, which introduced steam power in 1819.

The English who arrived in Trieste during the war against Napoleon played a key role in this transformation. The English exploited as much as possible the possibilities offered by the free port and the vast commerce origination in the European colonies and wisely invested in the financial services of commerce. Therefore, from 1830 onward insurance activity had a notable development and quickly became the driving force of the Triestine economy. Le Generali, Il Lloyd Adriatico, la Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà, created an unbreakable axis between commerce, banks, and insurance which brought major investments and great profits to the Adriatic city. The diffusion of railroads characterized the economic development in the second half of the 19th Century with the completion of the Südbahn line.

However, the first signs of crisis appeared due to the incapacity of the Habsburgs to understand the great changes that were happening in the Western economy which required strong investments by the sovereigns in the port of Trieste. It was the cosmopolitan capitalist bourgeoisie which initially headed the effort to reverse the incipient crisis.

The competitive bid for the construction of a new port of Trieste was published in 1863. The winner of the competition, the engineer Talabot was announced two years later. Talabot proposed the burial of the old docks aside the railroad line and the construction of three harbors (width 40m and length 50m) protected by a breakwater dike of over 1000 meters. The work was finished 18 years later quickly became obsolete. In 1887 a new project began to increase the docks and harbors.

The communications via land were also strengthened with the construction of other railroad lines which increased traffic between Trieste and its hinterland. The Pontebbana which followed the Northwesterly direction (Trieste-Udine-Pontebba-Tarvisio-Villaco-Salisburgo-Monaco was inaugurated in 1789. In 1906 the Transalpine (Tauri) was inaugurated connecting from South to North, Trieste-Gorizia-Piedicolle Jesenice-Villaco, which linked the area with Linz-Prague, but was poorly adapted to the travel of goods due to the steep cliffs.

The Lloyd Company played a fundamental role in the industrial development of the city. In December of 1837 the company had for repair facility in a building situated near the old leper hospital. After the expansion of the workshop in 1839, the company possessed new machinery and became the embryo of the first Lloyd arsenal. In May of 1853 it was decided to create a large naval yard in Trieste for the maintenance and periodic reparations of Lloyd's ships which would eventually employ 3000 workers.

1n 1867 with the Ausgleich the empire of the Hapsburgs became the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in 1872 the Austrian Lloyd was renamed Österreichisch - Ungarischer Lloyd or Austro-Hungarian Lloyd. Two years later Lloyd became a shareholder of the Suez Company: the opening of the canal permitted new commercial routes from the Adriatic to East Africa and above all to Asia which led to the rapid expansion to the port of Trieste. The number of steamships doubled between 1850 and 1870. However, the true change occurred between 1870 and 1914 when the total capacity increased from 68,000 to 268,000 tons, while the total strength of the fleet that in 1850 was at 4510 steamships, in 1913 arrived at 190,558. The Lloyd obtained hegemony in the ports of the Mediterranean and in the port of Trieste passed not only the products of the Mediterranean countries but also those from Asia which had previously only arrived in the ports of the Atlantic Coast.

The end of the free port in 1891 brought a halt to the expansion of economy of Trieste: the merchants lost the advantage of being able to use their own warehouses in the city which were no longer duty free, while the city population suffered due to an increase in prices caused by direct taxation on goods, without obtaining an increase in salary compensation. The first signs of the crisis were noted in the 1860s when the port of Trieste lost the Italian markets following the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy. The

commercial activity expanded again when the sailing ships were replaced by steamships. The Eastern route of traffic became more important and the merchandise from India such as raw cotton, jute, rice, seed oils, and coffee were privileged despite the lack of treatment of these products.

The development of new means of communication at the beginning of the Twentieth Century contributed to Trieste's loss of status as an emporium to be transformed into a transit point. As a result of industrial development, the city population had surpassed 175,000 around 1900 before arriving at 250,000 on the eve of the First World War. In the same years the port of Trieste saw the development of other family managed companies such as the Cosulich, Tripcovich, Premuda and Gerolimich all originating in Dalmatia.

During the 1890s the Cosulich had sufficient resources to acquire 7 steamships and 4 sailing ships in the span of a few years. At the beginning of the Twentieth Century the Triestine branch of the family inaugurated the first commercial line between the Atlantic and North America distinguishing itself in the transportation of emigrants to the Americas.

The First World War and the Beginning of Decline

Notwithstanding the rapid development of world maritime commerce which preceded the First World War, the port of Trieste headed toward a phase of economic decline from which it would not reemerge. The years immediately preceding the First World War are characterized by a strong development in world maritime commerce. The Julian port recorded a decline and remained between the world average in commerce despite numerous interventions such as the construction of new buildings, the installation of new mechanical tools in the existing structures and the enlargement of the port.

A two-fold change occurred in the social structure of the city with the transformation from emporium to transitory traffic: many old families concentrated specifically on financial and insurance activities, while at the same time a new group of courageous transporters established themselves, these shipping agents were the children of the most important families of captains and ship-owners.

Trieste suffered greatly during the Great War due to its vicinity to the front. With Italy's victory the majority of the non-Italian citizens abandoned the city for Austria or the newly formed Yugoslavia. New immigrants reach the city, particularly from Southern Italy. The impoverishment of the territories of the defect Hapsburg Empire had harsh repercussions on the port of Trieste: in fact the Italian businesses did not manage to provide for the vacuum created by the reduction of the flowering markets of Mitteleuropa. On the contrary, the insurance companies remained in a state of economic wellbeing, so much that in these years their capital is worth one third of that of the entire Kingdom of Italy.

With the annexation to Italy, Trieste found itself as a border city, without its own hinterland and under a military governorship led by the general Carlo Petitti of Roreto who was overwhelmed by the changes that the city faced.

The strikes in the naval yard increased following the October Revolution in Russia whereas the suffering of the just concluded war reinforced the international Austro-Marxist pacifist tradition. In 1919 the Socialist parties of Trieste and the nearby Slovene population were fused together. Capitalism had a two-faced enemy: red and Slavic. The response was the cohesion of nationalist interests and those of military authorities which were reinforced by the reentry of war veterans. This explosive situation helped open the doors to the birth of fascism which found fertile ground in Trieste to rapidly assert itself, in particular after the euphoria created in the city population after the occupation of Fiume in 1919 by the poet Gabriele D'Annunzio.

In the peninsula many had seen in the conquest of Trieste, a privileged access to the city's historic markets. Commercial penetration of the Balkans was theorized both in the Danube and Eastern regions to continue the tradition of Lloyd's century-old intelligent and patient work as well as that of the family enterprises, in the insurance, financial, and mercantile sectors. The networks of these companies had reached all of the Near and Far East and the Americas and represented vehicles of economic, commercial and financial influence of exception value.

Trieste between the two Wars.

The modernization of the port infrastructure in the years following the conclusion of World War I were focused on the area of the transportation of wood from Servola which was declared a free port. In 1922 the free port model from the pre-war period was reconfirmed and two years later work began to remodel of the harbors V and VI which had been damaged during the war. A new regulatory plan for the area of Zaule was created which led to successive industrial development.

Given the necessity of general organization of the port of Trieste in 1926 the General Warehouses were privatized with various shareholders and became the Autonomous Port Authority. The warehouse workers lost the privileges of public employment when they were hired by the Port Authority from January 1, 1927 onward according to the norms that regulated private employment. In this period the Port Authority boasted 500 office employees, 700 factory workers with a contract, 600 temporary workers, and 110 supervisors belonging to the Commissary of Public Security. The entire workforce was insured by the labor laws due to the association of the Port Authority with the labor union Giuliano of workplace incidents.

In 1929 an agreement was signed in Monaco (or Munich?) that ended the tariff war with Germany for the acquisition of the markets of the former Mitteleuropa. The agreement stipulated Prague would be the geographical marker; to the north of the city Hamburg would have had lower tariffs, whereas to the south Trieste would have lower tariffs. The hoped for improvements did not manifest due to the world economic crisis of 1929. The port activity would later be focused on industry, in particular the transportation of

primary resources which could not be found on Italian territory: the port activity was limited however to merchandise of great volume but low value.

The local economic elite attempted to continue their policy of monopoly and privilege that had made them successful in the past. The fusion of the port activity with navigation resulted in an overestimate of the price of ships commissioned at the naval yards. Through this strategy the public finances destined to the shipping industry were received as compensation for the loss of the traditional lines of commercial traffic after the war. These funds helped to balance the budgets for the port industries.

In this period the local industries, beginning with the iron industry benefitted from three kinds of finance: direct investments in the national navy mechanics, confirmed and led by Ciano which covered 42% of the production cost, the shipbuilding orders, managed by the Italian Marine Military and local aid.

The Anonymous Society of the Industrial Zone of the Port of Trieste which was founded in January 1929 in the attempt to incentivize industrial production would soon become a failure. The funds were used to balance the failing budgets of the local businesses without an adequate long-term organizational strategy. With the crisis of 1929 many businesses ended up in the hands of the State. The true change of direction began in 1933 when many enterprises were placed under control of IRI which from this point onward privileges the commerce in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the expense of the Adriatic. The situation slowly worsened in the following years: in 1936 the Lloyd and the Cosulich companies entered into serious financial difficulties.

In the case of the Lloyd, Benito Mussolini decided to intervene with the intention of making the company a leader in commerce with the ports beyond the Suez Canal. Although the Triestine companies played a central role in the reorganization strategy of the regime, the Cosulich and Free Triestine Navigation companies decided to transfer their headquarters to Genoa due to the excellent services offered there and the prestige of the trade routes of the city.

Trieste headed toward a phase which tied to public assistance; the State identified Trieste solely as a port of transit and occasionally took necessary measures to improve its function.

The political failure of the fascist expansion in the Balkans together with the rise of national socialism and the dynamism of the German economy marked the definitive crisis of the Triestine local elite. (From 1930 onward Germany controlled almost the entirety of European commerce in the Danube basin.)

In the end Trieste lost its cosmopolitan connotation and its multicultural identity with the emanation of the racial laws of 1938: the Italian government dramatically lost control of the situation and the port which had once been full of people and goods, was occupied by warships.

The Contested City

Following the Italian armistice of 1943, on September 9 the Germans occupied Trieste and constituted the OZAK. (Operations Zone Adriatisches Küstenland) or Operations Zone of the Adriatic Shore, and the entire area was directly administered by Nazi authorities.

At the end of the Second World War in May 1945, Trieste was occupied for 40 terrible days by Marshal Tito's Yugoslav soldiers. In the following month the city passed under the control of the Allied Military Government, which controlled the city until 1954.
The Belgrade agreement reached in June 1945 foresaw the division of Trieste from Istria. The Zone A included the Adriatic port, Gorizia and the strip of territory extended north to the Valley of the Isonzo, Pola and a small enclave all of which was administered by the Allies. The Zone B, or rather all of the rest of the region was instead administered by the Yugoslavs. In July 1946 the Free Territory of Trieste was created which extended along the coast between the rivers Timavo and Quieto. The Free Territory became active on September 15, 1947 after with the signing of Paris Peace Treaty on February 10.

Throughout the Cold War, Trieste became one of the principal Western barriers against Soviet expansion. In 1952, due to the agreement in London in the month of May, Italy was able to insert its own functionaries in the civil administration of the city and with the two party declaration of October 1953 the Anglo-Americans announced their intention to transfer administration of Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste to the Italian government. In London on October 5, 1954 the Memorandum of Understanding was signed and on November 4 Italy reassumed direction administration of Zone A.

After the celebrations for the return of Trieste to Italy the sober reality of massive material damage caused by the war remained: the railroad lies and infrastructure had been destroyed by bombardments. The port was not spared and was not able to become competitive with the other Mediterranean ports, especially those in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Trieste had been surpassed in its port structures and was poorly suited to commerce with Europe and the East. Emigration from the area of Trieste was the sad reaction to the crisis: in four years, from 1954 to 1958 around 16,000 people left Trieste for Australia or other destinations due to widespread unemployment.

This disastrous situation was worsened by the effects of the Suez Canal crisis which in 1956 had a negative impact on the commerce of the Northern Adriatic region. The second crisis which blocked the transit in the canal from 1967 to 1975 had terrible consequences. The Italian government during the years of the interdiction did not notice the need to begin an adequate modernization process. On the contrary, in world shipping the use of containers became ubiquitous in part due to the wells present between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf which, in turn, led to the construction of supertankers.

The criticism of the central government was not heeded and the energy crisis of the mid 1970s aggravated the situation, planting the seeds for the largest and most difficult crisis that would invest all of the Italian ports in the 1980s.

The Last Border: Osimo, 1975

In the period of European Cold War detente beginning in August 1975, the Osimo agreement was signed on December 10, 1975. The agreement stemmed from the last act of the Helsinki accord stipulated by the Security Conference for Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The definitive cession of Zone B of the former Free Territory of Trieste, from Northwest Istria to Yugoslavia, recognizing the borders that had been determined at the end of the Second World War.

The Treaty of Osimo, which signified the desire for detente in relations with Western and Eastern Europe caused a political crisis among the Triestines due to a rebirth of past conflicts. In 1975, the exiles from the peninsula felt betrayed by a State whose diplomatic body had once again appeared unprepared and too conciliatory. At the same time the rancor of the refugees of Zone B grew because the Italian political class had led them to believe that Zone B would have returned to Italy.
Feeling betrayed by the national political of the Christian Democrat party, which had had a notable success in Trieste from 1946 onward, but had not met expectations, a large number of Triestines of strong Italian identity demonstrated their discontent and resentment with a new political movement: The List for Trieste.
In the elections of June 25, 1978 the List for Trieste became the most important local political formation. From that point it has always been present, directly or indirectly, on the Triestine political scene. In this sense it is important to remember that agreements with other formations which contributed to the election of candidates of the List for Trieste to both the National and European Parliaments.

Conclusions

As written in the beginning, it was the empress Maria Teresa who began the development of Trieste due to her belief that the economic and social fate of the city was tied to its port.

Her action proved decisive in the transformation into one State of the vast and complex realities of the countries and territories on the Hapsburg's domain. It was her project to transform Trieste into the Southern outlet for these regions which turned the city into the commercial emporium of the State.

Until 1750 the economic dynamics of the small Adriatic city were based on the agriculture of the lowlands and hills immediately surrounding the urban center. The maritime traffic was short range and the merchants, who had integrated themselves into the established elite according to the Venetian model, had invested their money in the acquisition of land.

The institution of the free port was the pretext for a rapid and modern social dynamism. The impulse in this sense came from the state authorities and not from the local elite which saw the development as a threat to their traditional privileges.

Trieste's role as a central hub of Austrian commerce that was acquired under the Hapsburg's was not the natural evolution of the history of the Adriatic port as much as the result of a revision of its history. The inadequacy, backwardness, and weakness of the local forces rendered the external relationships decisive in the process of the ethnic, demographic, political, and administrative transformation of the city.

Next to the old city of Trieste, the agricultural hinterland began to prosper after the consolidation of the Austrian Empire under Maria Teresa. Two worlds faced each other in a small geographical area: one destined to dissolve in the attempt to defend its own privileges and traditions and one able to interpret new demands which would become the protagonist of the modernization of the city's lifeblood. The city was on one hand compactly Italian with its historical noble and merchant elites in decadence and other hand, in its hinterland, heterogeneous and lively, where settlers from the Near East, Jews, Greeks, Germans, and Illyrians converged. An anchored aristocratic economic mentality based on finance met with a bourgeois mentality of commercial expansion and greater profits. The modern Trieste with all of its complexity, characterized by its dynamism and the vivacity of foreigners in search of fortune, was born from this meeting and the subsequent fusion of the two worlds

Far from representing a point of rupture, the meeting of this heterogeneous and multiform world became an element of continuity with respect to the cultural and linguistic roots of the old Latin and Italian commune which remained the fundamental and distinctive trait of the city despite the constant common patrimony of all of its components.
The Serbian and Greek communities, characterized by their closed religious and cultural identities, remained tied to their traditions even though they were fully immersed in the city's fabric through their various activities.

The profound ethic and demographic change that accompanied the rise of Triestine traffic transformed into an element of conservation and diffusion of Italian identity, understood in linguistic and cultural dimension. Therefore, this multinational reality was not only a phenomenon tied to the merchant's vocation, but also a consequence of the influence of geography and history.

The nature of the German presence in Trieste was peculiar. The Germans, for the most part, in various historical periods inserted themselves into the Triestine society, and were integrated into the surrounding area thus losing their German identity. In time, this phenomenon acquired the sense of a choice of values and lifestyle, an adherence to a civilization considered more suited to the times. A unifying force was played by the Italian language in this process of integration of new components: Italian was used both in the Julian hinterland and the Mediterranean and Adriatic ports from where the majority of the immigrants came. Ranking before Italian language was the Triestine dialect which was the key for full insertion in the ranks of citizenry.

The Jewish community of Trieste, which had neither a common language nor place of origin to unify it had its own particular place in the city. It was composed of Sephardic and Ashkenazim, Austrian citizens from the heart and periphery of the empire, by Italians

from the Northern Central part of the Peninsula, and above all by foreigners attracted to Trieste by the commercial and financial development of the city and by the reality of a young society without a hierarchy or barriers. In a city that had lost its old ruling class and was creating a new one, the Jews played an essential role in the formation of a modern Triestine bourgeoisie and contributed to give it its unmistakable cosmopolitan imprint.

The coexistence of different elements in Trieste emerges in the poetry of Umberto Saba. It is the ideal scenario of ambiguity and fraudulent senility and the identification of life and bourgeoisie that we find in the literature of Italo Svevo, which belongs to the great analytic scientific tradition of the Mitteleuropean narrative. Svevo saw a dead end in the city's bourgeoisie, the ned of the Jewish-Triestine governing class that became the symbol of the dominant class of the old Europe.

Scipio Slapater worked to create a new culture and life in the attempt to transform a sunset in an aurora, with the desire to renovate its own universality heredity opening itself to dialog with other cultures. Slapater understood that the future of Trieste consisted in the equal dialog between Italians and Slovenes.

Trieste is the synthesis of German culture, Hebrew tradition and spiritual Italian identity that we find in the lyrics of Carlo Elia, but also in the exasperation of the antislav nationalism of Ruggero Timeus Fauro who is convinced of the ineluctable nature of a national conflict. This atmosphere of hope and strong determinations was interrupted by the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo: the prologue of the tragedy that covered Europe in blood. The war brought the irredentist sentiment toward immediate and concrete political action with the definitive collapse of the hoped-for synthesis between Trieste and its hinterland. For Trieste the end of the war represented a radical and irreversible transformation of its historic role. The rupture of the political ties with the Danubian Balkan hinterland which had rendered Trieste prosperous, giving it the dimension of a European city, marked the shattering of the traditional political structures of Mitteleuropa. Fascism would do the rest turning the city into a difficult frontier outpost. Today Trieste's international role of the past is a distant memory rendering the city of today a mirror of the general condition of our civilization[1].

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[1] This research was followed patiently by Prof. Carlo Felice Casula, Roma Tre University.

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