

The Urban Age

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The Cultural Heritage of Cities

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letters to the editor

We welcome your comments, thoughts, and suggestions about *The Urban Age*.

Editor:

In his recent article concerning the role of the private sector at Habitat II [Vol. 4, No. 2, "The Private Sector: An Afterthought?"], Charles Landry makes a strong case for soliciting the contributions of ideas and information from the private sector in a more organized and timely manner. However, I must point out that in formulating U.S. positions, HUD [the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development] did seek a variety of positions and approaches from the private sector.

Then-Secretary Cisneros and Assistant Secretary Michael Stegman included me, as president of the 730,000-member National Association of Realtors, as well as other business leaders, in all phases of planning. As delegates, a few of us attended briefing and plenary sessions. We also conducted roundtables, such as one I led on the Eastern European Property Foundation.

I mention these points in the interest of clarification and to re-emphasize that the ultimate answer to providing housing and shelter "lies in harnessing the resources, talents, and skills of the public, private, and voluntary sectors."

Arthur L. Godi

Immediate Past President
of the National Association of Realtors
Chicago, Illinois, USA

Editor:

I have always found *The Urban Age* a good read: full of interesting experiences and ideas about issues that matter. But your December 1996 number was excellent because the articles profiled or were written by so many respected urban mayors and experts.

Not only did this issue focus on one of the most critical aspects of solving urban governance problems—local leadership—but it spotlighted the fundamental change under way in the way we manage urban development. Mayors are leaders, facilitators, brokers, coordinators of partnership and "engines of change," as Tim Campbell described them in his article. It was an issue of *The Urban Age* that clearly demonstrated that we are moving into a new age of innovative urban governance.

Drew Horg

Secretary General
International Union of Local Authorities
The Hague
The Netherlands

editor's note

Many think cultural heritage is only about buildings and paintings. We challenge this assumption by exploring the benefits and effects, social, political, and economic, of all cultural legacies—in an urban context.

Culture is the summation of people's experience made tangible. Thus, traditional skills and craftsmanship, industrial knowledge and practice, festivals, rituals, and stories also constitute the cultural legacy.

What are the economic effects of cultural heritage, and who should be responsible for determining policies governing the sector? How should we create a realistic social, political, and

economic framework to create sustainable investment in historic cities? Who are the new players in this sector? What kinds of partnerships make successful preservation projects? Can cultural tourism act as a trigger for urban regeneration?

In Galtai, Quito, and Calcutta, Venice, St. Petersburg and Djenné, our writers respond to these questions. A common theme emerges: the public and private sector have a joint obligation to work collaboratively to care for historic cultural legacies that give voice to the past. Without knowledge of our history we are all the poorer.

—Margaret Bergen

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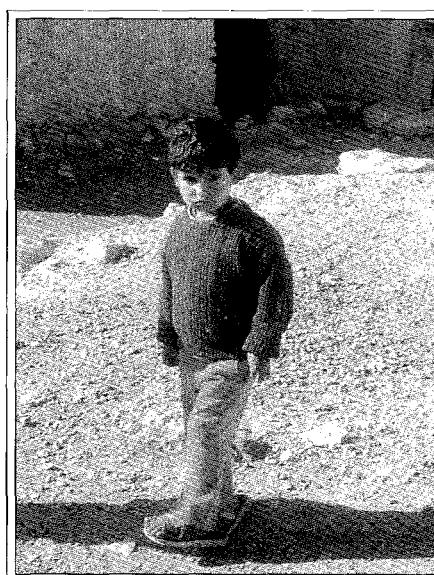
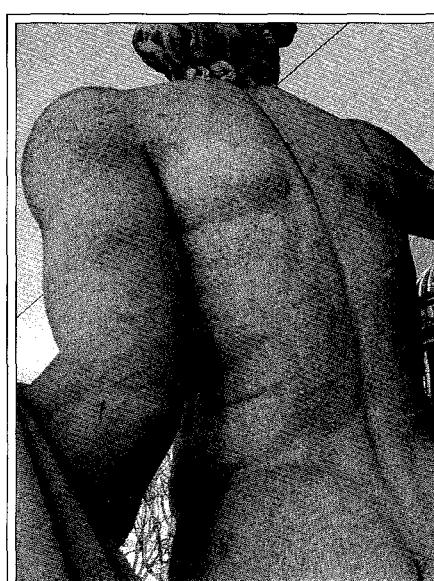
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The Economic Implications of Heritage Preservation

by Dick Netzer

NEW YORK CITY. In nearly all developing and transitional countries, there are enormous demands on governments to do things that only governments can do, such as providing infrastructure and protecting the physical environment. And for their part, most governments are quite content to leave to private initiative everything except what they themselves absolutely *must* do. How then can a case be made for devoting public expenditures and scarce public managerial resources to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage? Particularly when, in many countries, most components of cultural heritage have survived intact through years—even centuries—of neglect and disaster?

The case for government action

Why should government act to protect and preserve cultural heritage? From a purely economic standpoint, the reason is no different than for most government interventions in predominantly market economies: Because such action can efficiently allocate resources to the production of some goods and services that the market will fail to produce adequately on its own. These are goods and services that consumers want and would pay for, but there is no market mechanism for payment for benefits external to the market transactions between buyers and sellers, or “externalities.” Many market transactions produce such externalities as incidental byproducts, but these are often large and costly relative to the commercial revenue that the private producer can generate.

Nonmarketable values

Many important values, or benefits, cannot be realized directly by private parties that own and control elements of the cultural heritage, and they would need to finance its preservation from their own resources. These producers may be able to collect entry fees and other revenues from the consumers who are direct and immediate users of the museum or church or historic building, but there is no way to charge for the following values:

- *Endowment value.* Future generations of consumers want cultural heritage to be

intact for them.

- *Existence value.* Infrequent consumers of the cultural heritage have an interest in its being there for their occasional use.

Many ordinary privately provided goods and services generate some of the same nonmarketable values—e.g., most commercial entertainment and sport—yet they are seldom subsidized. However, cultural heritage is usually seen as something special, because it contributes to other,

The greatest successes in heritage preservation can occur when the heritage element is in actual use, and thus capable of generating revenue to pay for its preservation.

important civic goods. One is the value of the cultural heritage in strengthening the sense of national, regional, and local identity and social cohesion. Another is its value as complementing other goods and services in which there are major external benefits that are not incidental byproducts of market transactions, notably as part of the education and acculturation of the young.

This then is the case for government regulation and subsidy of the elements of the cultural heritage that are not actually held by the government itself.

Private ownership often inconceivable

In many countries, much of the heritage is in nongovernmental hands, in the form of churches and other religious structures and sites, not-for-profit museums, artifacts in private collections and—not least—historic buildings and cityscapes.

However, nearly all of the structures, cityscapes, artifacts, and natural environment that constitute the cultural heritage is in government ownership, formally or de facto. Frequently, there is no conceivable private ownership of such assets because there is no way that a private owner could sell the services for enough money to preserve the asset. Sometimes, this is because the asset has no commercial use—

for instance, a monument on a small traffic island in a congested city. If such a monument is to be maintained properly, the city or central government must do so. In other cases, the only economic uses for a private owner are those that strip the heritage value from the asset, like demolishing a historic building and using the site for a new building.

Even if by default the government is and must be the owner, the economic rationale for heritage preservation remain the same. Preservation of the historic features of a building used for government offices at high current costs, or retention of a monument that interferes with the flow of vehicular traffic, or spending large amounts of money to improve the security of works of arts—all these can generate important public benefits that should be treated seriously in the budgetary process.

Importance of revenue generating

The greatest successes in heritage preservation can occur when the heritage element is in actual use, and thus capable of generating revenue to pay for its preservation. This revenue may be from visitors paying admission charges, or for use of a historic building for offices. Indeed, such revenue may cover *all* the costs of preservation, as is the case for many privately owned chateaux in the Loire Valley in France that are used as hotels. In such cases, the direct benefit is paid for by the revenue generated, while subsidy is available—if needed—for the less direct benefits, that is, the externalities.

Choices have to be made. Some economists urge that this choice be based on some indication of what ordinary citizens prefer, because it is *their* values that justify the subsidy, not the values of art historians and other experts. Referenda on cultural heritage issues in Swiss cities indicate that even the commercially minded Swiss value their heritage highly enough to vote to pay for it. ■

Dick Netzer is professor of economics and public administration, Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, New York University, and former president of the Association for Cultural Economics International.

Solving the Rubik's Cube: Cultural Heritage in Cities of the Developing World

by Ismail Serageldin

WASHINGTON, D.C. The rapidly urbanizing developing world faces many social challenges. Population growth, the influx of rural migrants, and an evolving economic base all challenge the ability of the cities to provide jobs and livelihoods. Crumbling infrastructure, poor and overstretched social services, rampant real estate speculation, and weak governments all contribute to putting tremendous pressure on the central cities, often loci of invaluable architectural and urbanistic heritage, while the degradation of the urban environment limits the abilities of a growing, shifting, homeless population to take root and establish communities with a minimum standard of decent housing. The animosities between groups rise, and tensions within the cities fray the social fabric as much as economic speculation transforms the urban tissue. The inner historic cities are increasingly ghettoized, with the middle class and economic activities either fleeing the historic core or actively destroying its very fabric.

A response to this spiral of mounting problems is possible. Conceted efforts are required to protect the urban context and "sense of place," and to revitalize the old city to ensure that its streets and spaces can be kept alive, its economic base rejuvenated, and its links to the surrounding modern city reinforced. This is much more than a restoration project—it requires Herculean efforts at urban revitalization. What is needed is to create a powerful upward spiral of investments, social cohesion, and rising incomes to restore the inherent vitality and unique charm of historic cities.

Intervening in historic cities

To address these problems, we need a framework that brings together the different actors—public and private; international, national and local; formal and informal—so that the whole is greater than

the sum of these parts. We need not only sound finance and economics, but also effective political processes that bring all these actors together to undertake effective approaches to conservation and socioeconomic rejuvenation in historic cities.

Most approaches involve some combination of the following:

- **Restrictions on activities in the historic areas.** The most obvious such restriction is not to destroy culturally significant structures. Restrictions may go further, though, by requiring particular standards of upkeep or by specifying how that upkeep should be carried out, for example, by requiring particular materials that match those originally used. Both public and private sector activities that can be carried out in such areas are also often restricted.

- **Conservation activities on specific structures that are particularly significant.**

- **Public measures to encourage conservation by other actors.** In an urban context, direct intervention to conserve all structures is impractical. Conservation efforts, therefore, depend on an incentive framework that will encourage spontaneous efforts by others.

Some of these actions can be deliberately chosen and directed by government decision-makers, but many others will be outside their direct control and will depend on independent decisions made in the private sector. Before these approaches are undertaken, they should be subjected to both an economic and a financial analysis. The economic analysis asks whether the proposed investments are worth making: Do their benefits to society as a whole exceed their costs? The financial analysis, on the other hand, examines

the specific costs and benefits that different groups will realize as result of these investments, and asks whether each such group will individually gain or benefit from them.

The urban Rubik's cube

Like the elegant puzzle known as the Rubik's cube, where aligning the mosaic of one face tends to undo the matched colors on the other faces of the cube, so too does trying to match sensitive architecture and

urbanism, sound municipal finances, adequate incentives for the private sector, concern for the poor and the destitute,

The success of investments in cultural heritage in historic cities depends on the cooperation of many actors whose perspectives must be taken into account.

and community involvement and participation, while promoting socioeconomic diversity and pluralism, seem impossible to resolve. As with the Rubik's cube, however, there is a solution. It takes patience, dedication, and imagination to reach it, but solutions are possible.

To understand better the faces of the urban Rubik's cube and the thread to follow for a solution, we must start by identifying the many people and groups involved, the different levels of decision making, and above all, a leitmotif that we must not lose sight of: *who pays and who benefits?*

Facets of the cube

The actors are many: government, national and local; the international community and its agencies; tourists, both national and local, who visit the historic sites; the private sector, both international and national, that will invest in the historic core for commercial or real estate development; and the local residents, both owners

continued on page 6

and renters. Other actors include the poor, who risk being displaced by the unaffordability of the changes; the local community, for whom this is not just home, but also a part of their identity, and who can be agents of transformation when they are adequately mobilized and organized; and especially the women, who create a sense of social solidarity in the community through their networks of cooperation and reciprocity.

Each of these actors has a different way of approaching rejuvenation of the historic city cores: They will have their own calculus for deciding whether to invest

analysis that will reflect the parameters by which each actor is likely to make decisions. Then we can better design the right mix of incentives, regulations, and public investments.

Economic analysis

Drawing on the work done in environmental economics in the last 15 years or so, the costs and benefits can be calculated. The results of this analysis would be of primary interest to the national government that must decide to invest public resources that may not be offset by direct

**The disadvantage of men
not knowing the past is that they do not know
the present. History is a hill or high point of vantage,
from which alone men see the town in which they live
or the age in which they are living.**

—G.K. CHESTERTON

their effort and funds in the renewal of the historic core and the preservation of its unique character. The problem lies in the fact that the incentives for each group to act in a particular way are not independent of the others.

Thus, the context of the fiscal and regulatory regimes that will govern economic activity and social life in the historic city must be designed to give each group the necessary set of incentives, so that the whole will act in concert to invert the negative downward spiral.

And herein lies the analogy with the Rubik's cube. Trying to shore up the finances of the municipality through more rigorous taxation may discourage necessary private investment, while excessive incentives to the private investors could bankrupt the municipality. Attracting higher-income residents to the city may raise revenues and create economic opportunities, but it could also lead to displacement of the local population.

Striking a balance between the needs of all groups is required to rejuvenate the economic base of the historic cities and continue protecting their unique heritage and maintaining their social cohesion. This is the equivalent of solving the Rubik's cube. To move in this direction, we need different types of economic and financial

revenues. Such an analysis is also essential for the international financial community that must decide whether to finance the proposed interventions of the national governments, whether through loans or credits.

These economic studies could also be relevant to those who would provide grants for the international support of an invaluable part of the world heritage. True, some sites and buildings are so valuable that the cost-benefit criterion does not apply. In such cases, we look at the cost-effectiveness method to evaluate possible courses of action. But the reality of available resources makes such exercises few and far between. In most cases, economic evaluation will rely on a cost-benefit framework.

The result of such economic analysis is not only a single number, the internal economic rate of return or even the net present value of the proposed investment. The result should also identify the different actors and the parts of the cost and benefit streams that they would assume. This is essential in the context of who pays and who benefits in order to help set the overall framework for regulatory, fiscal, and financial plans that would be both equitable and effective.

The definition of responsibilities be-

tween the national and local government is important and would require an equally clear distribution of authority on revenues and expenditures. The combination of actions at the national and local levels creates the framework within which the individual investment decisions of the residents and the private sector will be made. Recognizing the different public sector perspectives of the local and national governments, as well as other involved public agencies, is an important nuance in defining a work program that is effective and that can be implemented.

If the economic analysis shows that returns are positive, then the total benefits of the proposed investments exceed total costs. Society as a whole will be better off and individual sub-groups may be worse off, but the gains by other sub-groups will outweigh the losses. In principle, any subgroup of society that is worse off can be compensated by those that emerge better off. In practice, however, this theoretical compensation often does not occur. The economic analysis must therefore be supplemented by financial analysis of the specific impacts of the proposed investments on particular groups. This is important for three reasons:

- **Sustainability.** Financial flows will determine the sustainability of many activities. Socially beneficial activities have often failed because agencies charged with implementing them have not had sufficient resources to do so.

- **Incentives.** Private sector agents need positive financial flows if they are to respond as hoped. Indeed, if they do not receive them, they may not only fail to participate in conservation efforts, but may actively oppose them..

- **Equity.** Some groups that are adversely affected by the proposed investments may be unable to make their voices heard. Their interests could suffer. In the context of historic cities, this is particularly true of poor residents. Such groups already live in wretched conditions, and it is important to check that the proposed investments do not, at the very least, aggravate their plight.

Solving the Rubik's cube

The success of investments in cultural heritage in historic cities depends on the *continued on page*

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cooperation of many actors whose perspectives must be taken into account. Financial analysis needs to be undertaken for three groups or sectors:

• **Public sector.** Public finance issues need to be examined at several levels. The analysis can be used to define clearly what costs should be incurred at what level of government (local or national); what revenues may be levied, also by level of government; and whether these levies should be earmarked or simply channeled through the general treasury. Separate financial analyses should be carried out from the perspective of the municipalities and any implementing agencies involved. Inadequate financial flows to municipalities and other implementing agencies have often led to project failure. It is also important to ensure that local authorities have access to sufficient resources to maintain investments once they are in place. The analysis may well show that changes are needed in the way that revenues are raised and allocated. Revenues from tourism, for example, are often captured by the central government, giving local authorities little incentive to undertake activities that encourage it.

• **Private sector.** Conservation strategies in historic cities often rely heavily on induced investments by the private sector, including tourism operators, commercial establishments, property owners, and others. Also, financial sustainability of these efforts from the perspective of local authorities often depends on taxes and levies capturing a portion of the benefits derived by the private sector.

The viability of investments that these various actors are expected to make must be subject to financial analysis to determine their likely profitability. The structure and magnitude of any proposed taxes and levies must be carefully examined to ensure that they do not stifle the profitability of private investment, which is necessary for renovation of the economic base. Changes in policies adopted for other reasons may also be necessary to achieve this goal, in addition to changes in the levies, taxes, and regulations imposed as part of the conservation effort itself.

• **Poor residents.** An analysis of affordability is needed to make sure that the poor can still have access to renovated

residences, and that levies for the necessary infrastructure investments do not become prohibitive. This type of analysis would help guide the levels of service and standards to be used for the upgrading.

The alignment of the results of these different analyses, all yielding positive incentives for the various groups of actors, along with an effective overall economic analysis capturing the international dimensions of the heritage questions, is still not enough to solve the Rubik's cube. The political process within which these decisions are made; the involvement of the local communities; the participation of the

poor; the empowerment of the key actors in the neighborhoods, especially women; and the manner in which this is all done are all critical to make an urban rejuvenation and conservation effort a success. Only when we have mastered these facets—as well as the financial and economic facets—will the Rubik's cube yield an elegant and deceptively simple solution. ■

Ismail Serageldin is vice president of the environmentally and socially sustainable development network at the World Bank.

St. Petersburg Center City Rehabilitation Project

WASHINGTON, DC. St. Petersburg has a world-class heritage that is under stress. The infrastructure is dilapidated, and architectural monuments of world significance are deteriorating rapidly. Economic transition has led to declines in manufacturing output, shrinking federal transfers and a reduced local revenue base, and social hardship, especially for the elderly and residents of communal apartments who make up the greater proportion of center city residents.

City officials have hoped that private investment would provide most of the funds needed for renovation and preservation, but results have been slow in coming. A World Bank mission estimated that only 5 percent of rehabilitation projects in the historic center would be of interest to the private sector. Nevertheless, progress is being made. The St. Petersburg Center City Rehabilitation Project was approved by the World Bank on March 27, 1997.

The City of St. Petersburg will provide 24 percent of the total project costs of US\$46.1 million over a seventeen-year period. The World Bank will lend the Russian Federation US\$31 million. The federal government will use another US\$1 million for grants earmarked specifically for eleven federally supported cultural institutions in the city. This grant would be used to help improve their revenue-generating capabilities. The remaining US\$30 million of the Bank loan will be passed onto the city of St. Petersburg for technical assistance and pilot investment components.

Both the federal and city governments are giving high priority to rehabilitating the center city, as is evidenced by the adoption of a program for Historic Center Development and Preservation. Some of the goals include preservation of the cultural assets of St. Petersburg, a continued planning and investment program to improve the city's center, and help for the city's federally owned cultural organizations. The desire is to preserve the architectural, cultural, and historic heritage as functioning entities, not as museums.

With sustainable renovation in mind, the project aims to build institutions that are capable of planning, implementing, regulating, and promoting revitalization in the historic area for the long term.

One of the project's components, the Pilot Investment Programs, will provide traditional or new and improved services and physical improvements, such as better sidewalks, street lighting, and signage for the main commercial street, help for small neighborhoods to improve their commercial potential, establishment of a cultural grant fund to help the major cultural organizations improve their ability to generate revenues outside of the public budget.

Costs for the pilot schemes are expected to be recovered from the sale of land, commercial space, and facilities, and through commercial rent increases for city-owned space, user charges for utilities, and repayment of loans by private developers.

Restoration of the historic city center should encourage commercial development in this area, not to mention more tourism, which will indirectly help the struggling private cultural institutions make a go of it during and after the economic transition.

Forward to the Past: Cultural Heritage a Trigger for Renewal?

by Charles Landry

STROUD. Why has cultural heritage worldwide become a recent focus for renewal of cities and regions? Why in the headlong rush toward economic development do we find solace and inspiration in the buildings, artifacts, and skills of the past? Could it be that in a globalized world we seek local roots to our pasts? Cultural heritage connects us to our histories and our collective memories. It anchors our sense of being, it shows that we come from somewhere and have a story to tell, and it provides us with confidence and security to face the future.

What is cultural heritage?

Cultural heritage is much more than just buildings and artifacts. It is the panoply of cultural resources that shows that a place, region, or country is special and distinctive. It is about a living way of life, not a dead one, that is reinvented daily whether through a refurbished building or re-adaptation of an old skill for modern times. Cultural heritage is embodied in peoples' skills, talents, and resulting repertoire of local products in crafts, manufacturing, and services—for instance, the intricate skills of sari makers in India and wood carvers of Bali, or Mali's dyeing techniques. It is the historical, industrial, and artistic heritage representing assets in built or tangible form, including architectural heritage, the urban landscape, or topographical landmarks.

The local and indigenous traditions of public social life, civic traditions, festivals, rituals, or stories passed from generation to generation embody our cultural legacy. So too do hobbies and enthusiasms, which are amateur cultural activities which are often rethought to generate new products or services. The Mardi Gras in New Orleans or the ritual washing on the Ganges spring to mind. And, of course, one thinks of the range and quality of skills in the performing and visual arts and the newer "cultural industries." Cultural heritage is thus both activities and things.

The skill of policymakers is to harness these to maximum effect. At times this might mean refurbishing a symbolic building to stand as a landmark or flagship

and show visible achievement, as when the old Bird's Eye factory in Digbeth, Birmingham, England, was transformed into the Custard Factory—a multimedia center employing 300 people. At other times, it might mean developing a festival, as happened in Spoleto, Italy, 25 years ago.

When we live in older places, we can identify layers upon layers of history and tradition, each with its own story to tell: of where we came from and what we have achieved, such as through the products and services for which a city is known. Such surroundings serve as an inspiration to where we might be going. They all exemplify the skills, potential, and talent we have applied. In this way, celebrating cultural heritage can help create a sense of place and identity. One only needs to walk the streets of Siena or Santiago di Compostela to get a feel for the culture.

Beyond these "softer" benefits, investing in cultural heritage has "hard" benefits too. A refurbished historical building can act as a trigger for urban regeneration by providing confidence that an area's quality of life will improve. It can increase the attractiveness of a location and thus support inward investment strategies. It can transform the image of a place and thus be an anchor for tourists. And often, historic preservation of buildings works best when it combines the old with the new. The revitalization of Glasgow is a prime example of this strategy.

Who should define cultural heritage policy?

The responsibility for cultural heritage should not lie solely with those concerned with preservation, although it is important for them to establish guidelines, codes of practice, registries of protected sites, and the like.

Experience in Europe over the last decade, where cultural budgets have been reduced, suggests that the argu-

ments for investment in arts and culture need to be restated in more compelling terms. Concerned policymakers have recast arguments to illustrate how investments in cultural heritage affect economic and community development, tourism, leisure, and urban design. Because these interests

intersect, the policymakers assert that if the impact of cultural heritage is to be maximized and harnessed, there must be collaboration among these policy areas.

Cultural heritage... shows that we come from somewhere and have a story to tell, and it provides us with confidence and security to face the future.

There is also a financial incentive to such partnerships, since resources in most countries are limited and heritage initiatives inevitably take on a lower profile compared to housing or basic infrastructure. If the link to economic development is made clear, projects may well be financed through resources rather than through a cultural budget.

How should it be implemented?

While many developing countries, in particular those in the former communist East, have comprehensive and logically consistent regulatory bases, the system of rules and regulations is often largely obsolete in the context of rapidly changing conditions. Functions are often excessively centralized, usually within the ministry of culture, without clarifying the role of local government. There is typically an inadequate role for the not-for-profit sector or foundations. And, crucially, most systems lack effective material incentives for involving owners, users, and the community at large, which could raise additional resources.

Laws on cultural heritage are currently being reviewed in countries like Bulgaria or Russia. There, identified weaknesses in the preservation system are being addressed by:

- decentralizing state agencies;
- creating new sources of funding through tax exemptions;

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The Politics of Heritage: The Culture War in Urban India

by Patralekha Chatterjee

NEW DELHI. There is a tug of war for the soul of urban India. While cries of cultural invasion rend the air, a growing number of people easily blend old with new, Western with Eastern, secular with spiritual. The young Indian executive works amid the lastest computer and telecommunications technology all day, then goes home to an extended family, touches an elder's feet and switches to a Western music station.

Slowly but surely, India is becoming part of the global village. Just as inevitably, every step in that direction is accompanied by howls of protest against cultural infiltration. Politicians who have prospered in the past by keeping alive the divisions within Indian society are afraid of the assimilating powers of the global village. They are the ones who now protest most loudly, as they see the effects of cultural globalization reach wider sections of urban society than ever before.

Controversy over beauty pageants

Back in the sixties, when an Indian film actress wore a bikini on screen, there were shrill cries from self-appointed custodians of Indian culture. The bikini would open the floodgates of "Western values," they warned. Last November, the swimsuit once again kicked up a row about Indian culture and heritage. The organizers of the Miss World pageant in Bangalore were accused of trying to precipitate a cultural earthquake. Bare-legged beauties sashaying down the ramp would upset the subterranean structure in which Indian values were rooted, or so the argument went. Members of an obscure women's group threatened to immolate themselves as a gesture of protest. The beauty contest took place as scheduled, but the hype and hoopla about heritage ensured an avalanche of embarrassing publicity for India.

Why did the Miss World pageant evoke such vitriolic reactions? The answer lies in the politics of heritage played by India's cultural commissars.

The conspiracy theorists are a motley

lot—the *swadeshi* brigade, right-wing Hindu nationalists aspiring to reinvent India in their own image, and doctrinaire leftists who would like to link all the country's ills to the new economic policy. They warn of the imminent danger of a civilizational collapse. Kentucky Fried Chicken, Michael Jackson, and bare-legged beauty contestants pose an ominous

challenge to Indian culture and values, they argue.

But is Indian culture so fragile as to collapse under the weight of overexposed female bodies, pop music, or junk food?

India at the crossroads

The polemics about cultural invasion come at a time when India is at the crossroads. The country is urbanizing and globalizing rapidly. Rural-urban migration is on the increase. In 1951, the urban population in the country numbered 62.4 million. Today, on the 50th anniversary of its independence, there are 250 million urban Indians. This is nearly a quarter of the country's total population.

Urban India is at the front line of the culture war. Across cities and towns in India, new migrants are changing the prevailing cultural matrix. The urban ethos in India today is a mosaic of several cultures cutting across regional, linguistic, and religious divides. Satellite television, a recent phenomenon in this country, is a potent change agent. It is beaming new sights, sounds, and images from remote corners of the globe into middle-class drawing rooms, as well as slums. The result: a revolution of rising aspirations. Suddenly, it is right and culturally legitimate to aspire to a better

standard of living and to desire a wider choice of goods and lifestyles.

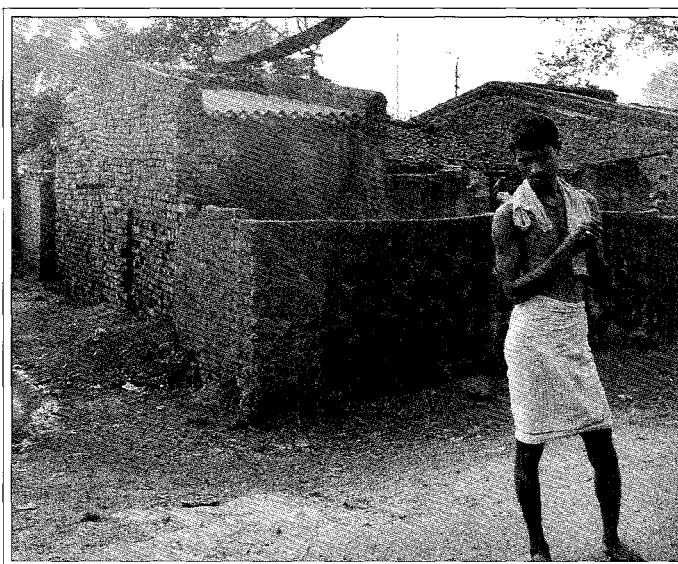
Alien values or Indian tradition?

This is the real fear: Today's culture is tomorrow's heritage. So self-appointed culture commissars say they will stake all to save India's soul. Curiously enough, their targets are not exclusively contemporary Western leitmotifs. M.F. Hussain, one of India's best-known painters, was the victim of a recent hate campaign because he painted Saraswati, the goddess of learning in the Hindu pantheon, in the nude.

Vina Mazumdar, head of the Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, recently demolished the thesis that Saraswati has never been portrayed in the nude in the Indian Empire newspaper. "I have seen many such images in different parts of the country. Back in the thirties, some of the kumbars (sculptors) in Calcutta started to follow temple sculptures. Examples of nude Saraswatis and nude Chandis [another Hindu goddess] were products of that inspiration."

Interestingly enough, those defending India's culture most stridently today against an alien onslaught are among the least knowledgeable about the country's cultural history. From Alexander the Great and his Macedonian army who crossed the Indus in 326 BC to the Persians, Scythians, Huns,

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Mongols, and finally the British, each outsider has left an imprint on the Indian psyche. India's unique talent of assimilation ensured that every invader's culture was absorbed. Indian culture today is the sum of a series of cultural invasions.

The puritanical streak of the Hindutva (Hindu nationalism) lobby is in total dissonance with Indian tradition. Hindu gods and goddesses were famous for their lust for life. Sex is worshipped as a religious ritual in this land perhaps—incongruously—that invented monasticism. Copulation in every imaginable form has been carved on stone and immortalized in Hindu temples for almost 2,000 years. Shiva, India's oldest divinity, is still worshipped mostly in phallic form. Shiva is also the god of yogic abstinence. The same deity thus embodies the limits of pleasure and pain.

Politics or culture?

The current brouhaha about culture is really a turf war between pro-changers and those who want the status quo. Zealots are trying to manufacture a monochrome Indian culture. This goes against the very essence of this multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual, and multireligious country, where people have lived with contradictions for centuries.

Culture is not a heavy weight of tradition that coerces and compels individuals. It is instead a tool kit that individuals use to stage their daily life. Culture is also not the result of a one-time socialization process. Rather, it is a continual activity.

Urban India is replete with examples of cultures and decades coalescing. Nowhere is this more evident than in the sphere of popular entertainment. Indian pop—or Indipop—a new genre of music, reflects the post-liberalisation urban youth in India who are perfectly comfortable with two faces: the traditional and the modern. One of the Indipop bands—Colonial Cousins, for instance—fuses Vedic chants and traditional Indian images of the teacher and pupil with guitar strumming in the background. Slipping seamlessly from one cultural space to another is the sign of the times in urban India. So, even as the great culture war goes on, ordinary men and women in India are celebrating fusion. ■

Patralekha Chatterjee is a former student of the Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford, and a development journalist. She is currently based in New Delhi.

Preservation and Livability in Fez, Morocco

by Jerry Erbach

FEZ. Historic cities, as exemplified by the medina of Fez, Morocco, are living urban areas that have evolved continuously throughout their history. Rapid economic change and population growth in developing countries over the last several decades have provoked the abandonment of many historic city centers to the poorer and less urbanized segments of the population. The continued viability of these historic areas requires many mutually reinforcing activities that can help stimulate economic growth, alleviate poverty, and improve the urban environ-

registration as historic artifacts, inclusion in specially funded programs, and physical stabilization and restoration. What makes urban or neighborhood preservation considerably more difficult and complex, however, are the many buildings that comprise the historic fabric of the city, but that have neither the obvious architectural nor historical importance to merit special consideration. Attempting to preserve and revitalize several thousand traditional houses in the core of the Fez medina would go well beyond the scale of standard preservation efforts.

The character and uniqueness of a place are essential to the well-being and productivity of the residents and to their sense of who they are.

ment. The preservation and reinvigoration of the historic urban context is a key environmental consideration that ranks in importance with the conservation of agricultural land. The character and uniqueness of a place are essential to the well-being and productivity of the residents and to their sense of who they are.

Historic urban housing in developing countries suffers from many of the same problems that have plagued substandard and/or clandestine housing areas on the urban periphery, areas that have been the focus of upgrading and improvement activities for many years. Similar problems include difficult and unclear tenure situations, inadequate and deteriorating infrastructure and urban services, deteriorating buildings made from simple building materials, and inadequate and outdated community facilities. The deteriorating condition of historic innercity areas makes them susceptible to high levels of pollution and potential social unrest because of overcrowding, low incomes, and high levels of unemployment.

Many buildings in the older areas of developing country cities have clear architectural or historical value, for which classic preservationist techniques can be applied—detailed documentation, formal

Balancing historicism with liveability

What is to be done? The adaptive reuse of historic structures and the active participation of private sector and local community groups in the preservation of their own neighborhoods are important components of any broad-based approach. Living conditions within the Fez medina must be improved substantially to generate citizen commitment to preservation.

Current planning theory in Fez calls for making living in the medina more attractive to middle-income families by improving motorized access to the medina. Two major concerns about this approach are how much historic fabric would be changed or destroyed in providing this access and what measures would prevent further destruction of the historic core caused by the spread of mediocre modern architecture along these new roads. How much historic importance can be stripped away before the medina's special character is unalterably changed or lost?

Some complications

Complicating the situation in Fez even further is that the overwhelming majority of its historic buildings are individual houses. People have traditionally been able to move upstairs where it is warmer in the winter and downstairs where fountains and shade cool the house in the summer. With the increased population pressure in the medinas, however, individual houses have been gradually divided

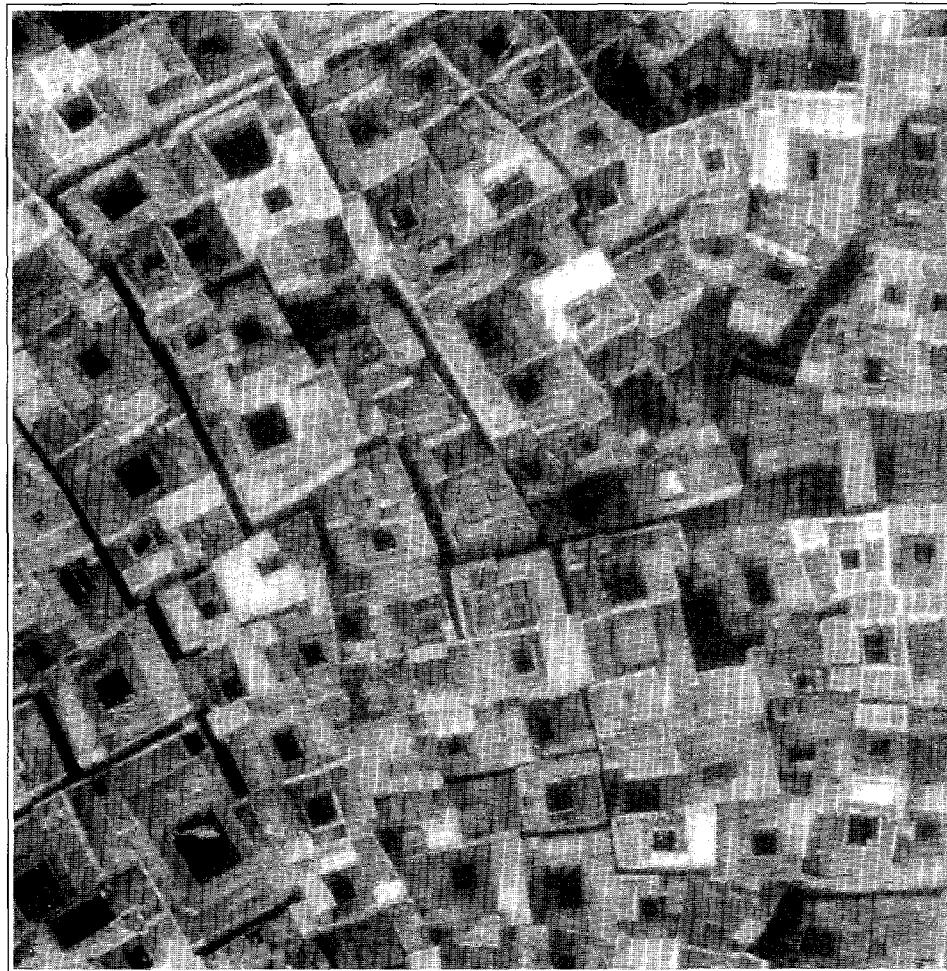
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up into separate apartments and rooms to accommodate low-income families. This means that half the residents live in the wrong part of the house during each climatic extreme.

One of the dilemmas is to make housing units more livable without destroying

excessive wear and tear on historic

houses. This can be accomplished by reducing the number of households that currently overcrowd traditional houses. It requires a significant increase in the availability of affordable housing outside the medina for low-income and other



© Jerry Erbach

their historic character or value. Converting them to commercial or tourist uses—such as rug shops, restaurants, workshops, or storage areas—or even leaving them empty for most of the year are not viable solutions, given the large number of houses involved and the inevitable damage that will occur to buildings that are not regularly maintained. Without people actually living in the core area of Fez, the special character and historic fabric of the medina will deteriorate at an ever-increasing rate.

Some workable approaches

The only solution is to resolve the problems related to the continued occupation of traditional housing, possibly with these methods:

- Reduce population pressure and

disadvantaged households.

- Introduce practical, small-scale improvements to make traditional

housing more liveable. This could include, for example, covering the courtyards with plastic sheets to make use of the spaces all year round. Piped water can be recycled from the fountains to maintain the traditional atmosphere of the courtyard while eliminating the need for unreliable and polluted river water.

- Encourage the use of traditional building materials and skills as part of mainstream construction practices.

Otherwise, these materials and skills will become increasingly expensive and difficult to procure.

One example in the context of Fez involves the use of Moroccan *zellij*—or pieces of ceramic tile—for elaborate wall

and floor mosaics. Several dozen pieces of "standard" tiles that are combined in different ways to create many designs are still tediously chipped into shape by hand. The art of *zellig* will rapidly disappear from most new construction unless new technologies in the production of basic ceramic materials are introduced to keep this type of decoration affordable. Small-scale industries to produce these tiles could be formed or upgraded with some financial and/or technical assistance.

- Institute a low-cost and regular maintenance program. Many historic

houses and buildings in the medina of Fez and other historic urban areas suffer from very common and basic maintenance problems. Building stabilization—and hence, repair and restoration—almost always begins with the roof to prevent the infiltration of rainwater into the building. Neighborhood programs could increase local awareness of the need for regular maintenance, provide specialized training to local work crews, and extend financial incentives to homeowners to perform necessary small-scale maintenance, repair, and improvements. Similar types of neighborhood self-help programs could be developed for the improvement and maintenance of small-scale tertiary infrastructure.

- Recreate a language of design that builds on traditional construction. This

is also critical to restoring the continuity of a common design language between those involved in the building process and the community at large. A common language of design requires community dialogue and education, training of workers and craftsmen, research into local building materials, and a wide range of hands-on demonstrations to support its implementation.

Unlike the preservation of individual cultural artifacts, the preservation of historic urban areas provides a real test of our ability to achieve sustainable cities. The effort not only requires measures to stabilize and preserve the historic fabric and character of the area, but also actions to reinvigorate it as a livable, environmentally sound community. ■

Jerry Erbach has worked as a preservation architect for 10 years, most notably with UNESCO on the Master Preservation Plan for the city of Fez, Morocco, and with the U.S. National Register of Historic Places. He is currently a senior architect/planner with PadCo, Inc. in Washington, D.C.

Is There a World Heritage?

by G.J. Ashworth

GRONINGEN. There is a strongly felt need to believe in the existence of a world heritage as the common property of all mankind. After all, political frontiers have proved to be highly permeable to aesthetic ideas and cultural movements, and much of the conserved built environment is on free, permanent display, needs no translation, and is thus directly accessible to all. It would be desirable, indeed, to regard the wealth of the centuries of human artistic productivity as both the responsibility of the whole human community and as freely available for the enrichment of all. Every tourist interested in international heritage asserts both the existence of a world heritage and the right of accessibility to it. More mundanely, each such tourist selects what that heritage will be and contributes directly or indirectly to its support.

A contested resource

The close symbiosis between heritage and tourism is not new. From the first, the desire to conserve and the desire to visit were mutually stimulating. The 18th century Grand Tour "discovered," and thus preserved, the heritage of the classical Mediterranean world. Today, the global village is merely claiming its global heritage. The reality, however, is that the past is a contested resource. Global demands have lost the competition to national local interests, which have been far more successful in colonizing the past for their own purposes.

Although some spectacular modern events have demonstrated the strength of global concern and the readiness of people to translate this concern into international action in response to crises, they have also made its limits abundantly clear. The international sympathy, expertise, and money that flowed into Venice after the 1966 floods were largely powerless to do more than renovate a few buildings in the face of quite different local economic priorities and procrastination on the part of the Italian government. The temples of Abu Simbel were "saved," but the Aswan High Dam was built. Ultimately, the sovereignty of the nation-state over "its" heritage dictates that national priorities take precedence over global concern.

Gestures and compromises

There are, of course, international forums and organizations that attempt to articulate the idea of world heritage. Concerned experts have been issuing declarations on behalf of us all from the Charter of Athens (1931) to the Charter of Venice (1964). The International Council on Sites and Monuments has delivered codes of practice, and UNESCO has drawn up many conventions on cultural property.

It is true that World Heritage Sites have been designated by UNESCO. And, on the continental scale, the Council of Europe has regularly awarded the prestigious epithet European City of Culture (not, it should be noted, City of European Culture). While they are no doubt useful political encouragement and economic stimuli to national actions, such designations and awards are in practice little more than the results of political compromises among national governments—governments that are jockeying for financial support, directly or indirectly, through tourism, as well as national prestige and national legitimation—rather than the beginnings of the recognition, designation, and support of a distinctive world heritage.

None of this is very remarkable if one remembers that the idea of a national heritage was synchronous with the idea of a nation-state. National museums, collections, histories, conservational legislative frameworks, and practices were both created by, and instrumental in the creation of, the nation-state. They were intended to project national messages legitimating that structure.

The primacy of national "ownership" of national heritage is actually reinforced by a UNESCO policy of repatriation that encourages modern states to lay claim to the cultural products of previous civilizations and peoples that they regard as "theirs"—and thus clearly not "ours." "Elginism," the worldwide assembly of artifacts in imperial capitals, was global whatever else it was. "De-Elginization" would result in a global disinheritance in terms of both practical

accessibility and psychic identification.

Similarly, but usually less stridently at the local scale, there has been an assertion of the role of heritage in local identities. This is reflected in a view of tourism that takes primacy of local ownership of heritage as axiomatic. If tourists are in search of "their" heritage (that is, those past associations that relate to them) and not "your" heritage (that is, the pasts that fulfil local identity needs, which to tourists are irrelevant), then it is assumed that local authenticity and local identity should take precedence over global identity. This localization of heritage has become a conventional wisdom of many museums that attempt to replace the "colonization" of local cultures with policies of local empowerment.

Heritage should thus not only be returned to local people, but it should be housed, interpreted and—presumably, if they so wish—disposed of by them as being "theirs" and not "ours."

Creating a global heritage: A difficult task

A concept of "Mundus Nostra" as a global parallel to "Europa Nostra" will not just come into existence; it must be created. There should be no illusions about the difficulty of that task. If all heritage, by being someone's, must disinherit someone else, then a world heritage is not a happy summation of local and national heritages, but rather a denial of them. If the sour comment of Turner and Ash (1976) that "tourism is everywhere the enemy of authenticity and cultural identity" is to be believed, then tourism is part of a heritage problem and not an instrument for asserting the existence of a global heritage. Heritage is simply an assertion of ownership of the past. Until that ownership can be collectivised on a world scale, rather than nationalized or localized, then heritage will be more a cause of national and local conflict than of global reconciliation. ■

G.J. Ashworth is a professor at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

The New Corporate Philanthropy

by Keith W. Eirinberg

WASHINGTON, D.C. At an international conference "The Future of Asia's Past," in January 1995, former Thai Prime Minister H.E. Anand Panyarachun called on the private sector to put its considerable experience and financial resources behind efforts to save Asia's cultural legacy. Similar calls have echoed recently in other parts of the world as cash-strapped

**Multinationals
are looking for causes
that not only demonstrate
good corporate citizenship,
but that also further their
bottom line interests.**

governments look for new sources of funding for their cultural heritage conservation efforts.

To some extent, multinational corporations have responded. American Express, United Technologies, Exxon, and Amoco are a few of the companies that support projects to conserve cultural heritage in the foreign communities in which they do business. For example, the World Monuments Watch—a program that is attempting to save the world's 100 most endangered cultural heritage sites and monuments—is funded by a five-year, \$5 million grant from the American Express Foundation.

Why support heritage projects?

As the flow of foreign investment into emerging markets increases, the prospects brighten for greater corporate support for cultural heritage. Businesses have begun using corporate philanthropy to support their strategic marketing objectives in these foreign markets. This is the "new corporate philanthropy." Multinationals are looking for causes that not only demonstrate good corporate citizenship, but that also further their bottom line interests.

Multinationals that have supported cultural heritage projects carefully study whether their participation can be effective both for the host country and their business interests. Corporate managers review many aspects of a project: the

strategic importance of the market to the firm; capabilities of their staff; how far their money goes in a particular country (considering the exchange rate and costs); the merit of the project; the likelihood of success and subsequent impact; confidence in their potential partners; whether they will have some measure of control in achieving maximum publicity for their investment; and how successfully they can influence public opinion, increase government support, and stimulate public and private fundraising for conservation through recognition and grants. A company generally will not join a conservation effort in a country in which it has no staffed business presence.

Some global corporate initiatives

Declares Harvey Golub, chief executive officer of American Express, "No industry

has a greater stake than ours [travel and tourism] in preserving history and tradition, cultural differences, or nature and the environment."

To this end, American Express has funded preservation initiatives throughout the world, such as through grants to both the Europa Nostra awards for the best architectural restoration projects in Europe and to a similar awards program in the Caribbean; and by supporting numerous restoration efforts in such places as St. Paul's Cathedral in London, war-damaged Dubrovnik, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, the Sphinx in Giza, the Preah Khan temple complex at Angkor, the Temple of Literature in Hanoi, and the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires. The company also funds conservation training and sponsors publications on cultural heritage.

At United Technologies Corporation,

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An Interview with Ugo Panerai, Communications Division, Foreign Press Office, of Olivetti, Ivrea, Italy

UA: Why did Olivetti choose to support cultural heritage projects over other equally worthy philanthropic causes?

PANERAI: Olivetti's mission, since its foundation in 1908, has been the development of projects, products, and systems to manage and transmit information. It has therefore always had a close association with the world of design and creativity.

Olivetti's commitment to the promotion of the arts and culture really began at the end of the 1960s. The first major event sponsored was the exhibition of frescoes from Florence, which had been moved to safety after the 1966 floods and subsequently restored.

UA: How do you decide on projects and local partners?

PANERAI: In most cases, the choice of project has been based on a combination of two factors. First, by maintaining constant ties with the arts world, Olivetti has kept itself up to date with the issues and research of greatest interest for a possible project or exhibition. Second, in many countries, the arts bodies or public authorities have invited Olivetti to take part in specific projects.

With regard to partners, Olivetti has always worked alone—in cooperation with the relevant authorities or institutes, of course—but without other external partners.

UA: Would you continue to support cultural heritage conservation projects based on your experiences?

PANERAI: Wholeheartedly. A company's social and cultural commitment evolves in line with changes taking place in its operating environment, with the size and scope of its business, and with the opportunities that arise.

Olivetti's activities in this area today focus on a single major project: providing organisational, technological, and financial support for the restoration of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The restoration and return of this masterpiece to public view and to the academic world will be completed in the spring of 1998.

Rediscovering Quito's Past through Partnership

by Miguel Angel Corzo

QUITO. Quito, as a designated World Heritage City, is blessed with an astonishing and rich cultural heritage. The historic center is made up of an extraordinary array of buildings dating from its colonial past. But as in most historic centers in Latin America, its civil, commercial, and ecclesiastical buildings were constructed at a time when urban contemporary problems and needs could not be foreseen.

Traditional role, modern pressures

The traditional role of Quito's historic center as a vibrant marketplace continues today, as the city's inhabitants flock to the city center for their commercial transactions. But, as the historic area has grown, parking has become difficult and traffic has increased. The accompanying congestion and unacceptable level of pollution have not only begun to harm the citizens, but the very buildings of the historic area as well.



Courtesy of Getty Conservation Institute

Temporary vending stalls set up along the streets of the city center further clog the arteries, which are already not wide enough to accommodate the increased traffic and commercial activities along the sidewalks.

Population growth in Quito—particularly in the past 25 years—and the economic growth accompanying it have also exerted considerable pressure on the city's historic fabric. Specifically, as the city's population has grown and the traditional inhabitants of the historic center have

become more affluent, they have migrated towards the outlying areas of the city—a well-known redistribution pattern found in many other cities around the world.

As the housing dwellings in the city centers have become vacant, new and different inhabitants have moved in. Furthermore, many of the city's finest buildings have been transformed into warehouses to store the merchandise sold during the day. This has created a lower tax base, which cannot support all the city center's conservation needs. Clearly, something has to be done.

Preservation partnerships to the rescue

Under the leadership of Mayor Rodrigo Paz and his successor Mayor Jamil Mahuad, something is being done. The city has begun to initiate partnership programs with various national preservation organizations from Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the United States to rescue some of Quito's churches, monasteries, and plazas.

The Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) approached the problem by first creating a tripartite partnership with the Office of the Mayor of Quito and the Fundación Caspicara—a local foundation focusing its efforts on Quito's cultural heritage. The partners decided to focus on the historic center's main artery, the Calle García Moreno, and to begin revitalization efforts with this street. The aim was to trigger local actions by house owners here and in the rest of the historic center.

Surveys uncover past glories

A complete photogrammetric survey of all the buildings along a major segment of the street was undertaken with the collaboration of local architects and the support of city authorities. A color survey of the facades was also made. This latter survey revealed the broad palette of colors that lay beneath the white paint applied in the 1940s to lend uniformity to the street's buildings. These results were translated into a series of printed posters showing how the city looked in the past.

The residents were also surveyed to determine their attitudes toward the historic center and to create an awareness among them of the importance and value

of this area to all of Quito. The results of this survey were then used to address heads on the citizens' most important concerns. A video documentary was produced and shown to various citizen groups and other important decisionmakers—economic and otherwise.

Full fledged urban renovation

Quito has now undertaken a complete program of urban renovation of its historic center. The old fume-spewing buses have been replaced with pollution-free electric trolleys. Street vendors are being relocated to other parts of the city. Building owners have, as a first step toward renovation, begun re-painting the urban landscape with colors from the city's past.

The city has also selected a series of buildings to restore to their former elegance. Others are being restructured for adaptive reuse; this is inherently a sustainable act because it conserves resources, energy, and materials.

Pride and respect

The work done in Quito through the GCI city partnership conforms with historical research and documentation guidelines, and has actively involved the community. The public campaign has addressed citizens' real concerns; compatible uses for the buildings have been identified. The new respect shown by owners for their properties and their desire to participate directly in the rescue and maintenance of their buildings speak not only of their pride of ownership, but also of respect for the historic space as a whole.

GCI's efforts in Quito and elsewhere aim to ensure that tourist development of historic centers brings respect and dignity to the inhabitants of these cities. Alliances of this nature among technical organizations, political forces, administrative authorities, and the communities involved give a human dimension and sustainable energy to the adaptive reuse of historic centers, and ensure that their patrimony continues to belong to the world. ■

Miguel Angel Corzo is director of the Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

Urban Environment

Lead Story: Critics and UNCED: Broadening the Environmental Debate by *Mary McNeil*
 Tianjin: Towards an Improved Environment by *Josef Leitmann*

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 Global Forum Attracts 1,400 NGOs
 World View: Guest Editorial—A Developing World View: Post UNCED by *Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain*

Communities Speak—Zabbaleen Community Develops New Jobs to Improve the Environment

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Ecocycles: The Basis of Sustainable Urban Development by the Environment Advisory Council

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Urban Entrepreneurs

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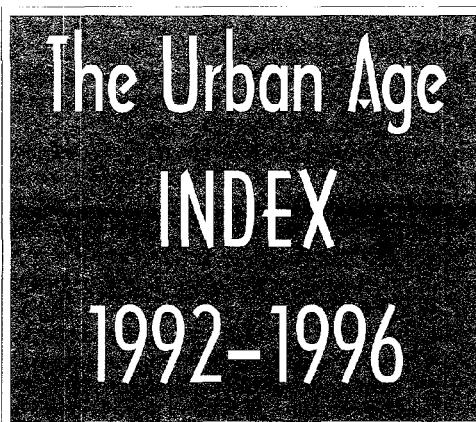
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Contact: Liz Faulkner, Mega-Cities Coordinator, 30 Irving Place, 9th Floor, New York, NY 10003, USA

Andhra Pradesh Voluntary Health Association.

Contact: M.R. Arulraja, Executive Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Voluntary Health Association, 157/6 Gun Rock Enclave West Staff Road, Secunderabad-500 009, Andhra Pradesh, India.

Association of Metropolitan Development Authorities, New Delhi. Contact: Shri G.R. Sood, Director, Association of Metropolitan Development Authorities, 7/6 Sirifort Institutional Area, Khel Gaon Marg, New Delhi 110 049 India. Tel.: 646-3486; Telex: 031-71301 ASTUND.

Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration. Contact: Carlos D'Oliviera, Largo IBAM, No. 1, 22271-070 Rio de Janeiro, RJ Brasil; Tel: 021-266-6622; Fax: 021-537-1262; Telex: 21-22638 INNBM BR.

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Contact: Dr. Ernest Shu Wing Lee, Assistant Commissioner, Transport Department, Hong Kong Government. Tel.: (852)829-5206; Fax: (852)824-0433.

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Contact: Dr. P.M. Matew, Director, ISED, Vennala, Cohin 682 028, India; Tel: 347884, Fax: 345163.

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Contact: Ann Long, Registrar, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 113 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, U.S.A.; Tel: 800-LANDUSE, fax: 617-661-7235.

Los Angeles County Violence Prevention Coalition.

Contact: Dr. Caswell Evans, Jr., Los Angeles County Department of Health Services, 241 North Figueroa St., Room 347, Los Angeles, CA 90012, USA. John C. Martin, Deputy City Manager, 333 90th St., Daly City, CA 94015, USA, Tel.: 415-991-8127.

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Contact: G.N. Warade, Environment Department, Government of Maharashtra, New Administrative Building, 15th Floor, Opp Matralaya, Mantralaya, Bomba 400 032, India

Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest.

Contact: J. Hegedüs and I. Tosics, Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest, H-1093 Budapest IX Lonyay u. 34, Tel.: (36-1) 216-0578, 217-9041, Fax: 36-1-216-3001, E-mail: H209tos@ella2.sztaki.hu

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Contact: Donatella Giobilano, Directorate General for External Economic Relations, Commission of European Communities, 200 rue de la Loi, 1049 Brussels, Belgium.

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Contact: Dr. Michael Graf, MIHV Dagoretti Health Project, P.O. Box 43678, Nairobi, Kenya, Tel./Fax: 254-2-56122

Nicaraguan Micro-Enterprise Foundation.

Contact: FAMA, Victor Telleria or Leanna Vidaurre, De La Maison Teodolinda, 3C. Al sur y 1/2 Abajo, Managua, Nicaragua, Tel: 505-2-668690, Fax: 505-2-668689

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Contact: Jenny Samanez de Testino, Executive Director, Non-Motorized Vehicle Transport Program, Municipality of Lima, Natalio Sanchez 220 Piso 9, Jesus Maria, Lima, Peru. Tel and Fax: 51-14-33-7519.

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Contact: Don Wiseman, Chief of

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Contact: Deborah Levinson, Instituto Brasileiro de Administracao Municipal (IBAM), Edificio Diogo Lordele de Mello, Largo IBAM no. Humaita 22282, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Rwanda Credit and Savings Program.

Contact: Duterimbere, Blvd. de R'OUA, B.P. 738, Kigali, Rwanda

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Contact: Ladislau Dowbczak, Prefeitura do Municipio de São Paulo, Assessor de Relacoes Internacionais, Gabenite de Prefeitura, Pe. Manoel da Nobrega-sala, 207 Parque Ibirapuera-04098, São Paulo, Brasil

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Contact: Diana Lee-Smith, Mazingira Institut P.O. Box 14550, Nairobi, Kenya; Tel: 254-443219; Fax: 254-2-444643.

Sister Cities International.

Contact: Richard Neuheisel, 120 Payne Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, U.S.A.; Tel: 703-836-3535; Fax: 703-834-4815.

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Contact: Botswana Development Corporation Limited, Madirelo House, Mmanalwa Road, Private Bag 160, Gaborone, Botswana. Tel.: 267-31-351811, Fax: 267-31-357852

The Cities Network.

Contact: Michel Lightheart, bothends@gv.apc.org@INTERNET

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Contact: The Federation of Canadian Municipalities, Partnerships Program, 24 Clarence Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5P3; Tel.: 613-248484; Fax: 613-241-7117.

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Contact: Dr. Ismael P. Getubig, Jr., CASHPOR, o Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Pesiara Duta, P.O. Box 12224, 50770 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

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Contact: Dr. Melanie Bei Oliviero, Executive Director, The Panos Institute 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 30 Washington, D.C. 20036, U.S.A.; Tel: 202-480-044, Fax: 202-483-3059.

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Contact: David Barnard, PRODDER, P.O. Box 32410, Braamfontein 2011 South Africa, Tel: 27-11-339-4451; Fax: 27-11-403-2353

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Contact: Nathaniel Von Einsiedel, UMPAP, P.O. Box 12544, 50782 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Tel: 603-255-9122; Fax: 603-255-2871

USC's School of Urban and Regional Planning.

Contact: University of Southern California, School of Urban and Regional Planning, 351 KleinSmith Center, Los Angeles, CA 90089, USA; Tel: 213-740-2264, Fax: 213-740-1160.

Victoria Transport Policy Institute.

Contact: Todd Litman, Victoria Transport Policy Institute 1250 Rudlin Street, Victoria, British Columbia V8V 3R7 Canada; Tel and fax: 604-360-1560.

Wise-Amsterdam.

Contact: Michel Lightheart, Secretariat Cities Network, P.O. Box 18185, 100 ZB Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Tel: 31-21-639-2681, fax: 31-20-639-1379.

Zimbabwe Women's Trust Fund, Ltd.

Contact: Womens Finance Trust of Zimbabwe, 10 Masochi Dlovu Way, Parktown Prospect, Hatfield, P.O. Box 8023 Causeway, Harare Zimbabwe, Tel: 263-4-50127

Strategies for Survival: St. Petersburg Museums in the Market Economy

"There is no escape from its sense of place, not even for a minute, which is how all great cities used to be but are no longer."

—Duncan Fallowell,
One Hot Summer in
St. Petersburg, 1994

ST. PETERSBURG. The northern chill of a Russian autumn was warmed by flashes of gold—St. Isaac's, the Kazan Cathedral, and the Mikhailovsky Palace—and also by the weathered pastels of the historic city buildings.

The city was built in 1703 on a marsh by 20,000 Swedish slaves at the orders of Peter the Great. Situated on the Gulf of Finland, St. Petersburg was to be Russia's and Peter's cultural monument—a rejection of the Old Russia as he transformed his country into a Westernized state.

Later in the 18th century, Catherine the Great finished creating a city that is a grandiose architectural potpourri: a fusion of Russian mysticism, Neo-classicism, and a Baroque style of architecture designed by the Italian architect Rastrelli. Gutted from the marshland, this city—the mad indulgence of the Romanovs—was transformed into a vast network of squares and palaces, bridges, canals, and waterways.

What is left today is a stunning array of treasures and buildings that elicit both awe and despair. There is little official capacity to preserve this legacy.

Culture replaces industry

With *perestroika* and the end of the cold war in 1991 came the collapse of the submarine industry and the closing of the naval base—a major source of municipal revenue. With workers, soldiers, and pensioners going unpaid, funding for Catherine and Peter's cultural legacy is being cut. The city is gradually recognizing the need to attract alternative forms of investment and is shifting its energies toward technology, tourism, science, and communications in its strategic plan which will be completed in November. For now, though, culture and tourism are the only saleable sector left in the city's inventory.

What could the economic impact of St. Petersburg's cultural heritage be for the city? With more than 100 museums in the city and numerous churches, galleries, and monuments, the city's potential to draw

tourist revenue is great, but essentially unexplored. In an emerging economy, the economic impact of culture is hard to quantify. Reliable tourist statistics and visitor surveys are lacking.

Nonetheless, the city's twin cultural icons—the Hermitage and the Kirov Ballet—do have global name recognition, and big names lure visitors. Out of the conviction that culture is currently the only *major* engine to attract visitors and revenue to regenerate the city a new initiative was born—Strategy for Survival: St. Petersburg Museums in the Market Economy.

In the last year, under the aegis of the Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum, and with funding from the UK Know How

Fund and the Soros Foundation, the three organizations collaborated on a workshop among British museum consultants and directors and directors from a number of St. Petersburg museums “not of federal significance.” The aim was deceptively simple: to train the Russian museum directors to identify, analyze, and implement the needs of their museums in an emerging market economy.

At the opening reception in September, Alexander Margolis, director of the St. Petersburg Renaissance Foundation, and a partner in the workshop, remarked that “the cultural heritage of St. Petersburg belongs to the whole world not just to St. Petersburg.” By improving the museums

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Culture and tourism are the only saleable sector left in the city's inventory.

Some Thoughts on Our Participation in the Russian-British Seminar

by Yevgeny Artemov

ST. PETERSBURG. Our participation in the Russian-British seminar “Strategies for Survival” gave us an opportunity to take a look from an outsider's perspective at our new financial problems. It helped us view our methods of solving them as an integrated set of tasks with varying degrees of complexity and urgency, which require a systematic approach and need to be resolved step-by-step today, tomorrow, and on into the future.

The seminar in September 1996 helped accelerate the development of the museum's strategic planning program up to the year 2000 and contributed to the enrichment of its content, particularly the part that deals with the strategy for developing the museum's marketing activities. Using the SWOT (strengths-weaknesses-opportunities-talents) analysis proposed by our British colleagues, our museum identified underutilized opportunities. As a result, we have opened up a gift shop for the first time, as well as a cafe, and the museum has begun to offer a number of new visitor services.

Our British colleagues know a great deal about museum development and have a wealth of experience about surviving under difficult financial conditions. They have also mastered the principles of teaching through the use of business games, and they have a strong sense of tact. They demonstrated this beautifully in their work with the managers of St. Petersburg's museums who took part in the program—a group of all shapes and colors that varied widely in its perception of and receptivity to foreign experience.

At the most basic level, Russian and British museums share a desire to do a more effective job of carrying out a social mission. Another common characteristic is a wish to establish a sufficiently stable financial position for our museums—one that provides as much independence as possible. The differences lie primarily in the income levels of British and Russian museum-goers, and their level of comfort not only within the walls of a museum, but also in daily life. Museums also fall in different positions of priority among the desires and needs of British and Russian people.

At the same time, the forms and methods employed by British and Russian colleagues in their work with museum visitors are similar, universal, and mutually understandable. This is precisely what makes the dialogue among museum employees productive and useful, and what contributes to the enrichment and enhancement of museum development in both countries.

The main outcome of our joint work is that we learned not only how to formulate problems, but also how to find opportunities for their resolution.

Yevgeny Artemov is deputy director for research, State Museum of Russian Political History, in St. Petersburg.

sector, the city would be protecting and promoting its precious and unique assets.

Where to start?

On one of those Russian autumn mornings when the sun glitters through shedding trees, a group of 40 got to work in the grand reception room of a house where Lenin once lived. Elsewhere in this town of Tsarkoe Selo is the Alexander Palace, residence of the last Czar Alexander and his family.

During the introductory session, an immediate philosophical chasm became apparent. As was bitterly illuminated by the comment of one of the Russian museum directors, "the museum visitor is our enemy." Museum curators worldwide recognize in that declaration a typical complaint of the research-academic establishment: the belief that museums are the preserve of academia from which the common man must be excluded.

As in Russia, the British museum sector has suffered from overly centralized planning, staff cutbacks, and building closures. The sector has had to reinvent itself by making museums more accessible, friendly and, most importantly, relevant to the visitor.

Celina Fox, one of the museum consultants from Britain, pointed out that the museum sector has always had to fight to gain funding from public resources. "Now new policies," she said, "dictate that British museums become more self-reliant through sponsorship, corporate events, and train-

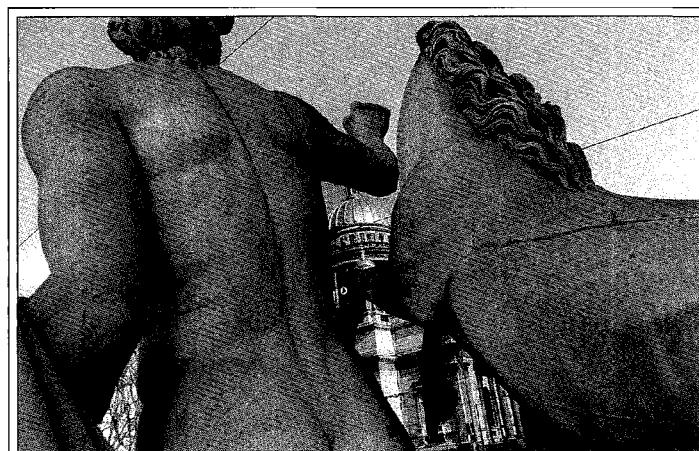
'Until now, we had an allergy to planning. This will be useful in my museum, although my colleagues will say, 'why bother? we have no money.' I will tell them that planning will get us money.'

ing. Addressing fundamental issues such as cash shortages can be solved by a change in attitude by museum staff," she said—a none-too-subtle call to arms to her Russian colleagues on the first day of their collaboration.

The problems...

As the first session began, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported that federal funding of museums was being cut off. This meant that no more money would be available for electricity, heating, or telephones, and that only half the staff salaries would be paid.

Other problems emerged. The Russian Museums Law does not allow museums to make money except through entrance fees. Museums have had bloated staff numbers because budgets are allocated according to number of staff. Also mentioned were crumbling buildings, and aging and decaying exhibits.



Marcus Tate

The question was posed by both sides: How can St. Petersburg's museums survive and prosper under these conditions? The unequivocal answer came from Celina Fox: "do not see lack of money as preventing change."

Throughout the three-day workshop, the Russians were asked to adopt a new methodology for addressing their funding problems and to adopt a new way of looking at how to solve them. The task was huge: to look at a new way to operate within an economy crippled by corruption and stagnation, within a policy and legal framework that actively discourages investment in culture

....and how to begin addressing them

As the workshop evolved with its role-playing, game-playing, and SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and talents), questions were asked and interest was piqued: "How do we study our visitor?" asked Nina Popova, director of the Anna Akhmatova Museum. Questions arose about storage and maintenance of collections, where to apply for foreign

grant money, and how to produce posters and postcards.

Forward planning, marketing techniques, visitor care, cafes and gift stores, CD-ROMs and interactive television...the vocabulary of the free market was igniting in Lenin's reception room.

The Russian reaction was positive: Natalia Dementieva, director of the Museum of the History of St. Petersburg noted that: "Until now we had an allergy to planning. This kind of planning will be useful in my museum, although my colleagues will say 'why bother? we have no money.' I will tell them that this kind of planning will get us money."

The British message was relentless: Ask who you are, where you want to go, and how to get there. And maintain the capability to respond to changes on the way. The messages to put forward to a visitor are important. "Remember it is always important to know who does *not* visit your museum," said Barbara Woroncow, director of the Yorkshire and Humber Museums Council. And finally, when you make a plan, talk to your constituents and conduct visitor surveys. A good visit is the cheapest form of publicity.

By the end of the first phase of the workshop in September, skepticism and enthusiasm were equally apparent. There were those Russian museum directors who believed in the possibility of change. There were those who were openly scornful of the whole process. And then there were those with a wait-and-see attitude. The proof would be in the next three months as they got the chance to implement some of the planning suggestions and marketing concepts introduced at the workshop.

Ideas into action

Phase two in January was a review of progress since September—a crucial stage because the directors were to have taken their new ideas from the workshop back to the museums to persuade their staff to adopt planning strategies.

The immediate results were gratifying: new cafes and gift shops, improved signage, and some impressively detailed development planning. Demonstrating the Russian genius for barter and circumvention, the Artillery Museum won first prize.

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The organization that runs this museum's gift shop pays the museum with 16 tons of heating coal. Another military coup: the organization that runs this cafe also cleans all the washrooms and give the staff of 200 a 50 percent discount.

There were some disasters and some triumphs. Nina Popova, director of the Akhmatova Museum, which is housed in the flat where the poet wrote *Requiem*, was concerned with publicity issues and with learning how to study the visitor. She also has a big project brewing: the redesign of the museum. The designer Boris claimed that there is only one type of Russian visitor—one who is "traditional and passive." With the new plan for the museum, he says, "we want the visitor to work." The plan redesigns the museum into a flexible literary exhibition with an emphasis on the poet's domestic life.

"There is a visual evolution as the visitor moves from decade to decade," says Mark Suggitt, director of St. Albans Museums. The plan, it seems, is a reinforcement of the shared goals among the staff. Everyone agreed that it gets the museum's "product" right: through the redesign, one will get to know the Russian people and their poetry better through Anna Akhmatova's personality.

All was not quite right, though. Nina Popova's staff had not yet seen the plan—indeed, they still have yet to see it.

At another museum, in the absence of the director, only a deputy director had been informed about the second workshop.

The Museum of Military Medicine, which has a staff of 376, had had its bank account frozen, and no permanent home for its collection. The director admitted his initial reluctance about the workshop. "I was dragged from my desk to do the role-playing, but then I caught the communication disease and my attitude changed. I reported on the seminar to the staff. To many of the older members, marketing and advertising are obscene words." Now information about this museum's archives is on the Internet, and marketing materials are in tourist agencies, hotels, and schools.

The British team had a nightly post mortem: for those who were receptive, this was the right contact and experience, but who would derive the most benefit? Who should go on to the next stage? How could we tell them what was wrong? What should the results of this work be, and should they be written? There was a

feeling of breaking new ground—and of being wary about being too critical.

Beyond the museums initiative

The end result on the Russian side was a surprising mix of administrative and structural innovation, coupled with rapidly commercializing products. But progress was uneven. Perhaps because one of the central messages conveyed by the British team was that in order to innovate, you must take on responsibility that is not in your job description. The love of your collection must extend to learning new skills. Unfortunately, imagination was not a commodity in great demand during the Soviet era.

At the final meeting of all the museum directors, both teams agreed that this was a work in progress. But the context for the workshops is about more than just museums. It is about the relationship between the arts and culture and how this affects economic development and the economic regeneration of the city.

If culture is the vehicle for wealth creation, how soon will this happen in St Petersburg? Will it happen soon enough to save the city's cultural heritage? The argument for the importance of culture has been answered easily by the cities of Barcelona and Glasgow. Now it must be made in Russia. ■

Margaret Bergen is editor of The Urban Age.

A Post-Soviet, Post-Industrial Postscript from St. Petersburg

by Mark Suggitt

ST. PETERSBURG. As we enter the next century, the vision of cities and their relationship to commerce and culture remains a troubled one. How can they find a role in an increasingly post-industrial world of mass communications? Can they use culture as the fuel of regeneration? If these issues are still problematic in the affluent West, what about the cities of the former Soviet Union? In a world turned upside down, their industries are closing, their infrastructure is crumbling, and their cultural institutions receive inadequate funding.

Against this background, the museums of St. Petersburg will have to make some radical adjustments to survive. We organised a series of visits and seminars for our Russian colleagues. The benefit of the UK experience was thought to be practical, as we could speak from experience about reduced public funding, restructurings, and the general reluctance of most post-war British governments to invest in culture.

We arrived in St. Petersburg in September 1996 and visited all the museums whose directors would be attending the first seminar. The Hermitage dominates the museum scene, and is often the only one tourists visit. This is unfortunate, as the Russian Museum, Naval Museum, Artillery Museum, and Museum of Political History all have wonderful collections. The smaller museums in the former flats of Dostoyevsky and Akhmatova offer a more intimate insight into the artistic and domestic world of a great city.

We were impressed by the quality of the collections and also by the approaches some directors had taken to deal with lack of funding. Other directors were less open and seemed to resent the fact that the world had changed. Not surprisingly, those with this attitude usually had the worst standards of care, both for their collections and their public.

The seminar was initially hard work. Questions like "The problems are so big, what can we do?" and "Do they think we don't understand?" arose. We discussed our experience with management theory, forward planning, marketing, and customer care. Fortunately, we were all able to break down barriers, and, by the end of the week, we felt that most of the directors had been very open.

Returning in January, we were pleased to see that some of the threatened museum closures had not taken place. Forward plans were being written, new displays were being designed, and deals were being struck over shops and cafes. Some directors had done nothing. For those who had acted though, our second set of visits helped build on the first.

St. Petersburg is a beautiful city, but many of its charms are hard to find. The museums are keen to market themselves more and become entrepreneurial, but they are thwarted by taxation laws, local bylaws, and a civic authority that is ponderous and bureaucratic. The city is losing out in tourism and foreign investment.

St. Petersburg is a 'Barcelona' in waiting, but to become one, it must learn to analyse itself, admit that much needs to be done—and then begin doing those things.

Mark Suggitt is museums director of the St. Albans Museums in St Albans, Hertfordshire, the United Kingdom.

Children Preserving Their Past

by Reinhard Goethert

The old man bent over the pile of stone: "I lived here once, long ago. This was where my father fixed the wall." . . . The young man pointed to the abandoned village. "That's where I grew up. Look at that pile of stone! How could my father live like that?" . . . A small boy systematically picked stones from the walls of the abandoned village, pulling out those that would collapse sections of the wall, giggling as he did so.

But it could be different: A small boy

often focuses on narrow development "islands" centered on some major monument, while more prosaic history—the villages and houses spread across the land—is lost, often deliberately and without remorse.

It is more difficult to capitalize on these attractions: the payback is lower and it takes more time to recover investments. Outside investment is difficult to attract. Moreover, the biggest obstacle is that the citizenry itself all too often sees the past as

will become tomorrow's decisionmakers and leaders; they will enact and enforce laws, set the tone for debate, and provide examples to be emulated.

Perhaps one of the quickest and most effective ways to involve children in the heritage of their country would be to use the resources of existing archaeological institutions, particularly those from abroad. The staff of these organizations are at the forefront of preservation efforts; through their dedication to their work, they have the potential to stimulate children and build real understanding.

One excellent avenue might be to have children participate in a dig. This way, they could absorb first-hand the excitement of historical discovery. Another simple way to involve children could be an awareness program offered through schools. Simple self-teaching kits could be developed and made available. Again, professional institutes could be persuaded to give of their time and resources.

Models already exist that could be adapted. For example, in the United States, the Boy Scouts are establishing an archeology merit badge that requires participating in an excavation, preparing an archaeological exhibit, and researching early settlers. And the National Trust for Historic Preservation and National Park Service have created a Heritage Education Program that includes both curriculum frameworks and lesson plans. Models and resources like these could easily be expanded into full programs.

We all share the same concern about protecting and safeguarding cultural heritage. But until now we've approached development and preservation from a narrow professional base rather than by enlisting wider popular support. We need to develop a broader stakeholder base. And what better way to start than through our youth? ■

old-fashioned. This attitude is clearly the most difficult obstacle to preserving a vernacular heritage.

During a recent workshop in the south of Jordan which explored the reuse of abandoned mountain villages for development and tourism, it became evident that only through the education of its young can a country sustain its heritage. Instilling in youth a sensitivity, awareness, and appreciation of a common history is one of the few approaches that offers long-term hope in this regard. This aware cadre

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systematically replaced stones that had fallen out of the wall of the house in the abandoned village. As he did so, he reflected on stories about his grandfather, and his grandfather's grandfather, who had built and lived here.

The importance of a country's heritage is beyond dispute. It represents the memory of the physical, social, and cultural patrimony. From a developmental standpoint, a country's historical heritage means economic opportunity, primarily through tourism. But preservation all too

Mali Fights to Preserve Fragments of West African Heritage

by John Balzar

DJENNE. History crumbles underfoot. Shoes crunch down upon Africa's Middle Ages.

In every direction, the ground here is carpeted with multicolored fragments of pottery, broken figurines, oxidized iron castings, human bones, and burial jars—a vast medieval settlement exposed incrementally by rain and erosion.

In this Niger River region of Mali is a lode of one of Africa's rarest treasures—splendid evidence of its heritage.

Here, 600 years ago, an urban family prepared dinner in a clay pot, put the children to sleep safeguarded by elaborate fetishes, and poked at the embers of the cooking fire.

Oral traditions continue to link the generations in Africa. But tangible artifacts that connect epochs are rarer.

Random holes in the ground, some disturbingly fresh, attest to the plunder of historical riches in this nation. Grave robbers are busy ransacking Mali—perhaps the most glutinous pillage since Napoleon raided Egypt.

But Mali is fighting back.

Landlocked in West Africa, straddling the Sahara, one of the poorest and most remote nations of the world, the country is battling to preserve its patrimony—electing an archaeologist as president, confronting the great antiquities collectors of the West, and cultivating among its own peasants an appreciation of Africa's history.

Slowly over 15 years—even as it struggles to feed itself—Mali has squeezed its public treasury to fund the crusade. Buildings are papered with anti-looting posters, cultural centers have been established in outpost communities, and village leaders have been enlisted to make the country's heritage a subject of everyday discourse.

At home, Mali has imposed laws with three-month to two-year prison sentences for archaeological pillage, and abroad it has secured the cooperation of the United States and others.

"Why is this important? Because it shows that in West Africa there was an urban, developed culture, arising locally," says Samba Thiam, research and conservation director of Mali's Cultural Mission in

Djenne. "Mali plays a very important role in African history because of its position in trans-Saharan trade."

Compared with the treasures of more comprehensively studied regions of the world, physical evidence of Africa's history is scarce. And what is known has been largely ignored in African schools, many of

**Oral traditions
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which were started by Western colonists and missionaries.

The move toward cultural awareness is an astonishing campaign, considering that literacy in Mali is low (variously estimated between 18 percent and 32 percent), income as measured by the World Bank is among the lowest on the continent, the United Nations says one-third of children under 15 are malnourished, and not quite half the population has access to clean water.

Mali's economy is heavily subsistence agriculture and almost wholly dependent on unreliable rains for the millet and sorghum that sustain its people. Drought has been a persistent roadblock to progress since 1971.

But President Alpha Oumar Konare sees a clear reason for the cultural awareness campaign even amid such need:

"In Mali, our greatest riches are those which have been created by man. It is important that our people know their history and culture, and respect its place in daily life. Only by this can we guarantee enrichment...These are the only real values. The rest are perishable."

Konare, 50, is the former director of the national museum, an archaeologist and one-time culture minister who was elected in 1992. Formerly the French colony known as Soudan, Mali has endured a stormy independence—including coups, military rule, border friction with its neighbors, and street violence in its cities.

Konare talks as if history has already taught him what some African leaders have not yet considered.

"My background as an archaeologist helps me understand that my role is limited," he says. "The cemeteries are full of people who thought they were indispensable."

Now, if only Konare and his government can save enough of Mali's heritage to secure its benefits for the country's nearly 10 million citizens.

The plunder is evident everywhere, driven by the novelty of African historical objects and the increasing popularity of Malian artifacts among private collectors and museums. Impoverished farmers supplement their income as looters.

The historic cultures were created by religious animists, with powerful beliefs in spirits and demons, myth and ritual. Reflecting their world, they produced vast quantities of fetishes, castings, carvings, and terracottas in strange, stylized anthropomorphic shapes. Such was their influence that European artists, including Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso, maintained collections of African designs.

Here in Djenne is the raised, 80-acre mound site of the city of Djenne-Djeno, the oldest known urban settlement in sub-Saharan Africa.

Scientists calculate that the city was established 250 years before Christ and lasted 1,600 years, dying out in the 14th century with the rise of Islam and the decline of the Sahara trading caravans in favor of ocean routes.

A survey of this and 833 similar sites found that 45 percent had been raided and 17 percent virtually stripped.

The greatest hope for Mali is also the most daunting: convincing hungry Malians that for reasons of pride and patrimony, they should leave untouched the remaining mounds of open treasure.

Government posters are commonplace: "Halt the pillage...these cultural objects are the remnants of our essential history." To spread the message, the government has allocated scarce dollars to establish cultural missions in the three richest archaeological regions: Djenne, the Dogon region, and Timbuktu. ■

John Balzar is a writer for the Los Angeles Times.

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Community Participation in the Calcutta Environmental Management Strategy and Action Plan

by Donald Hankey and Kalyan Biswas

CALCUTTA. This fascinating city—and its environs—has throughout its history absorbed a remarkable variety of immigrants and cultural influences. As with other great cities of the world, Calcutta's cultural heritage is diverse in character and not a simple homogeneous entity. For more than 300 years, the impetus for economic growth has come from the influence of foreigners such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and the French, as is manifested in a broad and

important range of buildings and urban environments that express Indian and West Bengal religions, philosophies, centers of learning, and social and political structures that are the foundation of Calcutta's contemporary life.

It is within this context that the Calcutta Environmental Management Strategy and Action Plan (CEMSAP) has been developed [see Biswas, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 1995].

CEMSAP was envisioned as a complement to Calcutta's Urban Development Plan—a way to put environmental management and protection at the top of the city's urban development agenda. Policy and actions have since been developed to facilitate the conservation, use, and maintenance of the heritage, particularly by getting the people of Calcutta involved.

Community participation

The Cultural Heritage Action Plan (CHAP) links to other components of CEMSAP's work and—in particular—to the local environmental planning subcomponent and the community environmental management program. The public participation objectives are part of the necessary institutional strengthening for environmental and land management.

CHAP proposes both top-down (government-led) *and* bottom-up (community-led) approaches to conservation. The West Bengal government will provide support that includes a database; effective institu-

tional structures and procedures; education and training of staff; and the development of enforceable legislation, heritage awareness and promotion programs, local conservation programs, and a management organization. Government will play an important role in guiding this cultural heritage program and in ensuring that the project functions well.

The sustainable nature of conservation, effective reuse, and modernization requires the participation of communities at all levels. In the past, typically, initiatives aimed at

the conservation of the built heritage have been led by the high- and middle-income communities, special-interest groups, and academics. These have constituted important stakeholder groups concerned with the quality of the historic environment.

Now, community participation is to be extended to lower income groups, particularly those living and working in residential and commercial areas.

Ownership—and incentives

Conservation demonstration projects in selected areas are aimed at the participation of and partnership with communities so that they will be able to identify with the benefits and values of conservation.

In some areas of the Calcutta metropolitan area, the poor must be given incentives to participate in conservation of their habitat. Those incentives must complement and not threaten their livelihood. To this end, projects will be concerned with skills training, income generation, building use, and environmental upgrading. Programmes that involve the community will be explored.

CEMSAP is supported in promoting

community involvement through the recent 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution of India, placing greater authority and political power with municipalities and reducing the executive authority and influence of metropolitan authorities.

Benefits can be expected through the promotion of employment, the generation of income, and the development of eco-tourism. The project requires the participation of all income groups and all levels of government and administration. It concerns all interest groups. Participation and "ownership" will be developed through detailed consultation of project components and through conferences attended by government, municipalities, non-governmental organisations, and voluntary organizations. Project components will be studied by the academic and professional communities to further awareness, education, involvement, and ownership. This will help in developing a wider under-

standing of the value and benefits of conservation.

Without an appreciation of the rewards to the community's cultural base, the benefits of the economy, employment, and commerce, as well as the values associated with the built environment, the community will not feel a

responsibility to maintaining and preserving its own cultural heritage. ■

Donald Hankey is co-director of Gilmore, Hankey and Kirke in London. Kalyan Biswas is the principal secretary of the Forest and Environment Department in the government of West Bengal.

Buryatia: The Survival of a Culture

by Lisa Dickey

GULTAI. High on a hillside near the town of Galta, in the Russian republic of Buryatia, a yellow wooden frame stands silhouetted against the afternoon sky. The frame holds a row of tall, narrow sticks, and on the end of each stick, Buddhist prayer cloths flutter in the biting wind.

In times of trouble and thanks, people come from nearby villages to tie their prayer cloths—called *khimorin*—to the sticks, and make their offerings to the gods. There is a blackened spot on the hill where offering fires are lit, and a bench a few steps beyond that. The rest of the hill is rocky and bare.

It is on this land that, through centuries of rule by Mongolian emperors, Russian czars, and Soviet autocrats, Buryats have managed to guard and preserve their culture.

Blending assimilation and ethnic identity

A nomadic people, similar in language and culture to their Mongolian neighbors to the south, Buryats have somehow blended the contradictory needs of assimilation and ethnic identity into a peaceful, workable model. And, unlike many of Russia's ethnic minorities—the most obvious example being the Chechens—Buryats live in relative harmony with their fellow Russian citizens.

The Buryats' peaceful coexistence with Russian power is perhaps surprising, considering the history of repression during the Soviet era. Buddhist *datsans* were razed, Buryat children were encouraged to speak Russian, and the flowing Mongolian script of the Buryat language was changed first to transliterated Latin letters, then later to Cyrillic. Although many Buryats continued to believe in the shamanism and Buddhism of their ancestors, they were forced to practice their beliefs in secret.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, a new

flowering of religious and cultural tolerance has begun sweeping this ancient land. Buryat-language newspapers are flourishing—many employing Russian as well as Buryat workers—traditional Buryat music and dance are making a comeback, and from the shores of Lake Baikal to the border of Mongolia, prayer hills and *datsans* are again sprouting up. Not surprisingly, the rituals associated with Buryatia's Buddhist traditions, which are closely related to those of the Tibetans, also show a few signs of Russian influence.

Time-honored rituals still observed

On a cold October day, Buryat farmer Buyanto Tsydypov heads out to the prayer hill outside Galta. Taking with him his wife, brothers, and children, he hikes to the wind-swept peak, from which burial mounds dating from the days of Genghis Khan are still visible over the rolling landscape. The ritual that follows is a moving tribute to the living, changing, and ultimately

enduring nature of human spirituality. “I went to the *datsan* yesterday, and the lama told me that things were not right on my farm,” says Buyanto, placing a bottle of store-bought vodka and plates of mutton, bread, and butter onto the bench. “He said that my horse had fallen, and that I needed to pray to get things back in order on the farm. He looked at the astrological charts, and then told me to come here.”

Buyanto builds a small fire from sticks and paper, then pours a shot glass of vodka in the center to purify the flame. As the smoke curls skyward from the holy fire, he removes an aqua-blue *khimorin* from his jacket, and unfolds it to show the drawings and Tibetan script within.

“Here in the middle is the spiritual horse, and all around are the Buddhist gods,” he says, pointing out the figures on

the cloth. “Below that is a Tibetan prayer, and at the bottom we have written our names and the names of others we are praying for.”

He grasps the corners of the *khimorin* and fans the flames slowly to purify the cloth with sacred smoke. After a time, he moves to the top of the hill, where he ties the *khimorin* to one of the sticks.

Tsypelma, Buyanto's wife, gathers dried wisps of pungent-smelling grass to add to the fire while Buyanto takes the bottle of vodka to begin the offering. He pours a shot glass full, murmurs a prayer, then tosses the liquid into the wind, where it separates into glistening drops. He begins walking in a clockwise direction around the frame, continuing to toss vodka offerings in the air. “Vodka is a pure drink,” says Buyanto without any apparent irony, “and so it is good to offer the gods.”

The circle completed, Buyanto pours each person present a glass of vodka in turn. Before drinking, the Buryats dip their ring fingers into the liquid four times and scatter four drops individually onto the ground, to the gods of wind, fire, water, and earth. Even when drinking at home, the Buryats follow this ritual: it is part of their tradition of giving thanks, no matter how small an offering may be.

The way a Buryat prays

When all have drunk their vodka, followed by a slice of bread and butter for sustenance, the Buryats continue the ritual by pressing their hands together in prayer and beginning to move around the frame clockwise at a half-trot. They circle the top of the hill several times, at last stopping by the fire. Buyanto falls to his knees, bending low to touch his forehead to the ground.

Tsypelma watches her husband with a mixture of admiration and a touch of bemusement. “He's giving you the whole treatment,” she finally says in a whisper. “He knows he's on stage.”

Buyanto stands proudly and wipes the dirt from his knees, perhaps having heard his wife's whispers. “That,” he says, grinning, “is the way a Buryat prays.” ■

Lisa Dickey is a writer who has lived and worked in Russia since 1994.



Gary Matosko

Modernization or "Museumization"? An Interview with the Mayor of Venice

by Giovanni Padula

VENICE. On a drizzly March morning, the usual flow of tourists and Venetians crossed the Rialto bridge. From a stained-glass window in Ca' Farsetti, Venice's City Hall, I wondered if one day this bridge would feel the faster pace of young professionals mingling with the meandering gait of arts visitors.

The glass industry is still here, but the glorious shipyards are almost all gone, and the steel mills built by the German industrial barons at the turn of the century have been abandoned for decades. During the 14th century, the Rialto was the hub for trading goods and valuable information, such as the

price of spices in India. Today Venice is trying to reclaim this role, as it combines tourism, communications, and new technology.

The city has embarked on an ambitious plan to restore historic sites and buildings and to reuse its cultural heritage in a more effective way. Will Venice's past be enough to inject life into its future?

At 10 a.m., Massimo Cacciari, the philosopher who four years ago became mayor of Venice, punctually opened his door. I was expecting vision. I got instead a pragmatic view of the future of Venice and of the role of its unrivaled art, history, and culture in revitalizing a millennial urban space.

UA: Art, history, and new technologies. How do you imagine Venice 50 years from now?

CACCIARI: Venice will probably be a city with highly competitive tourist and communications industries. Certainly it will be costly to live in Venice, but I still imagine a place where highly skilled craftsmen will share the same space with high-technology professionals, tourists, conference attendees from around the world, and professors and students.

UA: Have you moved in that direction?

CACCIARI: One crucial step has been the approval by the City Council of the plan

for the historic city. Pending approval is a plan for the general town, which will include the modern area of the municipality. The historic city plan is crucial because it will enable us to restore and restructure important historic complexes to be used for exhibits and cultural activities and also for business purposes.

Let's not forget that two-thirds of the historic city as we know it was built in the 19th century and since. At the turn of the century, Venice was still a powerful

industrial center benefiting from the German-financed steel and military industries. The German investment in

Venetian industry took a turn for the worse after World War II. Therefore, the first big renovations will start this year at Jungams's factory, an idle industrial site on Giudecca Island.

New functions for this site will include residential apartments, grand houses, a student house, and commercial locations. Next will be the Mulino Stucchi (a mill), which will certainly turn out to be a worldwide symbol of how to restructure former industrial areas.

The private sector will manage the operation through a special agreement with the municipality. Hotels, apartments, and conference centers will be housed in this enormous space.

The famous Conterie di Murano will become a landmark example of industrial archaeology with a center that includes an exhibit on glass crafting. \$130 million will be spent for each of the three projects, with funds coming from the municipality, private investors, and the government's Comitato Speciale per l'Edilizia. I want to emphasize that the role of the private investors is essential: they have a clear idea about profitable use of the spaces, and usually know which value to assign to historical industrial sites.

UA: What about the museum system?

CACCIARI: The flow of tourists is increasing at an annual rate of 10 percent; within five years 14 to 15 million people will visit the city each year. That's why we launched

a radical plan to reshuffle the system of museums controlled by the municipality. Once the system was in the red; now it generates revenues for the municipality.

We have been encouraging tourists to visit museums that once were off the beaten path. Previously, 5 million out of 7 million museum visitors concentrated on the San Marco area. Today we are trying to spread them throughout the city more uniformly by leading them on cultural and geographical routes. And we are planning to build a hub for tourists, something like the Louvre's pyramid that will channel visitors more effectively on specific itineraries.

UA: You are designing the town centered around conference activity and tourism. Is that the future of Venice? Will the lagoon retain a sense of place, an environment where people are willing to live? When Bill Gates opened the exhibit of Leonardo's Code, he downplayed the idea that Venice could become a city hosting new technologies.

CACCIARI: But tourism is an industry. And so is conference planning and communications. A message sent from Venice is very effective. The challenge for Venice is not to become centered solely around tourism. We are putting cable under the city to link Venice to the rest of the world's advanced technologies. The new high-technology professions will come to Venice and will be linked to these two sectors. Venice can also be a site for advanced research functions in the university and in private centers.

To get an idea of the potential, visit the Center for Marine Technology in a newly restructured warehouse close to the Arsenale. Without a doubt, it is the most beautiful industrial archaeology renovation in Europe, and shows that research and high technology are compatible with the delicate equilibrium of an arts city. ■

Giovanni Padula is an economics journalist living in New York City. He is also a contributor to Mondo Economico, Milan.

The Future of Asia's Cities

by Akhtar Badshah

JAKARTA. As Asian cities grow in population, affluence, and industrialization, the region is developing a new global dominance. Four major trends contribute to this shift.

First, by the year 2010, 4.2 billion of the world's 7 billion people will live in Asia. Second, nearly half of all growth in gross domestic product will be in Asia. Third, dramatic rural-to-urban shift will be responsible for 43 percent of the people in Asia living in cities. And fourth, 30 cities in Asia will have populations greater than 5 million.

To address the impact of these and other factors on the urban development of Asian cities, the Asia Society collaborated with the Center for Information and Development Studies, the Mega-Cities Project Inc., Global Agenda Pty Ltd. (Australia), the Indonesian Institute of Architects, and the Indonesian Institute of Planners to convene an international conference in Jakarta from December 2-5, 1996.

Titled "The Future of Asia's Cities," the conference brought together 400 key community, business, and government leaders representing 21 countries. They assessed issues involving: coping with Asia's burgeoning populations that will soon require twenty-five new cities, governing cities in rapidly changing situations by forming partnerships with all urban stakeholders, involving local businesses in creating an atmosphere conducive to opportunity for all, and developing new policies to cater to the poor and the women in cities.

The time is ripe to seize opportunity

Some important points were raised during the presentations and deliberations on these issues.

- It was agreed that the time is ripe to seize this opportunity of economic dynamism and vitality in the region, and to invest in the development of an urban infrastructure that will serve the city's needs well into the next century.

- Since 25 or more new cities are expected to emerge over the next two decades to accommodate Asia's burgeoning populations, recommendations were

made for new city plans that have a vital center and that provide a range of opportunities for residents.

These centers should highlight the interdependency of human life and cities and should be places emphasizing a common vision and collective activity.

- City managers will have to transcend their traditional roles and embrace new and innovative ways of governing by creatively harnessing organizations in civil society; mobilizing and leading city residents, not only as consumers of services, but as advisors, facilitators, and implementers of change; and adopting a procedure for achieving consensus in shaping the city's future.

City managers also must position their cities strategically in the global system. This will mean a rethinking of planning tools and methods.

- The nature and definition of poverty should be recognized and understood more clearly so that it can be measured—and reduced—more easily.
- The social capital within people and within civil society organizations should be used to move cities into the next century.
- Asia's cities will fall into three broad categories: (1) global cities (like Singapore and Hong Kong), (2) mega-cities (cities with very large populations), and (3) capital cities. Each city will have to develop its own identity and civic purposes.

Paradoxes in development

During the conference deliberations, some interesting paradoxes in expectations and suggested processes emerged.

- There is an inherent tension between the speed at which development is taking place in Asia today and the need to develop a collaborative process that takes time.
- There is a similar dilemma regarding the ability to undertake comprehensive solutions while developing a web of connectedness among cities in the region.

- While there is a great need to develop a transparent, collaborative, and open process of governance, participants ranked an open governing process as very low on their list of perceived needs.

Needs

A brief survey of conference participants identified a clean environment, good air and water quality, accessibility to reliable transport, affordable housing, and good neighborhoods as the three most important issues they cared about in a city.

To meet their future needs, they proposed development of a knowledge

network that would build on promoting the cities agenda in Asia by linking people in the region and providing connections and information, identifying and developing new processes of governance and management, developing new paradigms and modes

of thinking, and identifying and documenting both large and small projects in the region.

The conference highlighted the complexity of the urban system. It stressed that any city is made up of people from all walks of life, who have a wide range of needs and aspirations. Any discussion on the future of cities must take these factors into account if cities are to develop into vital and effective environments as we move into the 21st century. ■

Akhtar Badshah is an architect and planner and executive director of the Asia-Pacific Cities Forum: An Action Network for Sustainable Cities and Communities.

Living Space and Culture in Washington, D.C.: A Capital in Search of a City

by Josep Subir

WASHINGTON, D.C. Large political capitals tend to be cities with split personalities—and the more recently established they are, the truer this is. It's not easy for them to reconcile their political role at the national and state levels with the demands on them to provide a vigorous and dynamic life as cities. The daily life of a city is—by its nature—diverse and unpredictable; its essence is change and innovation.

In the case of Washington, D.C. (District of Columbia), the dichotomy between national and local dimensions has reached an almost pathological level, exacerbating the city's problems. Nowdays, no other city in the world comes anywhere close to having the amount of power that is concentrated in Washington. Neither have other cities approached the high levels of citizen dissatisfaction, population flight, unemployment, crime, anxiety, and despondency that overshadow local life.

A city with a special status

What is surprising, however, is that the vast majority of observers and analysts see Washington's problems and potential solutions in terms of the economy or taxation, and view them as a consequence of the city's special role as federal capital and the peculiar—and restrictive—legislation applied to its system of local government. This legislation imposes on the city authorities a heavy burden of costs for health services, education, transportation, and policing. At the same time, however, it prevents them from taxing either the real estate occupied by the federal government and diplomatic corps, which accounts for 40 percent of the city's buildings; or the activities of the hundreds of thousands of suburbanites who commute to the city, and who enjoy and consume a large portion of local services and resources.

Nevertheless, while not denying Washington's economic and taxation problems and its special status as a capital city, I think it is wrong and misleading to focus exclusively on them—the city's special status cannot be seen as merely a source of all problems.

A city of many resources

Although several federal agencies have been downsized, they still guarantee a high level of employment, generated either within the agencies themselves or within the buoyant private sector companies that are closely linked to government operations. In addition, the potent symbolism of

The problem of Washington is not economic or even political, in the strict sense. It is really a matter of urban coherence.

many of Washington's institutions and monuments, together with the density and quality of its large cultural centers, make it the preferred destination of about 20 million tourists per year. This gives the District a privileged position in one of the most vigorous sectors in the economy. Also, the District contains an impressive number of high-ranking universities and educational and scientific institutions. Besides their outstanding social and economic contributions, these constantly produce a highly diversified and qualified labor force capable of adapting to the latest economic, technical, and cultural developments.

A city of fragmentation

The basic problem, therefore, is not a lack of resources or investment, or any radical and unforeseen changes in the city's system of production, or any inability on its part to respond to the challenges of globalization. The problem really stems from the District's enormous political, social, and territorial fragmentation: the isolation, lack of communication, and mistrust—or even open hostility—existing among its various components.

One of the clearest symptoms of this form of urban schizophrenia is Washington's system of physical planning. Even though there is theoretically a single

"comprehensive plan," in practice there are two; these are prepared, published, and implemented separately from one another. The first, in which the local authorities are not allowed to play any part at all, covers the "federal elements"—that is, all those areas of the city explicitly identified as falling within the federal purview. The second plan deals with the "local elements," and, although prepared by the city, has to be approved by the *federal* authorities.

The national Mall and its immediate surroundings form one of the densest concentrations of urban monuments in the world—running from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial, and including the White House, the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial, the extraordinary Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, and the splendid museums operated by the Smithsonian Institution. For the city, however, the problem is that—in contrast to what happens in European capitals—these monuments and symbols have not been incorporated into a broader and more complex urban network.

Instead, they have been kept isolated as if within a bubble, like an oasis of monuments in the midst of an urban mass that has been abandoned to the twin scourges of speculation and economic and racial segregation. In sharp contrast to the Mall, the planning of public spaces is remarkable for its absence in the city's other areas—most especially in the northeast and southeast quadrants, where the vast majority of the African-American population lives.

The same can be said of cultural and community facilities. Compared with the extraordinary richness of national institutions, the local government does not possess a single public cultural center in the entire city. The result is a city divided between a monumental heart that follows the dictates of its functions and symbolism at the national level and, on the other hand, the amorphous and unbalanced local surroundings—an organism within which the most contradictory social situations are concentrated.

A tour of the downtown business

continued on page 2

district or the residential neighborhoods and suburbs—whether rich or poor—takes us through areas that are homogeneous, officially zoned, and introverted. It then plunges us into an urban wilderness with neither memories, local historical landmarks, public meeting places, or real infrastructure. These are areas totally devoid of anything that might prompt a sense of identification or responsibility toward one's surroundings.

In this regard, the problem of Washington is, in essence, not economic or even political, in the strict sense. It is really a matter of *urban coherence*, or rather its absence. This is reflected in political and cultural conditions and strategies that are rooted in the divisions and compartmentalizations of the society.

A city without a vision

There are political divisions between the local and federal governments; there are territorial fragmentations within the city, and between the city and its surrounding metropolitan area. And within the District, there are economic, social, ethnic, and cultural divisions.

These divisions and fragmentations have deep historical roots, and are therefore not easily changed. This does not mean, however, that they are either natural or inevitable. Throughout the United States, both now and in the past, unlimited economic growth and real estate speculation (which has prompted middle-class flight to the suburbs) have generally been decisive factors in destroying—or, more usually, preventing the emergence of—an urban way of life that is culturally and socially integrated.

Unfortunately, the two forces that traditionally oppose true urban life—national politics and financial speculation—are allied in the District of Columbia with narrow municipal policies. These policies in turn are shaped by a vision of the city as an economic mechanism and of the city authority as a political machine in which activities such as urban planning and cultural policy are not regarded as

sufficiently important to merit the establishment of a special department.

What is lacking is an overall sophisticated vision of the city and its future. Until

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such a vision emerges—together with an appropriate strategy for the city's future development—the District will continue to suffer the same problems, without making the best use of its immense resources and potential. ■

Josep Subir is an independent scholar and writer; he is also cultural assistant to the mayor of Barcelona and staff director of the Barcelona Institute for the Humanities. This article summarizes research conducted as a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center participating in an international working group on the District of Columbia, "Thinking Beyond the Crisis."

INSTITUTE FOR HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



IHS is an independent foundation with its home base in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, which offers postgraduate training, research, and advisory services in Rotterdam, developing countries, and Central and Eastern Europe. IHS focuses on approaches to urban development and housing relevant for low-income groups and has three substantive departments: Housing, Urban Management, and Urban Environmental Management.

Two Urban Environmental Management Experts (m/f)

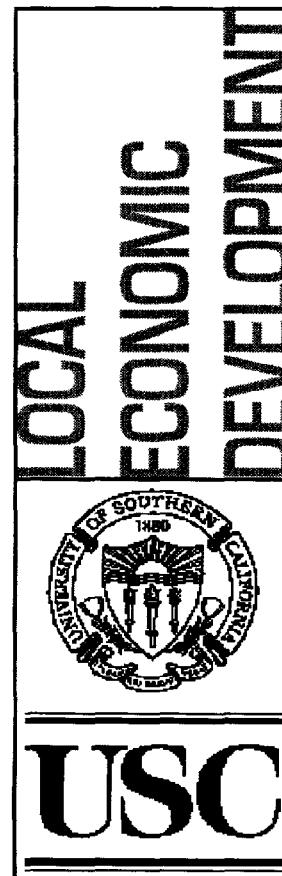
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- Fluent English; proficiency in at least one other major language would be an asset

The position is open to all qualified persons, regardless of sex, citizenship, or national origin. Please mail resumes to IHS, Personnel Office, P.O. Box 1935, NL-3000 BX Rotterdam within two weeks after date of appearance. Further information may be obtained from Dr. David J. Edelman, Chairman, Department of Urban Environmental Management, tel: 31-10-402-1553/1523; fax: 31-10-404-5671; or e-mail: d.edelman@ihs.nl



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Conservation in Cities: Keeping the Human Touch

by Jane Monahan

Culture and the Public Sphere

by Jim McGuigan. Routledge, 29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001, USA.

Conservation and the City

by Peter J. Larkham. Routledge, 29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001, USA.

The Cultures of Cities

Sharon Zukin. Blackwell Publishers, 288 Main Street, Cambridge, MA 02142, USA.

There have always been plenty of arguments in support of conservation in cities—not least of which is the human need for a sense of continuity with the past, and for the pointers in space and time that old buildings, church steeples, public squares, and parks provide.

Two developments triggered the recent debate about urban conservation and cultural policies. First, institutions that traditionally dealt with culture experienced a policy shift in attitudes about public subsidy of the arts in general. This change was linked to the economic revolution that took place in Britain and the United States in the 1980s—a revolution that affirmed that in practically every sphere, including public services like health and education and a public “good” like promoting culture—market forces and a new businesslike approach should prevail, and a much bigger role should be given to the private sector.

This managerial philosophy—combined with a boom in new industries in the media, communications, tourism, and entertainment—resulted in a new way of presenting museums and historic buildings in a city. They began to be marketed as products or commodities that could earn money, and even make a profit.

Private sponsorship of cultural projects and conservation in cities, as well as partnerships with the private sector, began to be sought actively and competitively.

According to Jim McGuigan, however, the debate over who should pay for art and culture, including conservation in cities, is far from over.

He asserts that the second catalyzing development is that conservation and culture are no longer considered in

isolation as separate urban assets, such as museums, theatres, and historic houses. Rather, they have a much broader role. “Cultural industries”—for instance, historic houses plus shops and cafes, or museums plus cafes—are seen as vital building blocks in encouraging economic growth and urban regeneration in cities that have become derelict because of the collapse of traditional industries in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the United States, this development has been accompanied by a massive drift to the suburbs, as well as by a simultaneous increasing occupancy of city centers by multicultural ethnic groups. The latter have put pressure on cultural institutions to cater to their tastes, for instance with festivals of African-American films or of Hispanic theater. Some policymakers believed that promoting multicultural events and incorporating cultural industries in urban regeneration schemes might be a panacea for the growing ethnic and social divisions.

Limiting factors

Two important considerations have limited the effectiveness of policies on culture and urban regeneration, as well as the new managerial approach to urban conservation.

The first is that the decisions and decisionmaking processes are rarely democratic. Indeed, according to Peter Larkham, the changes still leave open the question of who decides what will be preserved in a city and where. The whole issue of decisionmaking processes in urban conservation and renewal is thus far from resolved.

Cutting across the issue of who decides what should be preserved in a given city, and of the gentrification trend, McGuigan says that there are basically two urban renewal models.

Two models for conservation

[P]rivate property led redevelopment strategies, and out-of-town leisure and retailing complexes are indicative of the American model...The European model is associated with cafe society, the city centre as a convivial and safe place to visit in the evenings for all sections of the population.

Side effects of these models, according to McGuigan, include the fact that in the U.S. model, public space is privatized, that is, out-of-town developments are exclusively commercial; and city center shopping malls are locked up in the evenings.

Heritage in regeneration

Regeneration in neglected urban areas has also successfully used heritage as a component in the marketing of a place and its revitalization. “But criticism,” Larkham says, “surrounds the selectivity of the heritage which excludes aspects of local heritage deemed ‘unsaleable’ to tourists, and its sanitisation, for instance in pseudo street furniture.”

McGuigan says that there is also little evidence that investment in culture is a major factor for success in urban regeneration policies, according to some experts; though such investment does change a city’s image with indirect economic benefits that are hard to measure.

There are examples where gentrification has saved an area hit by de-industrialization. For instance, according to Sharon Zukin, in New York in the 1970s pressure to use culture to stabilize neighborhoods came from the middle classes, Zukin writes,

The architectural salvation of the loft districts of Soho and Tribeca...showed that historic district landmark designations and concentrations of arts facilities did not only represent aesthetic amenities; they also raised property values and attracted commercial development.

On the other hand, there are examples where urban regeneration schemes combined with gentrification proved disastrous. Consider the private property-led regeneration of the dock-lands along the River Thames in the East End of London in 1981.

Conservation and regeneration are complex and multifaceted issues. McGuigan, Larkham, and Zukin address and explore myriad aspects of these issues but reach no easy conclusions. ■

Jane Monahan is a British journalist based in Washington, D.C., who writes about development, economic, and environmental issues.

the urban calendar

These urban events and training courses were culled from The Urban Age's current files. We are not always able to list events more than once, given space limitations. Please refer to past issues of The Urban Age for additional events scheduled in 1997. Send your announcements to: The Editor, The Urban Age, Room FP6-174, The World Bank Group, 1818 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20433, USA. Fax: 202-522-3232; e-mail: mbergen@worldbank.org

Conferences

London, England—April 15–18, 1997. **Space Syntax: First International Symposium.** Contact: The Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, University College London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT, UK. Tel: 44-171-813-4364; fax: 44-171-916-1887; e-mail: mark.major@ucl.ac.uk

Warsaw, Poland—May 21–23, 1997. **Eastern European Cities in Transition: Projects, Policies, Financing, Partnership.** Contact: IFHP Secretariat, Wassenaarseweg 43, NL-2696 CG, The Hague, The Netherlands. Tel: 31-70-328-1504/324-4557; fax: 31-70-328-2085.

Miami, Florida—May 28–30, 1997. **Third Inter-American Conference of Mayors—Democratic Development and Hemispheric Progress: The Role of Local Government in Political, Economic and Environmental Change.** Contact: Cristina Rodriguez, Conference Coordinator, Institute for Public Management, University Park Campus, TC 30 11200 Southwest 8th Street, Miami, FL 33199, USA. Tel: 305-348-1271; fax: 305-348-1273.

Antwerp, Belgium—July 12–17, 1997. **The 8th World Conference on Transport Research.** Contact: Viviane De Wacker, Secretary of the 8th WCTR Local Programme Committee, University of Antwerp-UFSIA, Prinsstraat 13, 2000 Antwerp, Belgium. Tel: 32-3-220-4174; fax: 32-3-220-4026; e-mail: dse.dewacker.v@alpha.ufsia.ac.be

United Nations, New York

July 28–30, 1997

International Colloquium of Mayors on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity

Contact

Jonas Rabinovitch
Manager, Urban Development Unit
MDGD, UNDP

One U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: 212-906-6791; fax: 212-906-6973.

Durban, South Africa—September 1–5, 1997. **Water and Sanitation for All: Partnerships and Innovations.** Contact: Rowena Steele, WEDC, Loughborough University, LE11 3TU, UK. Tel: 44-150-922-2390/2391; fax: 44-150-921-1079; e-mail: r.m.steele@lboro.ac.uk

Gothenburg, Sweden—September 27–October 2, 1997. **Urban Challenges: Investments, Sustainable Quality, Identity.** Contact: IFHP Secretariat, Wassenaarseweg 43, NL-2696 CG The Hague, The Netherlands. Tel: 31-70-328-1504/324-4557; fax: 31-70-328-2085.

Education Programs & Courses

Guayaquil, Ecuador—The Building and Social Housing Foundation is organizing a five-day study visit to the award-winning **Vivendas del Hogar de Cristo Bamboo Housing Project** in Guayaquil, Ecuador, July 21–25, 1997. This innovative and sustainable housing project was started in 1971 and to date has enabled 16,000 poor families to provide themselves with decent homes. The dwellings are assembled from bamboo panels, manufactured in an efficient local production plant which uses bamboo grown in sustainable plantations specifically for this use. The dwellings, which cost only one-seventh of the cheapest government-built houses, are simple to construct, and, with guidance, families can build their own homes in one day. No fee will be charged for the visit, and financial aid to defray travel and accommodation costs of participants from developing countries may be available. Contact: Diane Diacon, Deputy Director, Building and Social Housing Foundation, Memorial Square, Coalville, Leicestershire, LE67 3TU, UK. Tel: 44-153-051-0444; fax: 44-153-051-0332; e-mail: 100567.3433@compuserve.com

London, England—Good Governance: Managing Operational Change is the theme of RIPA International's 1997 training program. The organization, with over 30 years of experience in international training and public service management, offers participatory and practical training. The program includes real case studies with open discussion, guest speakers with practical experience, visits to various organizations to examine their procedures, and personal action plans completed under the guidance of facilitators. The program consists of five modules: The Transformation of Public Sector Management, Total Quality Management of Public Sector Services, Senior Management Skill Seminar—Achieving Best Practice, Project Management, and Building a Competitive Private Sector. Contact: Polly Stephens, Director of Training, RIPA International, 6th Floor, Park House, 116 Park Street, London W1Y 4NP, UK. Tel: 44-171-580-7138; fax: 44-171-580-7140.

The Netherlands—The International Institute for Aerospace Survey and Earth Sciences (ITC) is the largest institute for international higher education in the Netherlands. The main objectives of ITC are to assist developing countries in human resource development in aerospace surveys, remote sensing applications, the establishment of geographical information systems, and the management of geographical information. **ITC's Professional Master Degree Courses for 1997** include Geoinformation for Urban Planning, Socioeconomic Information for Natural Resource Management, and Geographic Information Systems for Cadastral/Urban Management/Rural Application. Contact: ITC Student Registration Office, P.O. Box 6, 7500 AA Enschede, The Netherlands. Tel: 31-53-487-4207; fax: 31-53-487-4238; e-mail: education@itc.nl

management believes in supporting the culture of the countries in which the company operates. One of its global heritage projects was an April 1996 photographic exhibition with catalogue in Beijing, "A Spiritual Resonance: The Vernacular Dwellings of China." Impressed by the work of photographers who over 10 years had documented and preserved on film the vanishing traditional architecture of China, United Technologies supported the efforts of the Jiangsu Fine Arts Press in reminding the public of the breadth, depth, and excellence of Chinese culture and the need to "preserve the past to benefit the future."

Esso Chile, the Exxon Company's Chilean subsidiary, prefers to lead fund-raising efforts to attract other interested donors. Esso chose to support the restoration of 17th- to 20th-century wooden churches of Chiloé, originally built by Jesuit and then Franciscan missionaries. These structures are considered the most important ensemble of wooden religious buildings in all of Latin America. Esso took charge of the entire restoration of one of the seven churches that together had been declared a national monument in the mid-18th century by providing funds to replace the roof and restore the walls and imagery. Proud of its contribution to Chile's heritage, Esso used a drawing of the church for its corporate Christmas card.

Amoco, the largest foreign investor in Egypt and the country's largest crude oil producer, has supported the archaeological work of Dr. Kent Weeks at the Valley of the Kings in Egypt. Weeks discovered the vast tomb complex intended as the burial place for the sons of Pharaoh Ramses the Great and is mapping the tombs where the ancient city of Thebes was located. Amoco's grant to the American University in Cairo, where Weeks is a professor of Egyptology, has covered a substantial portion of the project's expenses.

Drawbacks and benefits of corporate philanthropy

There are a few possible drawbacks for companies considering supporting cultural heritage projects. A foreign company's involvement in local culture is a sensitive matter and should be handled that way. A mistake that alienates the local population can do more harm than good for the company and the conservation effort. The lack of accountability by a company's local or international partner in the conservation

project can drain resources and lead to failure. Bureaucratic tangles or thorny legal problems can delay a project. Ultimately, this can frustrate a donor that wants to see successful results by a certain date.

However, the benefits of supporting a conservation effort are numerous. The involvement of a foreign company in local culture shows its sensitivity to local heritage—especially important in some countries where national leadership has expressed concern over an influx of foreign cultural influences that has come through the same "open door" as foreign investment. A grant to save cultural heritage says that a company is concerned about the long-term interests of the country, which can be popular with the host government, the public, and the firm's local staff. This philanthropic act provides good free publicity for an extended period. The company's involvement in a conservation project can add experience in dealing with a government agency—usually the culture ministry—that may help foreign managers understand decisionmaking.

Corporate support for cultural heritage also helps improve the local economy, such as by stimulating cultural tourism and creating jobs, which may improve the investment environment for the donor company. A firm seeking to impress the host government can capture the attention of top government leaders. Since there are relatively few examples of corporate support for cultural heritage projects compared with corporate support for other philanthropic causes, such beneficence will stand out against the charitable efforts of competitors.

The successes of companies that have supported cultural heritage should be promoted. More thorough research should be conducted to identify likely corporate prospects. Prompted by a new approach, the private sector may then be more willing to back the call of Anand Panyarachun and others to save global cultural heritage. ■

Keith W. Eirinberg is a cultural heritage and political risk consultant based in Washington, D.C.

- introducing financial incentives and methods of controlling conservation contractors;
- providing a role for the not-for-profit sector in conservation; and
- incorporating heritage issues as an indispensable part of urban and regional planning at all levels.

Who are the players?

The potential for urban regeneration led by cultural heritage can only be expanded if appropriate roles can be identified for the different players—public, private, and voluntary. In most cases, especially in the developing world, the state manages heritage. However, in a country such as the Netherlands, a larger proportion is owned and cared for, albeit under strict guidelines, by private individuals. The idea is not simply to hand over heritage to the market but rather to bring in new actors who are perhaps more experienced in dealing with the different aspects of the market.

What are the strategic dilemmas in developing cultural heritage?

Policymakers always face dilemmas when confronting the development of their cultural heritage. These issues include the following:

- Should development be centralized or decentralized?
- Should the focus be on elite, prestige, or flagship projects or on community-oriented, local, or small projects?
- Should cultural heritage be invoked to increase the use of facilities or encourage production?
- Are city and city center projects or country and peripheral cultural heritage projects the more effective trigger to regeneration?

There are no simple answers to these questions. What is right depends on the context. Yet if we want to reinvent cultural heritage for the 21st century, we need to address the complexity of cultural heritage and recognize its often hidden implications and benefits for urban regeneration. ■

*Charles Landry is director of Comedia, a research and planning consultancy. He is the coauthor of *The Creative City* (London: Demos Books, 1995) and *The Art of Regeneration* (Stroud, UK: Comedia, 1996).*