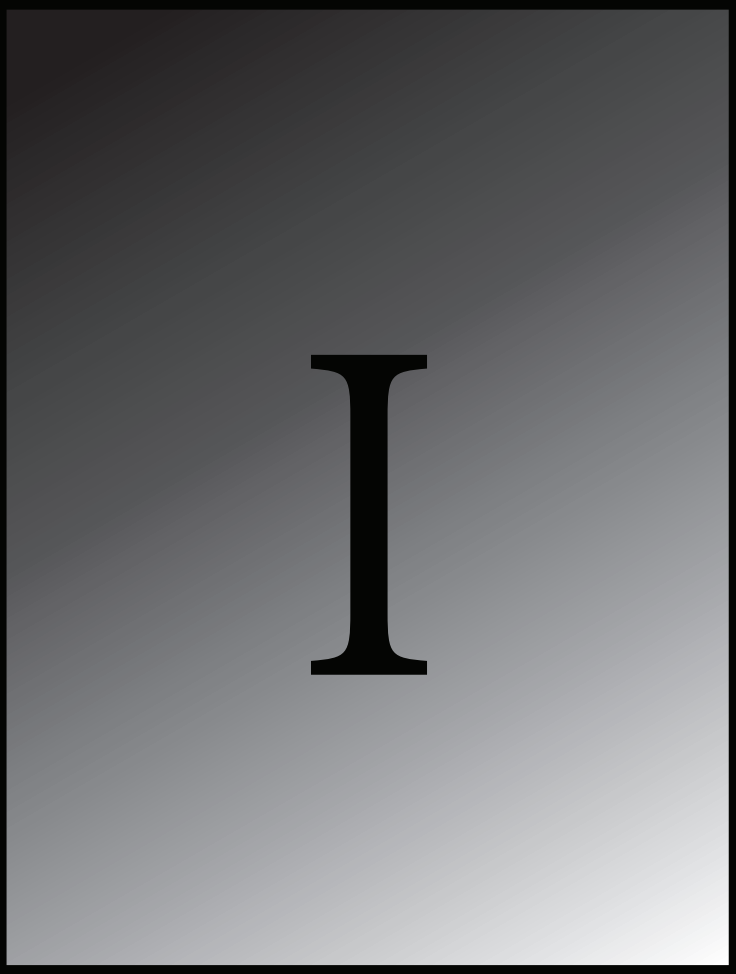
from *Shady Heritage*



toward an architecture of *Frictional-Empathy.*

Act I - Investigation

‘We [designers] feel a great sense of urgency for altering our current status quo in recognising that design has a role - one way or another - in accelerating our current trajectory toward mounting crises or aiding us on our search and developing of a new way forward. [...] Design will continue to produce objects that reflect dominant, hegemonic or oppressive social logics *unless* one begins to understand the complex set of relations design emerges from.’

Boelen, Jan and Kaethler, Michael. Social Design, Social Matter. Eindhoven: Valiz, 2020. [emphasis added]

‘When someone reflects in action, he [or she] becomes a researcher in the practice context. He [or she] is not dependent on the categories of established theory and technique but constructs a new theory of the unique case.’

Schön, Donald. Reflective practitioner - how professionals think in action. Basic Books, 1983. 69.

Shady Heritage: Anthology on architecture, history, memory, power and heritage

From Shady Heritage toward an Architecture of Frictional Empathy
Act I - Investigation

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Author's Note

Throughout my architectural education, I have endeavoured to maintain a critical attitude and been encouraged to challenge my biases. Coming to the end of my master's, I wish to reflect both on my theoretical standpoint within architecture as well as what I view as my obligation towards sustainable and ethical practice. I am now convinced that my understanding of the built environment must be contextualised not only with architectural discourses but also concerning wider economic, cultural, political and social shifts and historical developments.

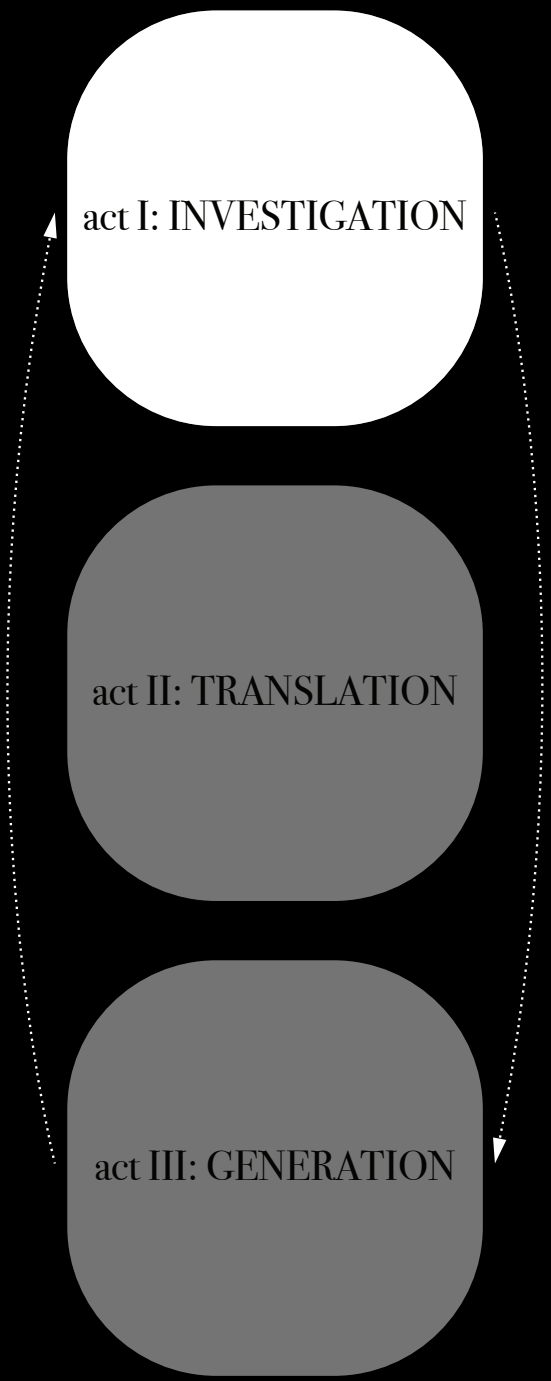
The present world has not dealt us an easy set of cards to play and yet we have no choice but to take on the debt and riches from past generations. This project placed me amid social justice movements that have been gaining momentum. The Black Lives Matter protests in the USA demonstrated the need to reappraise the status quo and reconsider how we remember and relate to our pasts. While the legacy of slavery is less visible in Europe than in the USA, the consequences of oppressive social systems and politics run rife in Europe too, negatively affecting the lives of many. While architecture student associations worldwide are asking for more diverse staff and students as well as a curriculum representative of this diversity, it seems as if fewer students have mobilised themselves to question how architecture perpetuates injustice. This research, therefore, sets out to understand how architects and architecture are complicit in perpetuating inequality and sowing division, and how we can make a conscious effort to write our futures and break free from noxious trends.

My contribution to this tangled world is an attempt at reconciling the past and future by reassessing how architects frame the past through the concept of heritage. This project investigates the 'Shady heritage' which materialises past wrongdoings which have an insidious effect on our present. These sites are rejected from the heritage discourse due to the complexity and the 'tabooness' of their grey histories. However, the ambivalence experienced vis-a-vis 'Shady Heritage' highlights and amplifies the – often hidden - social tensions whose consequences are far-reaching. As such, this anthology provides the theoretical building blocks which support my argument to reappraise 'Shady Heritage' sites and the narratives they bear witness to, as well as guidance on how this may be done. Through the evolution of the project, research takes on a physical form through a design proposal which renders the concept operative, inviting one to take productive action.

I chose the anthology format to enable me to explore a breadth of topics allowing the contextualisation of the theory I present. Composed of six explorations, the anthology touches on topics ranging from the writing of history and its relation to urban renewal, namely though heritagisation, urban erasure, and heritage sanitisation, as well as democratic values, social identity, polarisation, and the architect's agency and duty. The contents page provides a short overview of each entry, making up a 400 word summary of the document.

From a methodological point of view, my intention to reflect on history's selective curation of the past yielded a range of academic and practical references that ranges in discipline, cultural background, gender, and time. Thus, older Western hegemonic discourse is balanced with more recent viewpoints, offering a post-colonial angle. Recent reviews by contemporary academics of the works of authors from the past centuries have been priceless in nurturing my critical stance.

As Monica Ponce de Leon, the Dean of Princeton University School of Architecture, stated last summer, 'architecture's complicity in structural injustice cannot end without structural change of its own.' Act I of '*From Shady Heritage Towards an Architecture of Frictional-Empathy*' invites the reader to reflect and, in time, to take constructive action.



The document was produced part of the graduation project '*From Shady Heritage Toward and Architecture of Frictional Empathy*', and is situated in Act I - Investigation.

Contents

History is written by those in power who have a vested interest in quoting sources selectively to reflect their value systems and suit their agenda. However, the point of view of a few people becoming almost everyone's understanding of the past poses a threat to the identity of marginalised groups whose past is elided. Therefore, there is a need for a wider and more inclusive historic representation to sustain social cohesion and understanding.

Together, urban erasure and heritagisation contribute to anchoring hegemonic histories while repressing undesirable pasts. In time, this challenges the perpetuation of un archived memory and complicates social cohesion. However, there is an opportunity to use the urban landscape to appraise historical wrongdoings and represent and inform our changing relationship to the past.

Cultural regeneration and the heritage industry threaten to erase all possible controversial associations of heritage landscapes, due to romanticisation seeking to attract visitors. However, this negates the memorial value of heritage sites and furthers social segregation as gentrification processes push out local inhabitants to the benefit of newcomers. This poses an additional threat to sites that bear testimony to shunned memories.

Reflective .....

The notion of Shady heritage provides a conceptual lens facilitating constructive historiographic action regarding repressed pasts. Indeed, Shady heritage sites materialise the friction between clashing value systems among different groups and epochs. Their identification, therefore, provides opportunities to manifest alternative historic readings by granting a physical presence to ignored and repressed pasts.

Architects have often been tacitly complicit in repressing non-hegemonic histories. However, the future-facingness of the profession calls for significant responsibility and improved historical and social awareness. Being located at the interface between the council, client, contractor and local stakeholders, architects are well placed to rectify urban erasure and amnesia, thus contributing to socially sustainable societies.

Shady Heritage Sites' portrayal of a plurality of pasts bears the potential to become socially productive. However, doing so requires a significant change in heritagisation practice, namely a multi-stakeholder reconciliation with the plurality of pasts cities host, and the acknowledgement of heritage's communal memorial value. Dealing with these sites requires new forms of engagement and design processes which may yield unique forms of architecture.

Practice

Definitions matter

According to UNESCO, heritage consists of 'monuments, building complexes and sites that carry *universal* historic, art and/or scientific *value*,' a definition whose use of the word '*universal*' seems to deny any possible subjectivity in judging heritage value. Indeed, qualifying something as *universal value* implies sweeping agreement. However, given the impossibility of anything being considered valuable by virtually all, one might wonder '***how many* people does it take for something to be heritage?**' or better yet '***who* does it take for something to be heritage?**'

Perhaps the answer is then that all it takes for something to qualify as 'heritage' is a few people. However, if this were to be the case, given most things are valued by a few individuals, one may query whether everything could potentially merit heritage value. **Could heritage then be redefined more honestly as 'something someone valued at some point in time'?**

However, this re-definition seems a big leap away from the current heritage that is designated as such. **Must we then conceive multiple classifications of heritage, starting with designated and non-designated heritage?**

The interrogations which surfaced when I encountered UNESCO's definition of heritage invited me to prod further, both in trying to understand how one could possibly define the word 'heritage,' as well as my intention to define the terminology used throughout my graduation project to ensure accuracy, transferability and enable effective debate. The refined definitions of key terminology used in this project are provided to the right.

Subversive Mapping v.:
Use of the map as a discursive tool enabling the reintroduction of subversive narratives into both the historical sphere and the built environment. Also 'counter-mapping'.

Map n.:
Graphic medium enabling the (spatial) representation of intangible and tangible data.

Narrative n.:
Product of the linear narration of fact into a rationalised story.

Historiography n.:
Selective process of recording and recounting the past in the writing of historical narratives.

History n.:
Dominant and singular narrative which overshadows alternative readings of the past.

Urban Palimpsest n.:
Concept enabling one to read the city as the result of long-term processes involving multiple transformations, some deliberate, some fortuitous.

Urban Amnesia n.:
Loss of the city's memory due to erasure and/or redaction.

Right: Graduation project glossary

Project Glossary

Sanitisation n.:
Simplification of heritage sites and narratives to appeal to a wide audience and experience economies, thus removing all potential controversial aspects and reducing nuance. Associated with gentrification.

Heritagisation n.:
Process of designation, re-interpretation and rejection of heritage enabling the perpetuation of a chosen historical narrative. Architectural heritagisation enables the historiographic operation to materialise in the built environment.

Shady adj. & n.:
Out of sight, sneaky, suspect, of doubtful honesty or legality.

Value(s) n.:
Basic and fundamental beliefs that guide attitudes or actions, thus dictating social conduct and norms.

Shady heritage site n.:
Physical location where an absence or presence manifests shady heritage.

Shady heritage n.:
Non-normative, shunned, contested heritage that stands as witness to a subversive historiography.

Heritage n.:
Debts and riches inherited from past generations, can be both tangible and intangible.

Social Friction n.:
Potentially conflictual interaction between diverging social groups.

Historical Injury n.:
Past happening or way of life that does not abide by current values and whose negative impact on the present requires historiographic re-appraisal (inherently subjective).

Empathy n.:
Ability to understand and care about another.

Erasure n.:
Deliberate or accidental removal of something, rendering it invisible.

I. Hierarchy of histories

Memory, identity, power, polarisation

The Cambridge dictionary writes that 'historical' refers to something that happened in the past, whereas 'historic' pertains to something momentous or important in history. [1] This begs the question: how does one determine whether something is merely of the past (historical) or worthy of specific attention (historic)? This simple terminology question highlights the biases at work in the writing of history, a tale that is otherwise too easily understood as an objective, uncompromising and truthful narrative.

However, much like any other story, history contains a point of view. Not everything can be narrated and the requirement for selection fosters biases that overemphasise subjectively selected facts. At best, the writing of history is

> 'oriented, not only by truth, but by good. This is to say that morality regulates narratives of memory which highlights that the narration of facts into a single, linear storyline is orchestrated by subjective judgement.' [2]

However, history also enables the intense manipulation of memory and forgetfulness by power and ideological thinking, whether intended or not. There is an inherent danger of authorized, imposed, and official history as not only does the ruling power have a vested interest in maintaining a vision of the past that reflect positively on said power, it also has the authority to disseminate it widely and tamper with archive evidence, thus quashing opposing version. Indeed, institutionalised amnesia, though often intended to end turbulent times, constitutes a dangerous manipulation of memory as it affects a founding component of identity. [3] The observed threat history poses to social memory has given rise to significant research in the field of historiography, whose credo is to study the writing of history and changing interpretation of the past.

Stuart Hall, a Jamaican-born British cultural theorist and political activist (1932-2014), writes that historical narration 'foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes which — from another perspective — could be the start of a different narrative,' pointing to the fact that the redaction of certain pasts hinders one's ability to reflect on the past, in turn affecting one's future. [4] What is more, Jeffery Olick and Joyce Robbins, two contemporary American sociologists, suggest that memory is the 'central medium through which identities are constituted' [5] and Maurice Halbwachs, a French philosopher and sociologist (1877-1945), notes that memory informs collective identity by bounding people together. Therefore, not only does the manipulation of memory affect people on an individual scale but it also impacts wider social networks.[6] Thus, enforcing forgetfulness prevents diverging social groups from empathising with each other as they lose the ability to understand the origin of their differences.

Paul Ricoeur, a French philosopher (1913-2005) who wrote extensively on the role of memory and forgetfulness in the context of social identity, writes that 'there are stores in the archives of collective memory of symbolic wounds that need to be healed,' wounds which could be likened to transgenerational historical trauma, whereby a loss of identity is handed down to the following generation until the trauma is resolved. [7] However, much like anyone else, historians and philosophers are not immune to bias. Indeed, Abdelmajid Hannoum's, an ethnography professor in Kansas specialised in Colonial Histories (1960-), and Postcolonial Memories provides a relevant critique of Ricoeur's work. He highlights the lack of mention in Ricoeur's work of Franco-Algerian memory, a noteworthy omission given the coinciding timing of the publication of Ricoeur's 'La Mémoire, l'Histoire, l'Oubli' in the midst of an intense debate about the Algerian war.

While there is no universal consensus on what histories should be told, whether hegemonic or not, new and old scholarship seems to acknowledge the threat posed by omitted histories and the benefit of reconsidering some of these to reconstruct fragmented identities. Sigmund Freud, Austrian neurologist (1856-1939), writes that

> 'without a healthy working through of the past there can be no escape from its grip, which thrashes us about in a miasma of "repetition compulsion" and fragmented identity.' [8]

History is forever rewritten to suit the needs of the present thus every day provides opportunities to reconsider past historical exclusions.
Image source: Lewitt, Sol. "From the Word "Art": Blue Lines to Four Corners, Green Lines to Four Sides, and Red Lines Between the Words "Art" on the Printed Page." 1972. *faram-au-fait.blogspot.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. faram-au-fait.blogspot.com/2010/06/sol-lewitt-artists-books-at-site.html

Technology is not subverting art without opposition. The New Combine, to put it another way, has its enemies, honorable enemies—many of them deeply involved, on every level, with contemporary work. Their complaints, whatever the source or the vocabulary, reveal at base certain familiar dispositions—to see technology as an alien, inhuman force, to associate its use in art with mere "gimmickry," and, finally, to fear any surrender of control by the artist himself over the technological materials involved in his work.

To oppose technology in art is to oppose it in life, for technology is as much a part of man as his home or his road or his clothes; in company with all these, technology is surely *non*human, but man alone can render it *in*human. It is man alone, moreover, who reduces material of any kind to the level of gimmickry. There is nothing inherently superficial in a light bulb, as there is nothing inherently noble in pigment. If the oceans of oil wasted upon imitation of the great abstract painters in the 1950s did not wash away this fallacy, nothing ever will. It seems we must learn again that art can incorporate *any* material and *any* process, when employed in the service of the imagination.

That technology is a neutral, not a negative tool, is conceded by the best of the humanists, by those engaged in a rearguard defense of Western art and civilization against what they consider the excesses of the present, both in politics and in art. When Lewis Mumford, the dean of these guardians, compared technology to the walls of a prison, he also took pains to add that *we* built the walls, "even condemned ourselves to a life-term. . . . But those . . . walls are not eternal."

On the difficult issue of "human control," however, the split between new and old is profound. It is no accident that the literary and critical establishments reserved their greatest scorn over so long a period for John Cage, who has distilled in his articles and lectures, as well as his music, the ideas most repellent to the humanists; they are ideas, moreover, that have been realized in the work of many artists, among them Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Allan Kaprow, Robert Whitman, the choreographer Merce Cunningham and a whole train of young composers. When Cage recommends, to take just one example, the use of chance methods in composition—the flipping of a coin to determine the order of sounds in music—on the ground that such procedure "brings us closer to nature in her manner of operation," he strikes at the root of Western esthetics as it has been defined since the Renaissance. (To Mumford, for example, one of art's central tasks is to "arrest life in its perpetual flux . . . detach itself . . . in its [art's] final perfection.")

Cage has not been the only influe
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Poetry, mystery and pleasure

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Charles Frazier—should embrace
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There is, for all that, a strong

FROM THE WORD 'ART': BLUE LINES TO 4 CORNERS, GREEN LINES TO 4 SIDES & RED LINES BETWEEN T

while the American-Jamaican sociologist Orlando Patterson (1940-) conceptualised 'natal alienation' which relates to the condition of ancestors of enslaved populations who have been stripped of their social and cultural heritage from unknown homelands. [9]

Thus, there is a need to acknowledge the historical 'greyscale' and find ways of portraying co-existing readings of the past. For instance, Hall calls for the democratisation of history and a general relativisation of 'historical truth.' [10] However, this need is not only evoked in academia, as demonstrated by a podcast named 'Grey History' that states:

> 'It's in the grey that history has its beauty, its intrigue, and, most importantly, its lessons. Furthermore, only through appreciating the ambiguities and nuances of the past can we empower ourselves to build a better tomorrow.' [11]

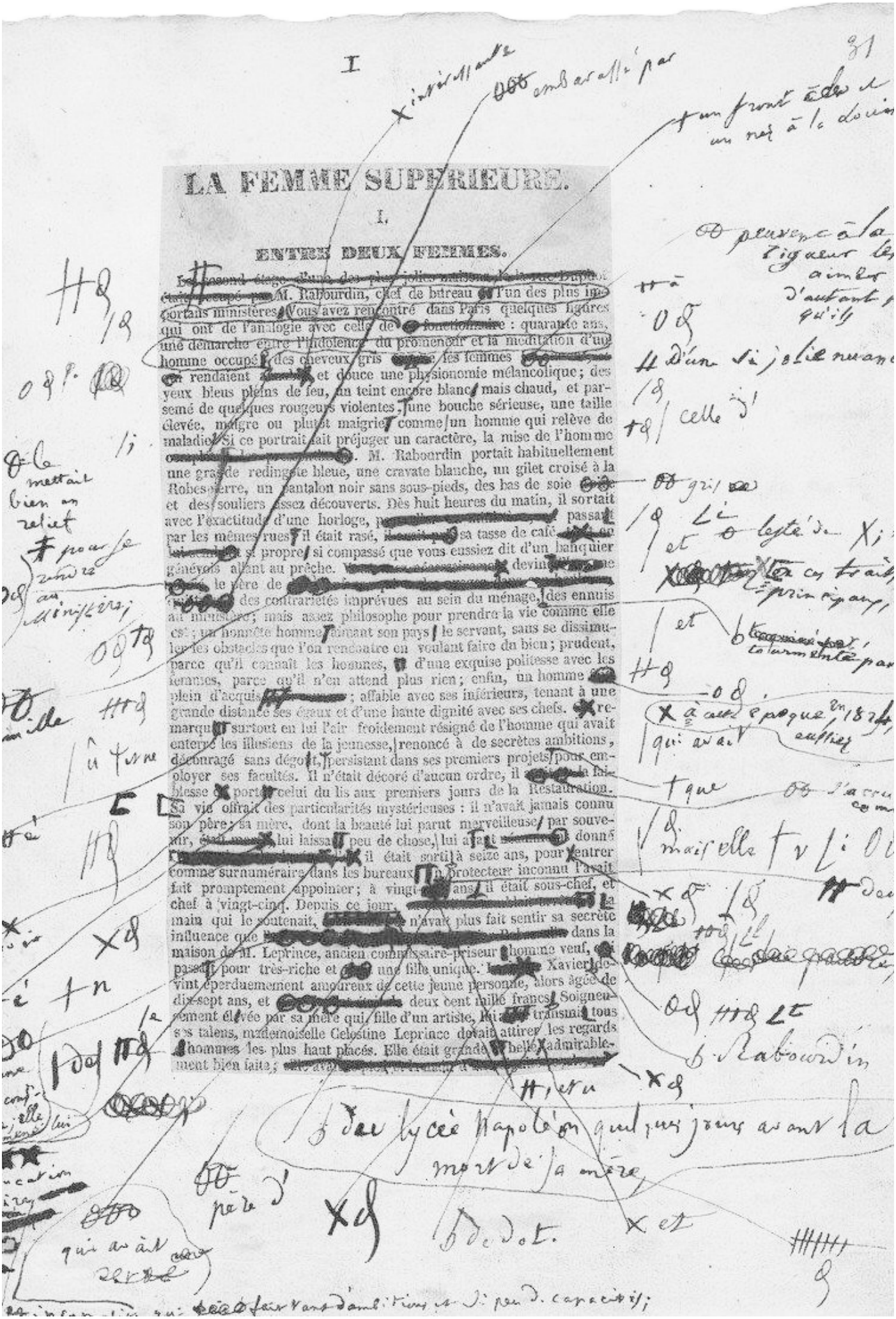
Even though history has mostly been written by its victors, our relationship to the past evolves every day. To reflect this, new forms of histories are being developed such as bottom-up histories and micro-histories. These methodologies seek to reshape historiographical codes by giving a voice to those opposing the status quo. These new mediums emphasise the power and agency of disenfranchised individuals such as women, ethnic minorities, and colonial subjects. [12] Indeed, the transcription of the oral account into paper evidence gives credibility to marginalised social groups and raises awareness of their past contribution in the making of today.

Such efforts manifest beyond history books such as museums and less institutionalised cultural events, providing new points of view with which to examine untested assumptions made on the past. For instance, the Modern Couples exhibition (2018) at the Barbican, London, sought to acknowledge the collective rather than singular authorship of famous works of art, highlighting the contributions made by the spouses and friends of artists otherwise understood too often as lone geniuses. [13] In 2020, the Manifesta 13 in Marseille, hosted a summer event 'Archives Invisibles' which sought to broaden the scope of archival research, including the contribution from different mediums and various social groups. [14] Furthermore, while often smaller in scale, events organised by individuals seeking to bring to the fore personal histories are meaningful in providing intimate insight and reflection on the past, as was the case for Noah Lewis who re-enacted scenes of the life of his enslaved ancestors in schools in the USA. [15]

These efforts are tedious as tracing back the influence of actors who are invisible in the archives require a revision of historical methods. Indeed, at the root of this lack of representation is the easy dismissal of past experiences based on insufficient (archival) evidence. However much is to be gained from such investigations and every day provides opportunities to reconsider past historical exclusions. The question is then finding out which exclusions have been made, determining what (hi)stories would benefit from re-appraisal and developing methods in doing so.

1 "Historic or historical?" 2021. *Dictionary.cambridge.org.* Accessed December 10, 2020. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/grammar/british-grammar/historic-or-historical
2 Hannoum, Abdelmajid. "Paul Ricoeur on memory." *Theory, Culture & Society* 22, no. 6 (2005): 123-137.
3 Riccœur, Paul. *La Mémoire, l'Histoire, l'Oubli*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2000.
4 Hall, Stuart. "Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation: whose heritage?" *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1999): 3-13. DOI: 10.1080/09528829908576818.
5 Olick, Jeffrey and Robbins, Joyce. "Social Memory Studies: from 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 133.
6 Halbwachs, Maurice. *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire.* Albin Michel, 1924.
7 Ricœur, Paul. *La Mémoire, l'Histoire, l'Oubli.*
8 Olick, Jeffrey K. "From Usable Pasts to the Return of the Repressed." 2007. *Hedgehogreview.com.* Accessed December 10, 2020. https://hedgehogreview.com/issues/the-uses-of-the-past/articles/from-usable-pasts-to-the-return-of-the-repressed
9 Lambert, Craig. "The Caribbean Zola." 2014. *Harvardmagazine.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://harvardmagazine.com/2014/11/the-caribbean-zola
10 Hall, Stuart. "Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation: whose heritage?"
11 "About Grey History." 2021. *Greyhistory.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. http://greyhistory.com/about/
12 Port, Andrew I. "History from below, the history of everyday life, and microhistory." *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences* (2015): 108-113.
13 Barbican. "Modern Couples: Art, Intimacy and the Avant-garde." 2018. *Barbican.org.uk.* https://www.barbican.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/2019-01/Modern%20couples_A5%20booklet_glossary.pdf.
14 "Invisible Archives." 2021. *Manifesta13.org.* Accessed January 10, 2021.https://manifesta13.org/tiers-programme/tiers-programme-invisible-archives/
15 Smith, Clint. "Stories of Slavery, From Those Who Survived It." 2021. *Theatlantic.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2021/03/federal-writers-project/617790/?utm_source=pocket&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=pockethits

We write history like blackout poetry, redacting the content which doesn't fit the chosen storyline. However, while impromptu poets take a permanent marker to newspapers making the redaction visible, the intervention of the historians is more subtle, preventing those words from ever being written in the first place.
Image source: Balzac, H. de. "La Femme supérieure. Manuscrit autographe et épreuves corrigées." 1837. *expositions.bnf.fr.* Accessed January 10, 2021. expositions.bnf.fr/brouillons/grand/100.htm.



LA FEMME SUPÉRIEURE.

I.

ENTRE DEUX FEMMES.

Au second étage d'une des plus jolies maisons de la rue Duphot était occupé par M. Rabourdin, chef de bureau à l'un des plus importants ministères. Vous avez rencontré dans Paris quelques figures qui ont de l'analogie avec celle de ce fonctionnaire : quarante ans, une démarche entre l'indolence du promeneur et la méditation d'un homme occupé, des cheveux gris [illegible] les femmes se rendaient [illegible] et douce une physionomie mélancolique; des yeux bleus pleins de feu, un teint encore blanc, mais chaud, et parsemé de quelques rougeurs violentes, une bouche sérieuse, une taille élevée, maigre ou plutôt maigrie, comme un homme qui relève de maladie. Si ce portrait fait préjuger un caractère, la mise de l'homme [illegible] M. Rabourdin portait habituellement une grande redingote bleue, une cravate blanche, un gilet croisé à la Robespierre, un pantalon noir sans sous-pieds, des bas de soie et des souliers assez découverts. Dès huit heures du matin, il sortait avec l'exactitude d'une horloge, passant par les mêmes rues; il était rasé, [illegible] sa tasse de café [illegible] si propre, si compassé que vous eussiez dit d'un banquier génévois allant au prêche. [illegible] devinait [illegible] le père de [illegible] des contrariétés imprévues au sein du ménage, des ennuis au ministère; mais assez philosophe pour prendre la vie comme elle est; un honnête homme aimant son pays, le servant, sans se dissimuler les obstacles que l'on rencontre en voulant faire du bien; prudent, parce qu'il connaît les hommes, d'une exquise politesse avec les femmes, parce qu'il n'en attend plus rien; enfin, un homme plein d'acquis [illegible]; affable avec ses inférieurs, tenant à une grande distance ses égaux et d'une haute dignité avec ses chefs. Il remarquait surtout en lui l'air froidement résigné de l'homme qui avait enterré les illusions de la jeunesse, renoncé à de secrètes ambitions, découragé sans dégoût, persistant dans ses premiers projets pour employer ses facultés. Il n'était décoré d'aucun ordre, il [illegible] la faiblesse de porter celui du lis aux premiers jours de la Restauration.

Sa vie offrait des particularités mystérieuses : il n'avait jamais connu son père; sa mère, dont la beauté lui parut merveilleuse, par souvenir, [illegible] lui laissa peu de chose, lui a[illegible] donné [illegible] il était sorti à seize ans, pour entrer comme surnuméraire dans les bureaux, [illegible] protecteur inconnu l'avait fait promptement appointer; à vingt-[illegible] ans il était sous-chef, et chef à vingt-cinq. Depuis ce jour, [illegible] la main qui le soutenait, [illegible] n'avait plus fait sentir sa secrète influence que [illegible] dans la maison de M. Leprince, ancien commissaire-priseur, homme veuf, qui passait pour très-riche et [illegible] une fille unique. [illegible] Xavier devint éperduement amoureux de cette jeune personne, alors âgée de dix-sept ans, et [illegible] deux cent mille francs. Soigneusement élevée par sa mère qui, fille d'un artiste, lui [illegible] transmis tous ses talens, mademoiselle Célestine Leprince devait attirer les regards [illegible] hommes les plus haut placés. Elle était grande, [illegible] belle, admirablement bien faite; [illegible]

II. Urban Memory and Amnesia

Materialising the past through heritagisation and redaction

André Corboz, a Swiss art historian, architect, and philosopher (1928-2012), compared land to a palimpsest parchment in a landmark text. According to him, 'the inhabitants of a land tirelessly erase and rewrite the ancient scrawls of the soil' implying that space is in a constant process of adaptation, overwriting or erasure. [1] According to this view, the city can be understood as a dynamic landscape which not only symbolises but materialises memories of time past. The notion that the built environment constitutes a repository for social memory has influenced both architectural practice and theory. Mark Crinson, Professor of Art History (1959-), writes that the city is a

> 'collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding' [2]

while Juhani Pallasmaa, a Finnish architect and former professor of architecture (1936-) writes that cities

> 'are significant memory devices in three different ways: first, they materialize and preserve the course of time and make it visible; second, they concretize remembrance by containing and projecting memories; and third, they stimulate and inspire us to reminisce and imagine.' [3]

However, while the ageing urban landscape provides a physical presence to any and all pasts, an urban hierarchy is made based on the perceived importance of buildings. Indeed, 'heritage' sites distinguish themselves from merely 'old' building through their historical importance and heritage status awarded by institutions in power.

Heritagisation, meaning the institutionalised process through which objects, places and practices are designated as heritage and subsequently protected, is a goal-oriented activity seeking to reflect on and use the past. [4] Much like history writing, heritagisation implies a selection of pasts to either showcase or ignore. Heritagisation thus presents a bias towards heritage that conforms with the desired image of the past, anchoring the hegemonic history into space and underpinning a certain political order. [5] History writing and heritagisation mutually influence each other, which the former determining which physical traces are curated by the latter, thus contributing to shaping the subconscious understanding of the past of inhabitants through the built environment.

While history is understood as an academic discipline removed from the public, one could compare heritagisation to a church's stained glass that was intended to tell stories that were legible to all, including the illiterate. Thus, heritage can perpetuate stories from one century to the next far more easily than a book might. Indeed, by freezing sites and stories in time and place, heritage exerts a staying power that 'keep us on the beaten path, loyal to tradition.' [6] Pallasmaa writes that heritage is often manipulated:

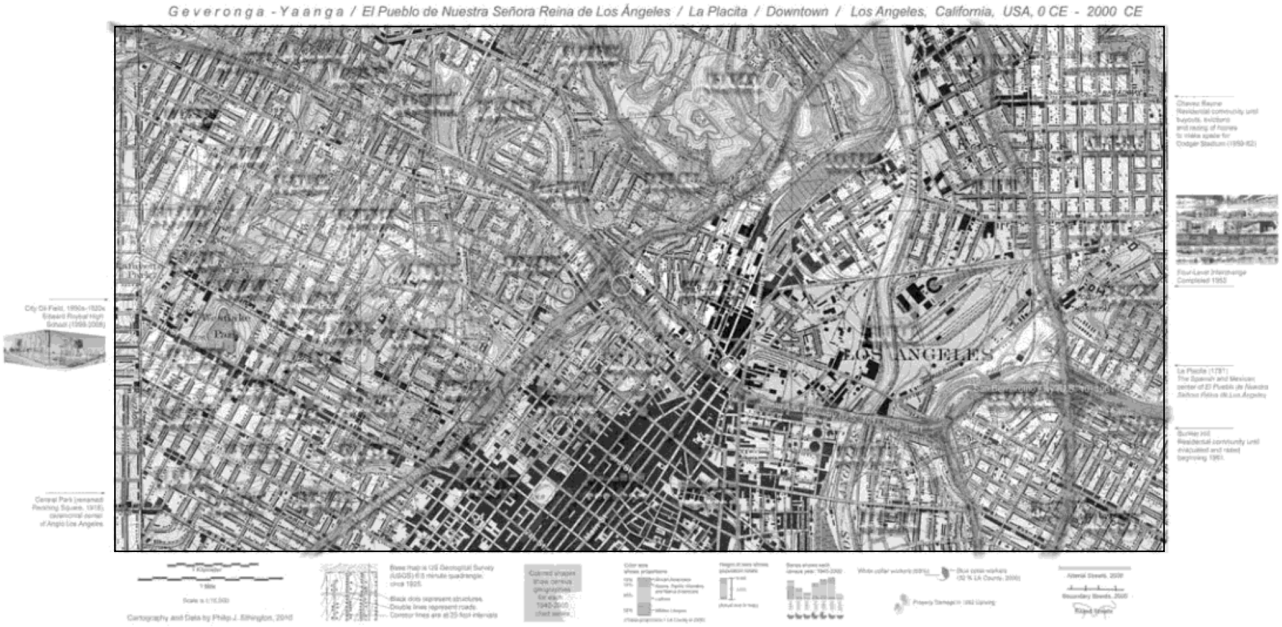
> 'the focus is often on ideas instead of objects with the intention to interpret history for one's own advantage.' [7]

Heritage, therefore, does not curate or narrate the past objectively and it is a tremendously powerful tool in maintaining the status quo; choosing a past to remember is also to choose a future to construct. Here lies the importance of heritagisation: though it is often perceived as a backwards-facing practice, it is actually a future-building practice intended to 'use (and abuse) [….] the past to educate—and at times inculcate —the public.' [8] Heritagisation, therefore, constitutes the primary medium through which history is inscribed into space and preserved for posterity.

However, while heritage exerts a staying power and political orders, social systems and national myths are cemented into city walls, contested memories are sandblasted beyond recognition. Old buildings whose essence deviates from the beaten historical path are condemned to disappear; they are merely from the past and intended to remain there. More often than not, this process is carried out not by one specific actor. Indeed, sites that can offer little support to hegemonic history are organically reused for new purposes by new landlords as

The built environment can be likened to a palimpsest parchment, written over and over again without anything truly disappearing
Top Right Image source: "The Archimedes Palimpsest." 10th and 13th centuries. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.
Bottom Right Image source: Ethington,P. J. "Ghost Neighborhoods: Space, Time, and Alienation in Los Angeles." in *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape,* Roth M. and Salas, C. eds. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001).

Geveronga - Yaanga / El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Ángeles / La Placita / Downtown / Los Angeles, California, USA, 0 CE - 2000 CE



no measures have been implemented to prevent degrading or erasure. However, in certain occurrences, sites that explicitly go against the historical grain are redacted by the institution in power desiring to wipe away undesirable memories, as if tampering with physical evidence of times past: the city's very own built archive.

Contrarily to heritage practices, these actions of urban censorship, whether conscious or not, exert a 'staying away' power. The manipulation of memory, both in its narration and urban presence is a tool of oppression that is potent at silencing unwanted legacies and erasing social identities. Indeed,

> 'demolition implies a denial of the memory of those who identify with certain places and spaces and can be interpreted as symbolic violence, dispossession, denial of identification marks of the part of the population and an expression of power.' [9]

Furthermore, Crinson writes that

> 'if development sweeps buildings away then memory loss and identity crisis follows, thus the city loses its memory forms and can no longer act as a kind of guide or exemplar for the people living in it.' [10]

Thus, the urban erasure of strategic sites negates the contribution of certain social groups to city life and social fabric, leading to the loss of memories which require built or archival evidence to endure the test of time. This urban amnesia leads to social amnesia as non-hegemonic historical narratives disappear from consciousness. [11]

As such, heritagisation and redaction constitute together the right-hand man of the historiographic process at work in the city. These two actions enable the built environment to curate a highly partisan vision of the past, making it a priceless propaganda tool. Thus, the city is both capable of memory and amnesia, bearing testimony not only to the past but also to our changing relationship to it. [12] Indeed,

> 'heritage's axiom is that it is not merely the gathering of significant artefacts that a society designates and in specific temporal conditions to become sign-bearers, but rather that it embodies the form of the relation that a society establishes with its own time. […] Therefore, heritage is a modus operandi of and on the present, which is to say that it also moulds and shapes our present.' [13]

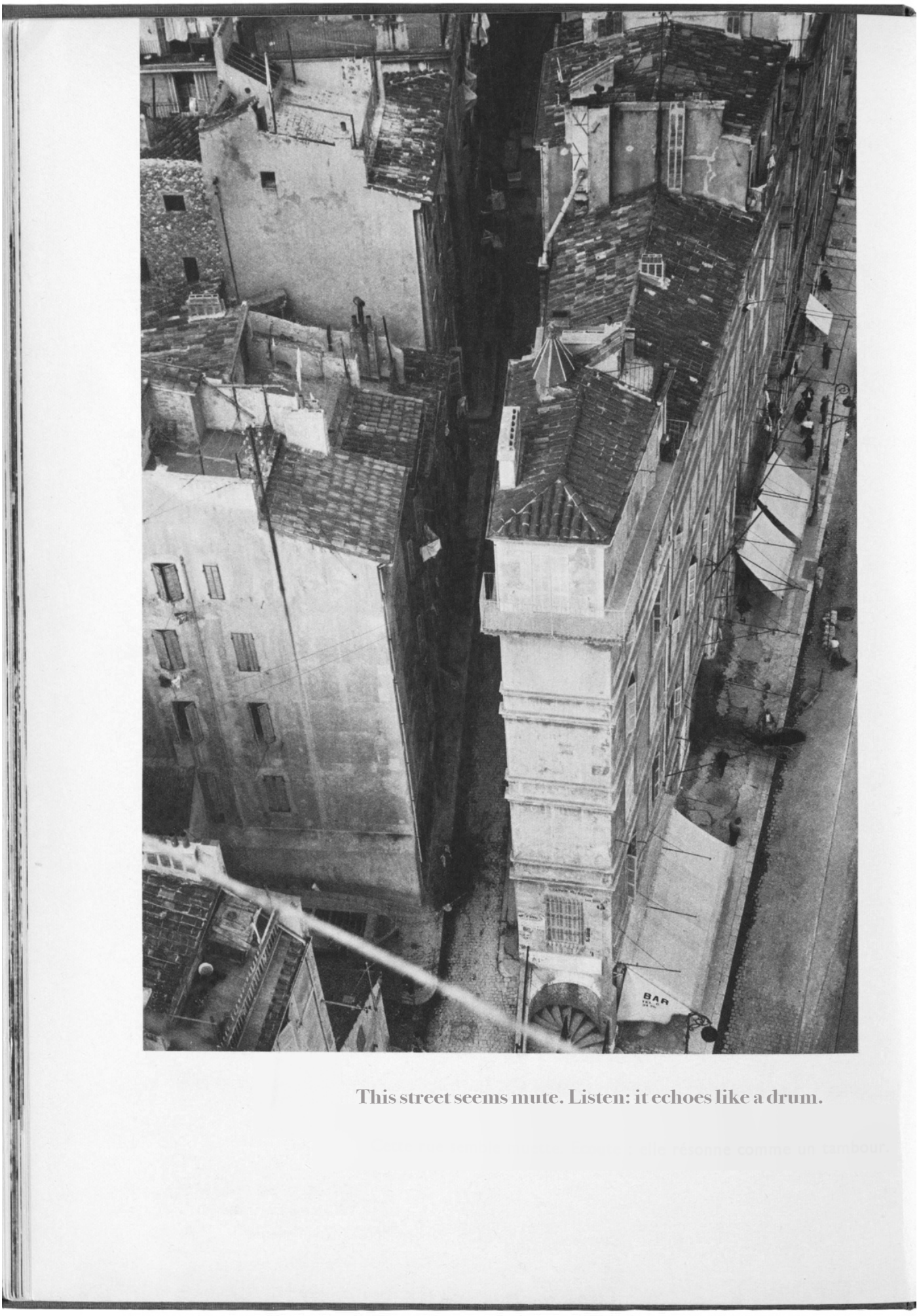
While such erasure strategies are easily associated with totalitarian regimes that seek to censor opponent values, it is a tool that is also frequently wielded under democratic regimes, whether consciously or not. Indeed, John Tunbridge, Professor of Geography and Environmental Studies, writes that a city's heritage landscape is mostly determined by

> 'whichever social group is ascendant at the time [which shapes] the city in its own image by deliberate or unconscious bias in its approach to conservation and alternative redevelopment.' [14]

However, societies conceal significant heterogeneity, which begs the question, when we talk of heritage, *whose* heritage is it? The affiliation of heritage with nationality is troublesome as it implies the cultural homogeneity of a population which is usually fissured along the lines of class, gender, culture and religion. Therefore, the creation of a hegemonic red thread excludes those who cannot identify with the dominating culture. Heritage is therefore a 'resource for conflict' which sows division and polarisation by concealing social heterogeneity. [15] Furthermore, Tunbridge and Ashworth write that while heritage promotes solidarity within a certain group by separating it from others, it entrenching social boundaries, as it reinforces contrast and difference. [16]

The political nature of heritage was highlighted most recently during the Black Lives Matter protests that took place in the summer of 2020. Intending to bring to the fore previously ignored historical narratives and calling for the critical reappraisal of long-accepted hegemonic histories whose episodes of injustice and exploitation had been elided, statues and symbols were defaced, layering one reading of the past with a new, defiant one. Though the city is amended every day without further thought, the threat to the status-quo posed by such urban interventions shook the historical foundations of society. Indeed, the toppled and defaced statues were places that had been frozen in place and time with the intent of establishing a political, cultural and historical order

The built environment has stories to tell, if only one would listen.
Image Source: Krull, Germaine. "Marseille." 1930. *moma.org*. Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/objects/84031.html



This street seems mute. Listen: it echoes like a drum.

as well as a value system. These actions were thus interpreted by most (and perhaps meant by some) as a quasi-revolutionary counter-redaction of hegemonic narratives.

Thus, Black Lives Matter accomplished two things from a heritage discourse point of view. On the one hand, it brought attention to the biases of institutionalised heritagisation and instigated a reflection on whose heritage inhabited everyone's streets, and on the other hand, it highlighted that while historical narratives are inscribed into the built environment, changing the built environment can push back shunned narratives into historical, social and memorial consciousness. Indeed, a feedback loop transpires between the intangible historical realm and the built environment: while history prescribes heritage, changing heritage can also influence our view on the past, in other words, history.

While heritagisation is flawed, there remains a need for a process able to protect urban objects that bear memorial value from erasure. Indeed, heritage designation provides protection thanks to policy and funding and increases the visibility of a site, thus granting the site's stories legitimacy. As post-colonial academic thinking grows, there is growing momentum behind considering heritagisation a discursive practice that is warier of its own biases, in the same vein historiography came into being for history. The manifesto of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies states 'we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that "heritage" has all too often been invoked to sustain.' [17] The aim is to develop reflective, critical heritage practices able to protect the heritage of marginalised and excluded communities. This shift in mindset is also occurring within international heritage bodies such as ICOMOS' which called for greater representation and public participation in conservation in its 'Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites.' [18]

Furthermore, the city needs non-institutionalised spaces able to express memory. Crinson writes that 'because memory has been eradicated by history and the bonds of identity are broken, lieux de mémoire have come into being in compensation.' [19] As such, 'lieux de mémoire' is a relevant concept to reconsidering how urban space nurtures or hinders memory, and social identity, and the relationship between various social groups. [20]

To conclude, heritagisation and (deliberate) erasure constitute the modus operandi through which history is inscribed in the built environment. However, the influence is mutual, with changes in the built fabric enabling a reflection on how the past is perceived, giving rise to new histories. This reverse feedback provides priceless opportunities to democratise our understanding of the past.

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5 Kisiel, Piotr. "Unwanted Inheritance? Industrial Past as the EU Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2019): 1-15. DOI:10.1080/13527258.2019.1678053.
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Urban redaction robs communities of their heritage, complicating one's ability to reflect and overcome the past.
Image source: Clement, P. "23 Wall Street." *medium.com.*Accessed January 10, 2021. https://medium.com/@galimatias.mx/los-espacios-de-georges-perec-3e614f421333.

III. Smoothing Gritty Cities

The Heritage Industry

> 'Welcome to the Smooth City. […] No alternative narratives, ideas or (sub)cultures have been allowed to make a claim on, intervene in or transform urban spaces, unless they have been neatly encapsulated and made servient to the dominant script. […] All opportunities for productive friction, sudden transitions or subversive transgressions have been eliminated. Here, it's almost impossible to leave one's own traces, or intervene according to one's own ideas and desires.' [1]

Through the concept of the Smooth City, René Boer, a Dutch curator of architecture, heritage and art, talks interchangeably of English Garden Cities, Disney's caricatural scenography and contemporary commercial large-scale urban redevelopment projects that bring about gentrification, as if these places were equivalent due to their unwavering dedication to smoothing the grit out of the urban experience. He describes them as

> 'homogenous urban zones without a clear history or identity, with, however, one neighbourhood fetishizing hyper-renovated remnants of the past which have been either renovated or simply newly built.' [2]

By invoking quasi-dystopian mental images of Smooth Cities, Boers raises the reader's awareness of the commodification of heritage intended to serve destination branding aspirations, a process that is far from fictional. Indeed, scholarship talks of 'sanitised' urban environments that curate simplified, uncompromising narratives which appeal to wider audiences rather than entangled, nuanced, and less catchy histories. [3] In these environments, all potentially controversial elements are removed to create a consumable, normative, and scripted experience.

While the current-day relevance of the Smooth City concept may be debated, the existence of pseudo-historical neighbourhoods that use the heritage theme as a branding tool may not be. For instance, large scale waterfront redevelopment frequently chooses to use the sparse remains of the industry to perpetuate an archetypal image of the historic waterfront and create a new urban vision adorned with anchors. In these circumstances, the local history theme is

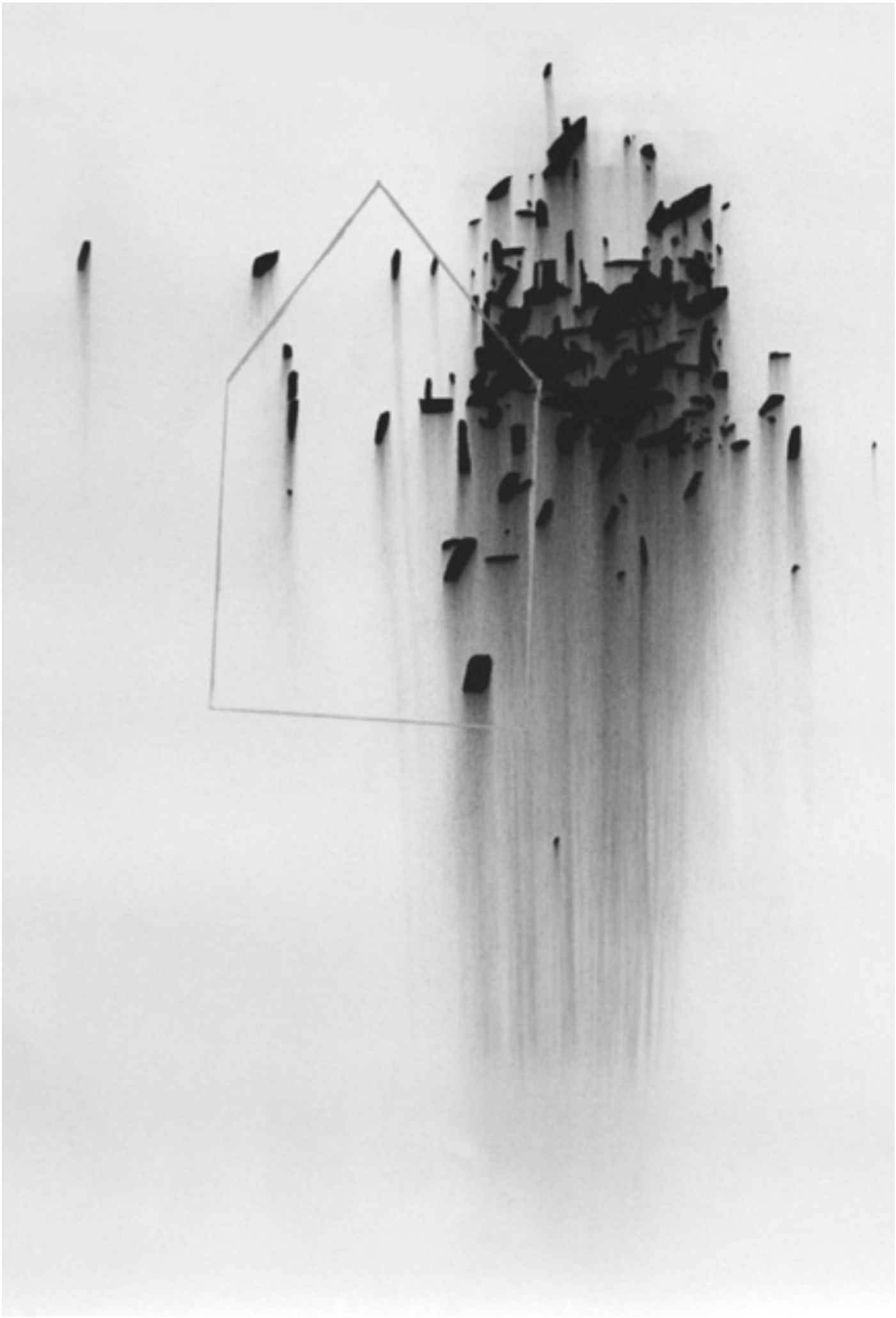
> 'symbolically represented in the built environment through arts, street names, and parks, yet absent from more substantial forms of recognition.' [4]

Such development methods elide the difficult pasts of waterfronts, namely relating to worker rights, colonial trade, and environmental exploitation, seeking instead to romanticise a fictional maritime identity. While this increases the appeal and financial value of the area, surveys have shown that in such developments, inhabitants feel detached from the area's history.[5]

Culture-led regeneration and unmitigated economic priorities attempting to harness cultural heritage as a marketable product pose a significant threat to built heritage. Indeed, such redevelopment processes often present a bias towards heritage that conforms with the desired image of the past, thus contributing to pinning down a single historical narrative. While often intended to strengthen local identity and pride as well as bring income to historical centres, the commercialisation of heritage threatens both recognised heritage through its partisan curation and contested heritage by diverting attention to other sites.

Sanitisation or 'smoothing' processes affect both the selection and preservation of heritage. Indeed, the heritage destined for mass consumption is sandblasted beyond recognition, shedding its social value and historical relevance, and sterilised for consumption. Simultaneously, the rise in popularity of pastiche heritage denies genuine historical built fabric the attention and funding it requires to perdure, threatening its unique heritage value. Thus, tourism and heritage entertain an ambivalent relationship, with the former overemphasising the aesthetic value of the latter at the peril of encouraging processes of heritage counterfeiting rather than maintenance.

Heritage sanitisation brushes away all possible controversial associations of the heritage landscape.
Image source: Crnjak, Dragana. "House # 7." 2007. *draganacrnjak.com*. Accessed January 10, 2021. http://www.draganacrnjak.com/WebSiteFiles/drawings.html



Such heritage biases are made explicit by large scale cultural events that offer an unprecedented opportunity for cities to re-present themselves in a new light by shedding any undesirable associations to cater to mass tourism. This was observed by Piotr Kisiel, a German historian, regarding the European Capital of Culture, a designation that has been awarded to cities by the European Union since 1985 intended as a catalyst for urban regeneration and development. Kisiel notes that the industrial past is systematically reframed as a past that was overcome, rather than as a valued period that contributed greatly to prosperity. [6] In a similar vein, any undesirable historical facts are elided at will. For instance, the European Capital of Culture efforts in both Liverpool and Marseille primarily focused on economic development and city marketing, emphasising topics of openness, diversity, and cosmopolitanism, while downplaying legacies of colonialism, racism, and social exclusion, contributing little social value locally. [7] While it is no surprise that shameful histories are not used in marketing, this bias contributes to negating the existence of these grey histories which merit reflection.

The Smooth City, much like ill-considered cultural renewal which commodifies built heritage, denies all heritage values but the aesthetic one suited to serve the experience economy and destination branding. [8] According to ICOMOS, tourism commodification threatens to reinforce a

> 'lack of understanding and appreciation of the culture and heritage of the place within the wider community. This lack of awareness can hinder or prevent the development of public, political and governmental support and funding to protect and conserve the place.' [9]

Prescriptive redevelopment models do not cater for complex, grey histories, and this lack of interest in non-normative heritage leads to a lack of investment and purpose, causing the wiping out of non-hegemonic pasts. Therefore, culture- and tourism-centric development turn cities into a standardised landscape that provides little space for sites' whose role in place-memory is contested to find their footing in the present: global commercial goals won't always resonate with local priorities and values.

It transpires that the heritage which attracts investors differs from the heritage revered by local communities, as 'anti-picturesque' narratives do little for tourism or economic agendas. As a result, top-down development will not deliberately seek to unearth these stories. At the root of this is a capitalist system that is ill-suited to valuing that which evades financial quantifiability. Indeed, if heritage was to be reframed not as 'an important building' but rather as 'a building that bears testimony to important stories, able to (albeit indirectly) nurture improved social wellbeing and economic performance,' the future of contested heritage may be different. The prize of such a shift in mindset is the retention of (quite literally) priceless heritage that 'offers a "hereness" that reproduces stable, historic identities' for cities and communities in a globalizing environment, a goal of utmost social and economic value. [9]

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What would it take for the built environment to truly reflect a city and its people?
Image source: Young, Nigel. "Marseille Vieux Port (2) - view of the mirrored surface beneath the pavilion." *miesarch.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.miesarch.com/work/2792

IV. Conceptualising Shady Heritage

Heritage that hurts

Current heritagisation and urban redaction practices contribute to anchoring hegemonic histories. This comes at the cost of a plurality of historic readings that nurtures the various social identities which make up society. There is therefore a need to address the 'contested heritage' which reflects social conflict and clashing value systems. However, the terminology of 'contested heritage' is troublesome as contestation being the main qualification of heritage invites one to believe that it is in its contestation that its value lies. However, contestation is merely the result of social and economic powers at work, and it is by untangling the latter that such sites can be better protected and become socially productive. There is therefore a need to reframe how we think of these divisive sites to unfold their potential.

The term 'Shady heritage' therefore seeks to reframe discourse relating to divisive heritage to address the root cause of contested heritage. Shady heritage refers to the metaphorical skeleton in the closet of a city's past. The word 'Shady' is used in both its literal sense, meaning located in or causing shade, and in its figurative sense meaning sneaky, suspect, of doubtful honesty or legality. Shady, therefore, refers to something out of sight which does not abide by current values. The word 'heritage' is understood as both the debts and riches we inherit from the past; these can be tangible or intangible.

Shady heritage's existence results from the shunning of certain historic narratives by the institution holding the historic pen. Though valued locally by some people or communities, Shady heritage is not considered legitimate by the institutions able to designate heritage as it does not abide by the hegemonic historical narrative. Naming these sites 'heritage' goes against the grain of common heritage practice as it makes the deliberate choice to preserve for prosperity the heritage that hurts, that reinforces pride or induces awe.

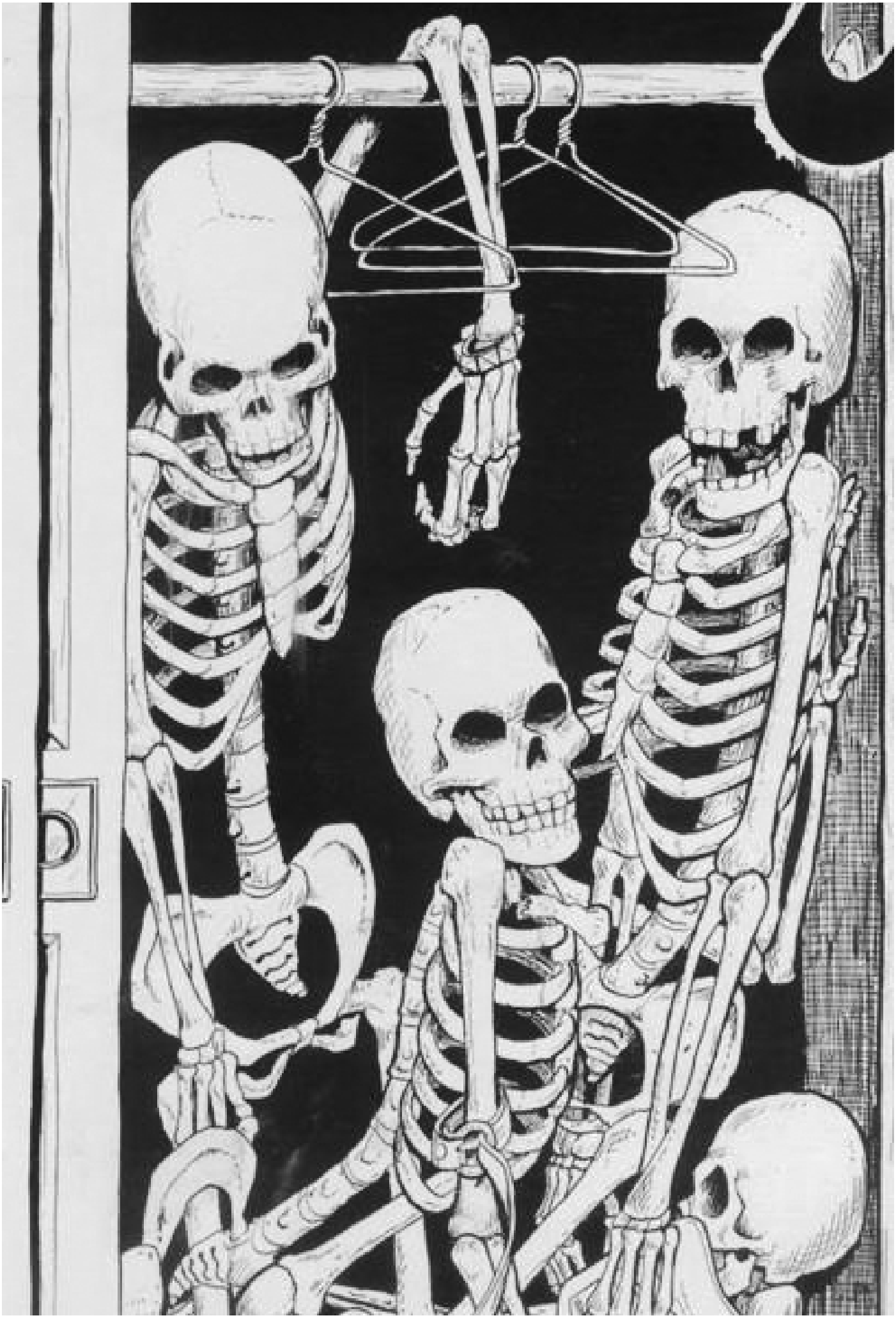
Shady heritage is characterised by its metaphorical greyness and the ambivalence it is regarded with; the same past happening may evoke pride to some, and to others shame or injury. Shadiness is, therefore, relative as it materialises the friction between value systems belonging to different social groups or time-periods. As it relates to both widespread systems of oppression and their incidental consequences, Shady heritage is both universal and specific. Shady is complicated as it relates to entangled narratives that constitute the building blocks of society. Finally, Shady heritage is often invisible and anonymous, as its Shadiness has led to forgetfulness.

Importantly, something cannot be intrinsically Shady: it is (post-hoc) judgment - in 'right', 'wrong' and anything in between – that makes something Shady. However, certain topics can be prone to be judged as Shady based on current values; for instance, growing environmental awareness entails that industries that were praised in the past for economic growth may now be shunned for their exploitative nature and unsustainable practices. This changing view is already being observed regarding the petroleum industry for instance. One could fathom that in the future, slaughterhouses may be widely regarded as Shady heritage given their environmental impact and their role in unethical animal mistreatment which is symptomatic of an exploitative meat industry.

Shady heritage materialises in Shady heritage sites, whose testimonial value has not been acknowledged due to the undervaluing of the stories witnessed by the site. 'Site' here refers to the spatial location where actions that go against current values took place, such as exploitation, pollution, violence, injustice, racism, sexism etc. Metaphorically, these are unhealed wounds in the built fabric which stand as material witnesses to the ubiquity of Shady narratives. Such sites may highlight narratives from the points of view of victims or perpetrators, as well as silent or revolted bystanders. As such, the study of Shady heritage provides a way of reading the built environment through the lens of repressed and under-appraised narratives and their actors, shedding light on the built environment as the stage of social and political power-play.

An important distinction must be made between Shady heritage and Dark heritage, two concepts that could easily be considered interchangeable. Dark heritage refers to sites that host Dark tourism, a branch of the experience economy which monetises sites that bore witness to the macabre and gruesome. While both Shady heritage and Dark tourism bear testimony to dark pasts, they vary in key aspects. Firstly, unlike Shady heritage,

Shady heritage refers to the metaphorical skeleton in the closet of a city's past.
Image source: Eddie and The Subtitles. "Skeletons in the Closet." 1981. *discogs.com*. Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.discogs.com/Eddie-And-The-Subtitles-Skeletons-In-The-Closet/release/674343



the memorial role of Dark heritage has been acknowledged, with the latter consisting of high-profile locations known as a national, perhaps global, scale. [1] Furthermore, given the association with tourism, the agenda driving the curation of these sites is often financial rather than social, posing threats of becoming voyeuristic and commodifying suffering. [2]

A better heritage typology comparison can be made with 'lieux d'oubli,' (locus of forgetfulness) a term coined by Guy Beiner, an Israeli historian, attempting to flip the concept of 'lieux de mémoire' (locus of memory) coined by Pierre Nora, a French historian. [3, 4] The term 'lieux d'oubli' has been used in academic writing [5, 6] and grey literature such as archival blogs, however, most literature focuses on applying the concept to case studies, with little theory outlining the meaning of the term. [7, 8] Furthermore, the case studies often relate to relatively short events contained in time, such as periods of military, political and religious conflict, rather than overarching systems whose traces are harder to pinpoint.

The closest concept existing in literature consists of Tunbridge and Ashworth's notion of 'dissonant heritage' whereby the adjective refers to discrepant perceptions depending on the point of view, and makes an implicit analogy with musical harmony which implies the possibility of a move towards consonance or some form of optimum balance. Tunbridge and Ashworth wrote an entire chapter on 'The Heritage of Atrocity,' highlighting the connection between heritage perceived ambivalently, and places where horrific happenings unfolded. [9]

Shadiness is temporal and self-reinforcing, beginning in its figurative sense, whereby a past event or memory is shunned as it does not conform to the desired image of the past. Following this, the narrative is repressed both in the historiographic realm and in the built fabric. The disappearance of Shady heritage sites leads to literal Shadiness as urban evidence becomes invisible. Consequently, this physical absence reinforces the 'otherness' of the non-conforming narrative making it more suspicious. As the saying goes, 'out of sight, out of mind.' This cycle is troublesome: if Aldo Rossi, acclaimed Italian architectural theorist and designer (1931 – 1997), is correct in thinking that 'the preservation of old buildings is analogous with the preservation of memories in the human mind,' then the loss of built testimony leads to a loss of social memory. [10] Thus, Shady heritage's latency – whether in the form of a physical void and cultural taboo-ness- divides, as it makes cultural trauma invisible and unidentifiable, complicating attempts at reconciling with the past. Ricoeur writes that 'there are stores in the archives of collective memory of symbolic wounds that need to be healed.' [11]

Therefore, much like the body, so long as we are unable to come to terms with the underlying issues, we will remain unable to remedy its lingering (negative) impacts. Shadiness exists within a spectrum, spanning from erased, to ignored and finally acknowledged at which point, a site's Shadiness dissipates. Much is to be gained from this as understanding Shady narratives and the memories and values they originate from provides insight into the identity of various social groups, enabling compassion and empathy. Furthermore, Shady heritage sites are ideal grounds to democratise heritage discourse and engage in exchange as they can manifest alternative historic readings as they provide a physical presence to repressed pasts.

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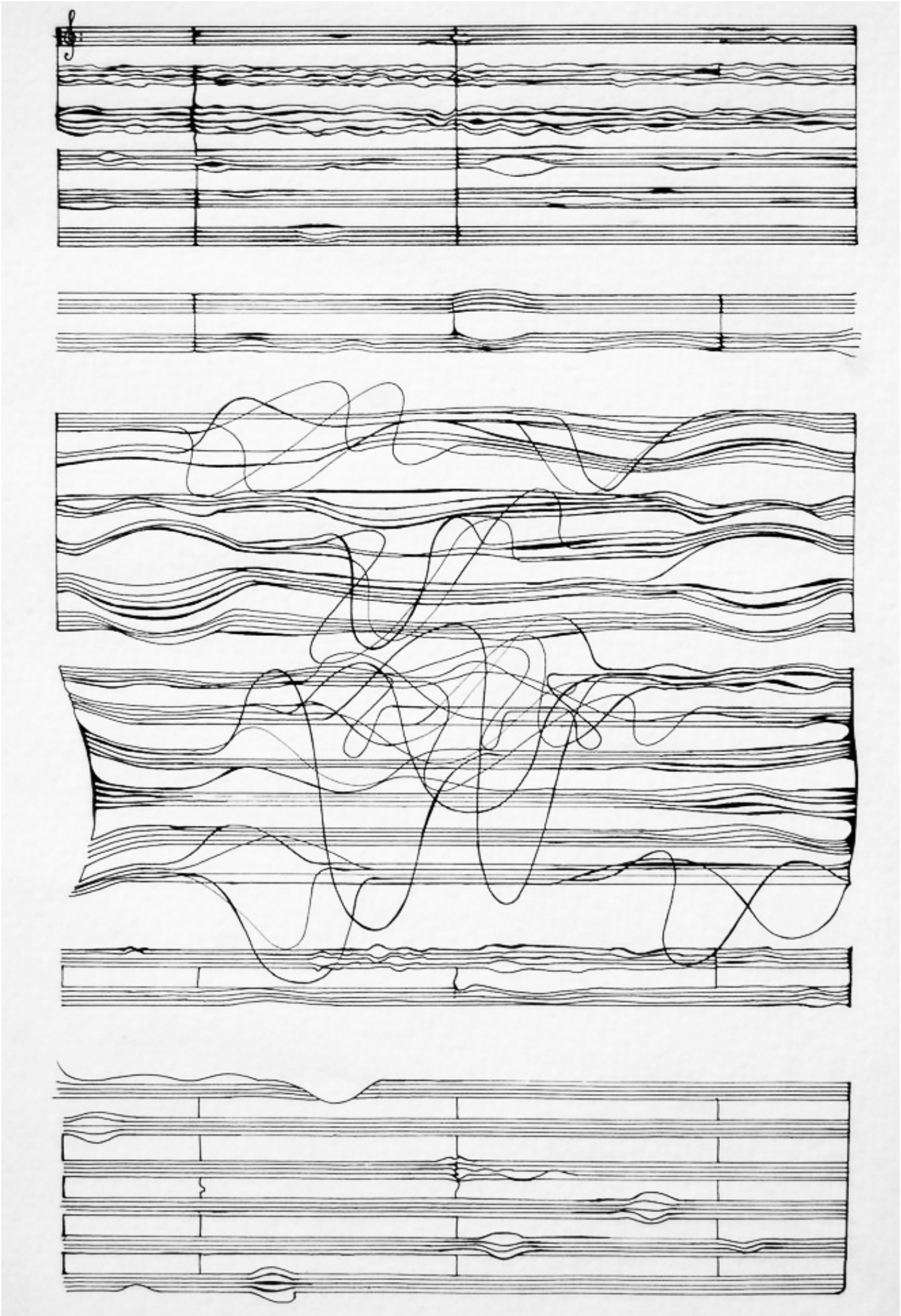
Acknowledging the historical grey-scale and dissonance, and setting the record Shady.
Image source: *marjoloponen.wordpress.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://marjoloponen.wordpress.com/2010/03/30/onko-varilla-valia/dsc_0017/



V. The Architect's Historiographic Agency

Curator of histories

Current heritagisation practises are much closer to historical dramas than they are to documentaries, creating order out of chaos. They turn as many narratives as possible into a single, coherent storyline whose dramatised narration attempts to maintain the viewers' attention. However, while one can decide to turn the television off, one cannot be unphased by the omnipresent heritage narratives that inhabit the built environment. Thus, heritagisation facilitates the unconscious dissemination of a singular historical reading. Furthermore, while everyone is both an actor and a stakeholder of history, everyone does not have an equal part in its writing. Commercial development is carried out in a top-down fashion, prescribing action to be taken. Thus, through the built environment, a few influential individuals exert a disproportionate influence on the perception of history, a process architects are tacit accomplices to.

In light of the threats that social polarisation and cancel culture -meaning mass online shaming seeking to silence and alienate controversial figures- pose to Western democracies, there is a need to enshrine the value of meaningful debate and exchange into communal conscience. There is a widespread social need to acknowledge the historical 'greyscale' that is overshadowed by the dominant narratives with the intent of fostering social sustainability – namely by empowering citizens and creating more inclusive, resilient and peaceful communities.[1] Given the interrelation between the built environment and historical representation, reconsidering heritagisation practices contributes to this goal.

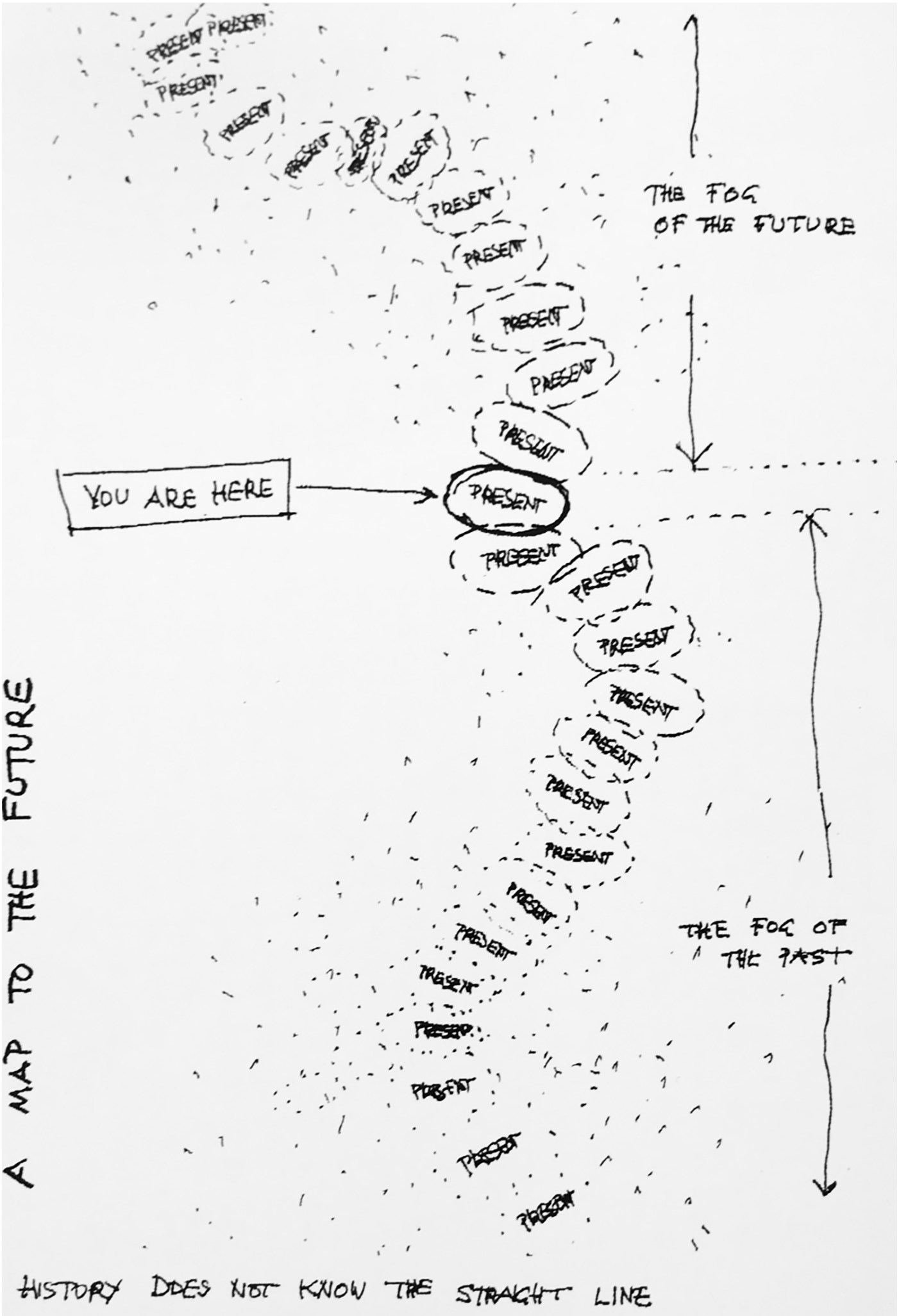
Boelen and Kaethler, who teach at the department of Social Design at the Eindhoven Design Academy, explain that design can be 'both complicit and combative in sustaining and reproducing the status quo.' [2] In the absence of any other urban player breaking the cycle, it is incumbent upon the architect to reform current historiographic practices. As noted in the preface of *Flesh* authored by the famous design firm Diller and Scofidio's,

> 'it is precisely because architecture has the very concrete and useful vocation of building shelters for dwelling that it also has the duty and the right to re-examine itself incessantly.' [3]

Indeed, the future-facingness of architecture, coupled with the ethical obligation towards socially-just practice, call for a high degree of professional responsibility in considering what histories they build upon. Through design and construction, architects mediate between past realities and future aspiration and are therefore well positioned to portray co-existing readings of the past in the built environment. Furthermore, the architect's position at the nexus between investors, landowners, council authorities and local stakeholders provides opportunities for empowering disenfranchised voices in the city.

However, to envision new forms of architectural practice that favour the democratisation of built histories, there is a need to 'redesign design.' [4] New forms of practice are seeking ways of providing the architect with the ability to reflect and experiment in practice. For instance, the communitarian agenda of *Assemble Studio* and *Building Consulting Architecture and Studies*' environmental awareness has led to new research and design processes, stakeholder engagement, self- or crowdfunding models and contractual agreements. [5, 6] These changes to conventional practice are blurring the lines between

The future facing-ness of architectural practice coupled with the duty for ethical practice calls for a high degree of professional responsibility
Image source: Friedman, Yona. "Map of the future." 2010 as seen in *Designing Everyday Life*, MAO and Park Books, Zurich 2014


A MAP TO THE FUTURE
THE FOG OF THE FUTURE
YOU ARE HERE
PRESENT
THE FOG OF THE PAST
HISTORY DOES NOT KNOW THE STRAIGHT LINE

client, builder, designer and user. Herein may lie the key to reconsidering the profession's relation to heritage practice.

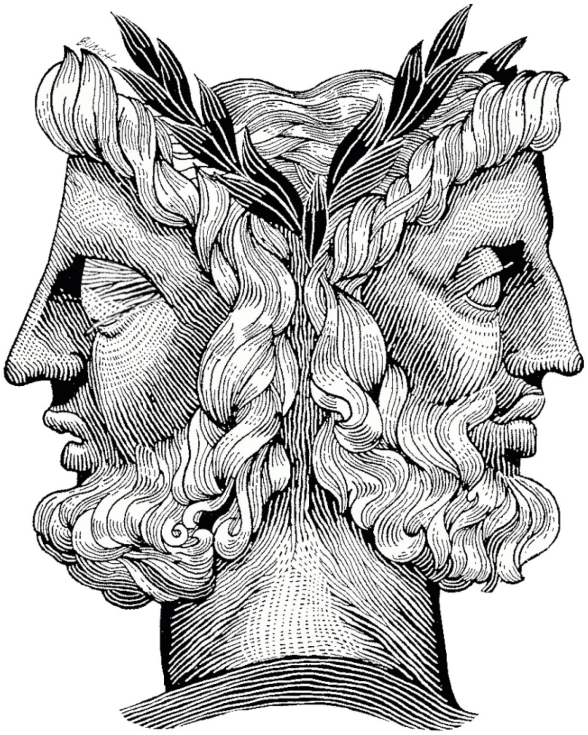
Donald Schön, philosopher and professor in urban planning, points out that 'practitioners are frequently embroiled in conflicts of values, goals, purposes and interests.' [7] Processes of heritagisation are not clear-cut issues and there are many conflicting interests. The values at work within architectural practice do not stop at the selection of (Shady) heritage sites given survey, design and construction bring forth an endless sequence of decisions to be made - namely what to preserve, how to curate it, what new uses to give something redundant etc. Given all decisions carry with them a judgment, the profession must become more aware of the interpretive value placed on built heritage and take a broader critical view. There is a professional need to broaden the understanding that constructing, demolishing, amending and ignoring either amplify or muzzle values, and that architects are agents of this process. Mazumdar and Mazumdar describe the 'value critical' approach to architectural practice which attempts to render 'architects and professionals aware, self-conscious and critical of the values they carry and apply to design.' [8]

Given that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that 'everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community,' perhaps architects can (or should) become bigger advocates of engaging local stakeholders whose lack of financial and political agency removes them from the metaphorical round table. [9] Heritagisation processes must be made more transparent and just, and most importantly, inclusive of discordant past experiences. To do so, the architectural profession requires better historical and historiographical awareness and must embrace its inherent transdisciplinary.

Churchill memorably said, 'we shape our building and thereafter they shape us.' Once this reciprocal relationship is acknowledged, the social responsibility of the architect can be viewed in a new light. Part of the solution may lie in creating some physical common ground: we may inhabit different echo chambers on social media however, we share the same streets. What bigger poster board does a city have that its built fabric to stage our varied interactions with the past?

1 "Five Things You Need to Know About Social Sustainability and Inclusion." 2020. *Worldbank.org.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2020/09/02/five-things-about-social-sustainability-and-inclusion
2 Boelen, Jan and Kaethler, Michael. *Social Design, Social Matter.* Eindhoven: Valiz, 2020. 13.
3 Teyssot, Georges. "The mutant body of architecture" in *Flesh: Architectural Probes*, Diller, Elizabeth and Scofidio, Ricardo Miller eds. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994). 8-35.
4 Boelen, Jan and Kaethler, Michael. *Social Design, Social Matter.*
5 "About." 2021. *Assemblestudio.co.uk.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://assemblestudio.co.uk/about
6 "About us." 2021. *Architects.bc-as.org.* Accessed January 10, 2021. http://architects.bc-as.org/about-us
7 Schön, Donald A. *The reflective practitioner - how professionals think in action.* Basic Books, 1983. 17.
8 Mazumdar, Sanjoy, and Mazumdar, Shampa. "Societal Values and Architecture: A Socio-Physical Model of the Interrelationships." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 11, no. 1 (1994): 66-90. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43029111.
9 UNESCO. "The Right to Culture." 2021. *Unesco.org.* Accessed January 10, 2021. http://www.unesco.org/culture/culture-sector-knowledge-management-tools/10_Info%20Sheet_Right%20to%20Culture.pdf

The need to increase the architectural professions awareness and interest in the past and its role in shaping the future.
Image source: *Bookingnaples.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://bookingnaples.com/two-faced-janus/



VI. Manifesting Shady Heritage

From division to social cohesion

In nature as in architecture, what fails to evolve is destined to extinction. However, the disappearance of Shady heritage sites would lead to the loss of non-hegemonic memories which are uniquely placed to nuance uncompromising hegemonic histories and nurture opportunities for reconciliation. It is paramount therefore that Shady heritage sites are made relevant and purposeful to the present and future. However, given that the odds are historically stacked against Shady heritage, how might one break the trend to ensure their posterity, in other words, to manifest Shady heritage? The term 'manifest' was chosen for its polysemy. In the context of this work, it signifies to reveal Shady heritage in such a way that it becomes tangible once again. However, given the non-hegemonic nature of Shady heritage, this form of revealing can be considered by some as a quasi-political stance of protest.

Manifesting Shady heritage requires dismantling certain mindsets ingrained in heritagisation practice. The first one of these consists of clarifying why heritage is valuable. For instance, should heritage be valued for the memories it symbolises, or for its aesthetics or technological innovation? The consequences of the answers to this question are far reaching as a predisposition towards 'beautiful', 'glamourous', or 'well crafted' buildings often reflects the heritage of the upper class alone, which skews the representation of the past. To faithfully bear witness to a plurality of pasts, heritage must relate to the memorial value of the space according to key stakeholders such as local communities, rather than aesthetic, innovative and material values which all relate to the physicality of the site. Once the meaning put behind heritage designation is clarified - and if necessary corrected - it becomes possible to acknowledge the value of heritage separately for its destination branding value. Such a shift in mindset will enable heritagisation to become less subservient to hegemonic histories, favouring the manifestation of Shady heritage.

Secondly, the safekeeping of Shady heritage requires a reconciliation with painful pasts and the genuine plurality of histories that these spaces materialise. This may be tackled through the open-minded re-appraisal of hegemonic narratives and an open call for alternative historical readings, in the attempt to uncover which histories need to be reconsidered in light of existing social tensions. The widened breadth of heritagisation will allow for the democratising of heritage, tackling the question of 'whose heritage is designated and protected?' [1]

Refining the meaning of heritage value, gaining independence vis-à-vis hegemonic history and reaching out to various stakeholders will allow for a change in paradigm whereby Shady heritage is not viewed as a hindrance but rather as an asset. Only then may urban action favouring Shady heritage sites take place.

The first stage of intervention consists of identifying specific Shady heritage narratives and sites. This may be aided by public consultations and research-by-design which will clarify what and why various stakeholders wish to acknowledge and/or preserve. Indeed, selection and prioritisation are necessary precursors to urban action, and both processes require consensus among local stakeholders, shareholders, council leadership and policy actors. The council's ability to approve, refuse, coordinate and fund urban projects would be supplanted by its role as a third-party conversation facilitator, nurturing constructive debate between actors. However, doing so may require the integration of stakeholder groups within groups already yielding urban agency, namely by bringing local stakeholders into the council.

From the point of view of direct urban intervention, past methods of heritage practice are bound to reproduce the same biases prone to sanitisation and romanticisation. Unaltered, top-down, redevelopment approaches will either lead to prescriptive forms of redevelopment that result in a continued loss of heritage value or development deadlock due to a lack of consensus among stakeholders. Therefore, actors from the built environment such as architects and council authorities must allow for continued stakeholders exchange and nurture bottom-up models of development which are community and site-specific.

George Bernard Shaw wrote 'If you can't get rid of the skeleton in your closet, you'd best teach it to dance.' Perhaps it is time to make the most of the Shady heritage past generations have left behind.
Image source: Rasha. "Dancing Skeleton." 2006. *Deviantart.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.deviantart.com/rasha/art/Dancing-Skeleton-33763508

Furthermore, from a funding point of view, it appears that the heritage which attracts investors differs from the heritage revered by local communities therefore the challenge lies in combining all interests toward a common development goal. However, this is no mean feat as the muddying of previously picture-perfect urban narratives entails that cultural marketing strategies may incur a loss given that ambiguous stories are less consumable. Therefore, efforts must be made to communicate the worth of such new models to investors, for instance by monetizing social value. [2] Furthermore, municipality-led incentivisation may break down the reticence of private actors.

Given that only a bottom-up, participative approach can provide a satisfactory development compromise for Shady heritage sites, it is difficult to anticipate what product may come from Shady heritage manifestation. However, a few important principles can be identified. Regarding the site's re-integration into the urban fabric, the Shady heritage site should provide jobs and training opportunities adapted to the local level of qualification. Tourism agendas should be minimised given the industry's predisposition for simplified narratives and distaste for controversy. [3, 4] This will bring about a genuine shift away from Shadiness, ensuring the site's memory role is woven back into everyday life. Furthermore, the implementation of diverse economic activities will curtail the gentrification process, enabling the site to remain inclusive and diverse.

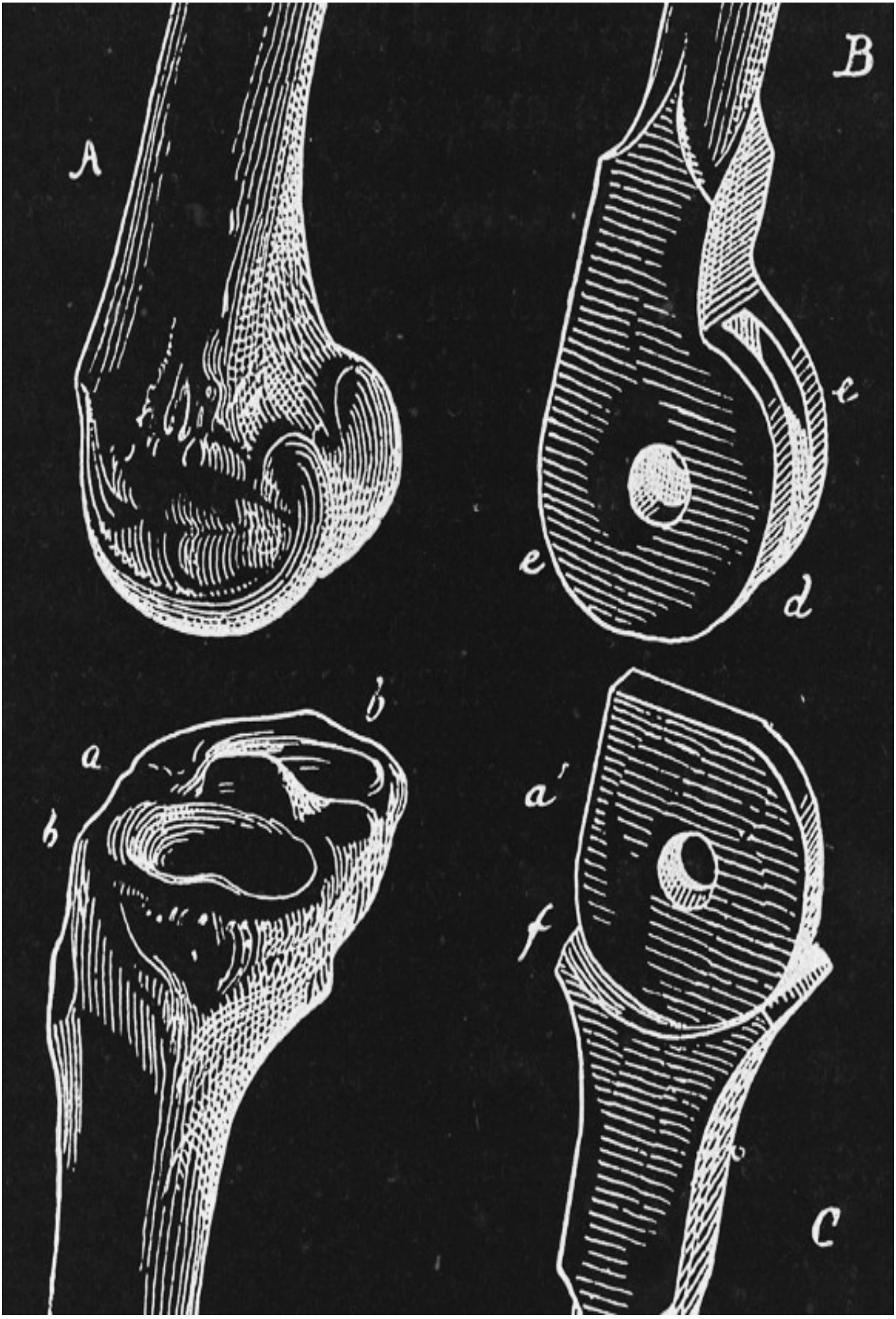
This approach resembles UNESCO's 'Heritage Urban Landscape' guidance according to whom the key to successful preservation lies in citizen participation and the alliance of public, private and civic sectors the city. [5] The result of such a process aligns with Tunbridge and Ashworth's 'inclusivist' approach for the resolution of heritage conflict which seeks to incorporate all perspectives into a 'patchwork quilt' of heritage. [6]

Once manifested, a Shady heritage site should make underlying narratives legible while allowing competing versions of the past to remain unresolved. The aim is not to moralise the past, but to invite various shareholders to the historiographic table to understand the ongoing impact of pasts and build stronger foundations. The cultural and historical contexts of alternative readings should be enunciated, and falsehoods debunked, with understanding and empathy being enabled by specific storytelling rather than an overall romanticisation. This will enable Shady heritage sites to faithfully bear witness to the past and adapt to new interpretations as they become living memorials enabling a reconciliation with Shady heritage ambivalence. This is both an archival, policy and design challenge that requires multi-disciplinary involvement.

Such a new regeneration model will produce more diverse and inclusive narratives and may well be more economically robust. Both the engagement process and the newly manifested Shady heritage site can provide social and contribute to a sustainable and liveable city. Given the increasingly divided society we live in, it not only those whose stories have been repressed that have something to gain from this but all citizens of democracies.

1 Tunbridge, John. "Whose Heritage to Conserve? Cross-Cultural Reflections on Political Dominance and Urban Heritage Conservation." *Canadian Geographer* 28 (1984): 171-180. DOI.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.1984.tb00783.x.
2 Royal Institute of British Architect. "Social Value Toolkit for Architecture." 2020. *Architecture.com.* Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.architecture.com/-/media/GatherContent/Social-Value-Toolkit-for-Architecture/Additional-Documents/RIBAUoR-Social-Value-Toolkit-2020pdf.pdf
3 Avni, Nufar and Teschner, Na'ama. "Urban Waterfronts: Contemporary Streams of Planning Conflicts." *Journal of Planning Literature* 34, no. 4 (2019): 408-420. DOI:10.1177/0885412219850891.
4 Atkinson, David "The Heritage of Mundane Places," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity,* Graham, Brian and Howard, Peter eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
5 UNESCO. "Heritage Urban Landscape." 2019. *Unesco.org.* Accessed December 10, 2020. https://whc.unesco.org/document/172639
6 Tunbridge, John and Ashworth, Gregory. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester: Wiley, 1996.

Framing architectural intervention as a healing process that facilitates the healing of historical trauma.
Image source: *Domusweb.it*. Accessed January 10, 2021. https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2019/10/02/what-we-expect-from-lisbon-architecture-triennale-2019-eric-lapierre-the-poetics-of-reason.html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Findings and Reflection

Act I provided an opportunity to troubleshoot current heritagization processes. I found it to be out of touch with the democratic values I aspire to follow as it did not provide diverse historic representation and is therefore not socially egalitarian. This led me to diagnose the ambivalently experienced spaces that could rectify this unbalance and coined the concept of shady heritage, an urban asset with a high - yet underutilized - social potential. My theoretical frame must now be tested within a specific example. (for an in-depth reflection read the 'Self Assessment' section of the Research Plan)

to be continued in Act II...