CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

The 6th Baltic Sea Region **Cultural Heritage Forum**

From Postwar to Postmodern – 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage

RIKSANTIKVARIEÄMBETET

The 6th Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum

From Postwar to Postmodern

The conference logotype shows a variety of different coloured triangles. This pattern is taken from the windows of the University Church of Kiel, part of the University Campus where the conference took place. The church was built in 1965 and is an appropriate as well as a very beautiful symbol for this conference. Please read more about the architecture of the 1960s and 1970s on Kiel University Campus in the article of Dr Nils Meyers in this publication.

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Foreword

Heritage is primarily not about the past but rather about our relationship with the present and the future and our ability to deal with a constant changing society. Therefore there is a strong need for understanding the active processes of making cultural heritage. To ensure a sustainable development of society, based on democratic values, there is need of constant reflection on what we choose to preserve from the past. This process of understanding our past must also encompass what is sometimes called difficult heritage.

The interest for 20th century built cultural heritage coincides with the changes of the framework and organization of the heritage sector. Given the quantity and quality of monuments and buildings from the postwar 20th century period, different methods of conservation, in terms of fabrics and constructions, need to be further discussed and tested. As do methods of inventory and assessment.

The changes in roles and responsibilities, the different positions in conservation theory and the various approaches to assessment have implications for how the heritage sector's work can be conducted. Today, the legacy of postwar municipal planning and architecture in the Baltic Sea region, faces great challenges, both socially and economically not least, politically.

Deeper knowledge of postwar 20th century built heritage, particularly postmodern built heritage, is decisive. There is also a strong need to elaborate common approaches for cultural assessment and conservation. In order to tackle the specific challenges of postwar 20th century built heritage there is a strong need for closer cooperation in our region. A closer collaboration can contribute to a mutual better understanding of the various values that can be ascribed to this period from a Baltic Sea region perspective and can also contribute to a better understanding of the region's shared history.

Lars Amréus
Director General
Swedish National Heritage Board

Introduction

The theme of the 6th Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum was *From Postwar to Postmodern – 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage*. The objective of the conference was to raise awareness of the built cultural heritage of the postwar and postmodern period in the Baltic Sea region. The Forum was arranged in cooperation between the Swedish National Heritage Board and the State Archaeological Department Schleswig Holstein under the supervision of the Baltic Region Heritage Committee (the former Monitoring Group on Cultural Heritage in the Baltic Sea States).

The national heritage agencies, represented in the Baltic Region Heritage Committee (BRHC), have all been invited to contribute in conceptualizing the main theme. The working group on 20th Century Built Heritage has in close collaboration with the Baltic Region Heritage Committee elaborated the theme.

The three main sessions mirrored the main themes of the Forum, namely *History and Heritage – Postwar 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage in the Baltic Sea Region; Demolition, Preservation or Adaptive Re-use? Contemporary challenges for Postwar 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage* and *Management of the Postwar and Postmodern Built Cultural Heritage*. Discussions following the three main sessions and more intimate parallel sessions made it possible for deepened reflection and analysis.

Most of the lectures were filmed and can until summer of 2018 be found on the website http://www.kiel-heritage-forum-2016.eu/home/videos-from-the-lectures/.

In addition to the lecturer programme, the Working group on Underwater Cultural Heritage contributed with the poster-exhibition *Glimpses of Maritime Heritage – modern and ancient. Elements of modern 20th century underwater cultural heritage and maritime landscapes*. The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage & Arts Council Norway contributed with the poster exhibition *People and possibilities – a photo exhibition showing how cultural cooperation can create new economic and social possibilities for people and organizations across Europe*. The Working group on Coastal Heritage also arranged a non-stop short film show *The coastal heritage around the Baltic Sea*.

Acknowledgements

The Baltic Region Heritage Committee wishes to thank everyone who was involved in organizing this conference. This conference could not have been arranged without professional support from the Swedish National Heritage Board, responsible for the conference programme, and the State Archaeological Department Schleswig Holstein, who was responsible for the conference arrangement. The State Office for Preservation of Monuments Schleswig Holstein also contributed with the guided tours on the last day of the conference. A special thanks to the guides Mr Bastian Müller and Dr Margita Meyer.

The conference received financial contributions from the Ministry of Justice, Cultural and European Affairs Schleswig-Holstein, for which we are very grateful. The Baltic Region Heritage Committee is also very thankful to the Chamber of Architects Schleswig-Holstein for their great generosity to invite lecturers and organizers to dinner the night before the conference.

Special thanks also to Dr Nils Meyer for guiding conference participants on the University Campus and to the architect of the University Church, Mr Erhart Kettner, for his enthusiastic guidance in the magnificent building he has created.

The Baltic Region Heritage Committee is also greatly in debt to the lecturers for their presentations, manuscripts and cooperation in the preparation of this publication.

Last, but not least, we thank the students at the Institute of Modern German Literature and Media at Kiel University, responsible for the live streaming, the sound, the light and the practical arrangements on stage during the Forum.

Anita Bergenstråhle-Lind
Chair of the Baltic Region Heritage Committee
Swedish National Heritage Board

Joint statement. Postwar and late 20th Century Built Heritage in the Baltic Sea Region

Preamble

The 6th Baltic Sea Cultural Heritage Forum calls for the attention of safeguarding the postwar and late 20th century built environments as valuable manifestations of the region's history and development.

The postwar 20th century built heritage in the region reflects the ideology and different interpretations of the welfare society in an eastern and a western context. Furthermore the late 20th century built heritage represents the general shift towards globalization and a stronger emphasis on individuality. The conference fosters to understand the importance of postwar and late 20th century built heritage as an integral part of sustainable development strategies of urban and rural landscapes.

Statement

The postwar and late 20th century built heritage in the Baltic Sea Region is at risk due to extensive social changes and a lack of recognition from society in general. The architecture, ideology and function that intervene in the legacy of 20th century built heritage require specific demands. The practical core challenges are the exceptional scope in quantity, the experimental use of different materials and the rapid change of functions and use. A deepened regional cooperation is decisive in order to safeguard the legacy of postwar and late 20th century built heritage in the Baltic Sea Region.

The Conference call upon all state parties to recognize and strive towards the following:

- Promote research in the field and spread knowledge and raise awareness of postwar and late 20th century built heritage in the Baltic Sea Region.
- Deepen cooperation in order to tackle the specific challenges of postwar and late 20th century built heritage to enhance safeguarding; that includes adaptive re-use and classification.
- Elaborate common approaches for cultural assessment regarding postwar and late 20th century built heritage, landscape and public spaces and promote integration of these methods in planning processes, property management and property development.
- Mediate tangible and intangible values of postwar and late 20th century built heritage for the purpose of integrating democratic perspectives in order to obtain sustainable development.
- Promote preservation and management of 20th century built heritage as part of global effort to reduce global warming. Life cycle assessment (LCA) is a valuable tool in addressing this angle.
- Promote research on a cross-sector basis regarding materials, best practice/methods and techniques for the preservation of postwar and late 20th century built heritage including sustainable improvement of the energy performance.
- Recognize preservation and continuous use and reuse of 20th century built heritage as important aspects of ecological and social sustainability.
- Highlight postwar and late 20th century architecture in a Baltic Sea Region context in order to attract tourism and regional development/foster heritage based economy.

Session I:
History and Heritage
– Postwar 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage in the Baltic Sea Region

MART KALM

Whose happiness is better? The architecture of the industrial societies around the Baltic Sea

The East and the West

World War II clearly divided the countries around the Baltic Sea into two separate camps, the East and the West. This was a completely unprecedented situation, for so far, the sea had been a connecting and unifying force. This is not to say that it hadn't been used to carry out plans of conquest throughout history, be it by the Vikings, the German-speaking Hanseatic merchants from Lübeck, or Denmark, Poland, Sweden, Russia and Germany with expansionist ambitions. By the late 1940s, the Cold War was taking shape with the opposing sides dividing into the capitalist West and communist East, each demonising the other; for more than four decades the Iron Curtain set the balance between the Baltic Sea countries. The line between the two camps simply followed the contours of the territory seized by the Soviet Union in WW II. That territory stretched from Karelia, which was taken from Finland, to Mecklenburg, which became part of the German Democratic Republic; East Prussia was simply made an exclave of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The Baltic Sea was not, however, among the hotspots of the Cold War, which was dominated by the global tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Perhaps the most notorious incident occurred in 1981, as a Soviet submarine carrying nuclear warheads ran aground near the Swedish naval base in Karlskrona.

The Baltic Sea region provided opportunities for *détente* and soft transitions rather than outright confrontations between the two systems in the Cold War. And this is of particular interest because of the alternatives offered here.

The Soviet-friendly attitude, forced on Finland after the war, transformed the country into something like a middleman between the East and the West. In the eyes of the Soviet Union, Finland, having stuck to a capitalist economy and Western social organisation, was half as bad as the rest of the capitalist countries. It was during excursions to Finland that Soviet citizens got to see life in the West, for there were much fewer opportunities for them to travel anywhere else outside the Eastern bloc. The Finnish-Estonian cultural bridge constituted a special line of communication here,[1] for as closely related nations they could, if interested, understand each others language and had traditionally close ties until WW II. There was even some resentment in Moscow over the fact that the activities of the Soviet-Finnish Friendship Society were disproportionately focused on Estonia. Although not particularly similar as cities, Tallinn and Kotka established close ties under the twinned town movement, which served as an instrument of *détente* all over Europe. Finnish architects had their first post war visit to Estonia in 1963, with their Estonian colleagues in turn visiting Finland the following year. Until the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, the architecture students of the two countries even had study tours in both directions and joint competitions. Professional ties often developed into personal ones. In northern Estonia, people watched Finnish television, hoping to access less distorted news coverage. Here the influence of Finnish TV on mass culture, fashion and life style was more apparent. Similar in principle, although less striking, was the role of Polish television for Lithuanians, not to mention the information war

within the divided Germany. In 1965, the ferry connection between Helsinki and Tallinn was resumed. Although the Soviet side was essentially interested in getting foreign currency from the binging Finns, many professional and personal ties developed in the process, friendships between families emerging as especially important. Close grassroots ties between Finland and Estonia were in fact one of the biggest leaks in the Iron Curtain, and their influence makes itself felt even today.

Theoretically, one could think that *détente* was supported by the social organisation that flourished in Sweden, or the Nordic countries more broadly, in the post-war years; it served as an example for many and was seen as outright socialist by the right wing in America and elsewhere. However, the Soviet Union did not recognise the possibility of a compromise solution with a strong public sector between communism and capitalism; to Soviet citizens, Sweden was presented as a typical, militarily aggressive capitalist jungle.

An important exception rather than a typical case in the Soviet Union, the Baltic States were a peculiarity of the Baltic Sea region, one that both mitigated and escalated the Cold War. The predominantly Lutheran Estonia and Latvia and Catholic Lithuania were culturally not part of the Orthodox Russia, despite having belonged in the tsarist empire for a long time. As in the Nordic countries and Poland, German had been the most widely spoken foreign language in Estonia and Latvia, while in Russia, French firmly held this position. For the Russian intelligentsia, the Baltics were "our little West" or "an inner abroad"[2], where they came to relish the European old towns full of Gothic architecture, the cafés, whipped cream, long-haired youngsters and other things that could not be found in Russia.

Even if the Baltic consciousness grew numb to the trauma of Soviet occupation brought on by the war and got used to the situation, the people still lived with the unspoken knowledge that they were unjustly subjected to Moscow's foreign rule. On the other side of the Iron Curtain, however, no one was to know anything about this and the Soviet Union perpetuated the myth of 15 equal brotherly Soviet republics. The Estonian and Latvian émigré communities in Sweden sought to draw the attention of the locals to the occupation of the Baltic States, but they achieved little in terms of influencing official policy.

Aesthetic confrontation during the post-war decade

Architecture was an important means of visualisation of the Cold War. Aesthetic confrontation characterised the first post-war decade, as Stalinist Russia continued to cultivate historicist monumental architecture based on academicism. It was architecture characteristic of the dictatorships of the 1930s. In the Baltics and Poland as well as East Germany, immediately after the war attempts were made to continue building on the pre-war modernist experience, which had at different times fluctuated between various degrees of modernism and traditionalism. By the end of the 1940s, however, these countries were forced to submit to Moscow's model.[3] Following the example of the American-style tower blocks in Moscow[4], similar buildings were to be erected in the capitals of the other Soviet republics, scaled down slightly to reflect the relative importance of their respective locations. While these buildings were completed in Riga, Tallinn kept looking for an ever more perfect solution until Stalinism came to an end.[5]

According to the Soviet architectural doctrine, buildings were to be nationalist in form and socialist in content. As the former Hanseatic cities had a strong Gothic heritage, Gothic décor was applied to the Stalinist residential buildings erected in Rostock Lange Strasse.[6] What makes this all the more intriguing is the fact that, according to the communist understanding of history, the Middle Ages were a particularly backward period in history, due to being dominated by religion. Historical periods only started to become more progressive with the Renaissance, where humanism emerged. But when neo-mannerism was used on new buildings in Tallinn old town and neo-baroque in Riga, this was not so much for ideological reasons, as mannerism was all but non-existent in Tallinn, although Swedish baroque is historically important in Riga. It was just an abstract attempt to adapt the buildings to the historical environment, an aim to which these styles were thought to be best suited aesthetically. As concerns nationalism in form, the situation in Poland was even more complicated.[7] When they were resettled in German merchant cities, the Poles from former Polish territories now part of Ukraine or Belarus didn't feel at home and set out to Polonise key historical buildings. In order to cope in Danzig/Gdansk, they brought with them from Lviv the

VÄXJÖ PUBLIC LIBRARY. Architect Erik Uluots, 1954–65. Photo by author 2016. Erik Uluots (1930–2006) is one of Swedish architects of Estonian origin. All they left from Estonia to Sweden in September 1944.

VATIALA CHAPEL, near Tampere, 1960. Architect Viljo Revell. Photo by author 2007.

equestrian statue of the Polish king Jan III Sobieski. They restored the merchants' houses in a rational, modernising spirit, leaving the main volumes of the buildings unchanged, while at the same time transforming the narrow inner courtyards and outbuildings into communal green areas.[8]

The mandatory Stalinism of the early 1950s did not, however, leave a very strong mark on the existing environment, for the crudely organised construction efforts and by then under-industrialised pre-war technology meant that little was built and many large projects were only completed in a simplified form in the second half of the decade.

A counterpoint to the grand and ceremonial architecture of the Eastern bloc was provided by Nordic modernism, which had started to attract global attention in both architecture and design as early as the 1930s. In contrast to the local architects in the Eastern bloc, the Nordic countries provided the biggest international stars of the post-war

years. These included Finnish architects who had already made a name for themselves before the war – Alvar Aalto and Erik Bryggmann, an architect from Turku whose position in historical writing has unfortunately lost prominence over time; in Sweden, Sven Markelius and Sigurd Lewerentz remained active, while Gunnar Erik Asplund had died in 1940; in Denmark, Arne Jacobsen had returned after having sought refuge from the war in Sweden, and Vilhelm Lauritzen and Kay Fisker continued to work. Emerging as new bright stars were Jørn Utzon in Denmark, the British-born architect Ralph Erskine in Sweden as well as Aarne Ervi and Viljo Revell in Finland. Nazism and the war had devastated the powerful architectural scene in Germany, where in the 1950s, a new generation sprang up with Egon Eiermann, Werner Düttmann and others.

Already in the pre-war years, Nordic modernism had started to use softer forms and natural materials for cosiness and simplicity instead of a cool laboratory-like atmosphere. Traditional building methods, natural colours and unpretentiousness were well suited to the post-war period of recovery. But here, too, the contrast was not absolute, for in the Eastern bloc, family homes, which were on the fringes of the official architectural discourse, held on firmly to the tradition of the cosy home. And in Estonia, family homes took a significant step closer to *Heimatstil* than they had before the war. This contraband of German culture in an otherwise Germanophobic Soviet Union can perhaps be explained by the wartime period of German occupation, during which the architects, who were sitting idly at home after the 1930s construction boom, were, in the absence of anything else, time and again leafing through German architecture magazines, which had been filtered down to traditionalism.

International modernism and industrial housing

In the post-WW II period, modernisation picked up speed in all the Baltic Sea countries. In the West, a welfare society with a regulated free market economy developed; in the East, a society without private property clumsily tried to make headway under a bureaucracy of state controlled command economy, while officially striving for communism. A distinct parallel development, which both sides saw as the foundation of prosperity, was industrialisation. In retrospect, the post-war decades have also been called the high-industrial period.[9] This meant mass urbanisation and the abandoning of villages. The industrialisation process was so intense that the local hinterland was incapable of filling the jobs offered by industry, a fact that attracted immigrants. In search of a better life, many Finnish people moved to Sweden, while Denmark and Sweden opened the doors to Italians and Yugoslavs, and Germany to the Turks. Estonia and Latvia received Russians, who did not just come for a better life, but as part of a colonisation process directed from Moscow with the aim of homogenising the whole population of the Soviet Union into Russian speakers.

In constant rivalry, both the East and the West declared boundless care for their citizens. Both sides aspired to build a more just society offering better conditions of life, all the while refusing to officially recognise the other side's aspirations. While in the West there were young people and left-wing intellectuals who admired the building of communism, such pluralism wasn't tolerated in the undemocratic East, which didn't stop all the population from desiring the shiny stuff in the West. Khrushchev's campaign of catching up with the US meant that the USSR was to produce the same volumes of consumer goods as the West. The economic growth of the 1960s allowed the significantly less well off East to increase consumption; refrigerators, TVs and other household appliances started to make their appearance. All this, however, required a modern home in which to cultivate this dream of a consumer society.

A necessary concomitant of an industrial society with swelling urban populations is the construction of housing on a mass scale, which in the 20th century increasingly meant social housing. In the 1930s, when most of Europe was veering towards totalitarianism, Sweden, under the Social Democratic leader Albin Hansson, began to build the *Folkhemmet*, or People's Home, which involved extensive construction of housing for the less well off.

Indeed, large-scale social housing projects financed with state loans in cities and communes/municipalities are considered a characteristic feature of post-war architecture in the Nordic countries. On the outskirts of cities, low-density, free-plan neighbourhoods of 3 to 4-storey residential buildings began to appear, drawing inspiration

from England. Along the edges of these neighbourhoods, the increasingly popular terraced houses for larger families were added.[10] These settlements on the border between the city and the country offered a semi-urban experience to those arriving from rural areas: the children could play outside without finding themselves on a busy street as soon as they went out the door. In contrast to the city centre, each apartment had plenty of sunlight and a view of nature. It has been said that while in Sweden more attention was focused on socialising within a neighbourhood, in Finland integration with the landscape was seen as particularly important.

In almost all the Nordic countries, housing research institutions were established in order to work out optimal floor plans for apartments, and building codes to ensure high standards. Although the early apartments only had two or three rooms, warm water and central heating were a great joy to the residents. Given the family structure at the time, the so-called "green widows" appeared in these new city districts, housewives condemned to boredom in their modern homes in semi-natural surroundings. Then again, the Finnish feminist art historian Kirsi Saarikangas has emphasised the importance of the open plan of the apartments of the time, where the smooth transitions from the kitchen to the dining area and on to the living room stressed the unity of the family and no longer secluded the wife in the kitchen.[11]

This calming and vitalising neo-empiricist Nordic architecture not only found a lot of followers in Germany, but was also a popular example for many architects from Scotland to Italy, not to mention the Eastern bloc.

Nikita Khrushchev, who introduced the Khrushchev Thaw in the mid-1950s, declared Stalinist architecture excessive and demanded a transition to industrial methods of construction. This meant that global modernist architecture was now accepted in the Eastern bloc. But in the 1960s and 1970s, architecture in the Nordic countries was also losing its regional character and took on the form of homogenised international modernism. Similarities between the architecture in the East and West didn't mean that Cold War rivalry was coming to an end; rather, there was now an ambition to compete in the same weight class.

From 1959, housing factories using the Camus technology bought from the French to produce prefabricated concrete panels the size of a whole room were erected all over the Eastern bloc and kept churning out panels until the collapse of the system in 1991. And so, *Plattenbauten*, or housing constructed of large prefabricated concrete panels, can be found from Vladivostok to East Berlin, even on legendary Friedrichstrasse. The first 5-storey *Plattenbauten*, which are known as *khrushchovkas* in Russian, mainly had 2-room apartments; over the years, 9, 12 and 16-storey blocks were introduced, with increasingly spacious apartments. In the Nordic countries, apartments grew larger with each decade, and the Eastern bloc never caught up with the mass construction of 100-square-metre, 4-room apartments in Sweden in the 1980s.

As the Eastern bloc was experiencing the most acute apartment shortage, with masses of people living in communal apartments, and the governments building on state land, they didn't bother with small neighbourhoods as in the Nordic countries. In the Eastern bloc, the equivalent of a neighbourhood was a micro-district, or microrayon: a school and a kindergarten surrounded by apartment buildings; as a rule, however, new residential districts were made up of roughly ten such micro-districts, and towards the end of the Soviet era, districts with several hundreds of thousands of residents were planned. This pursuit of large volumes was somewhat similar to the Swedish Social Democrat programme of building a million apartments, which was realised in ten years between 1964 and 1974. Both aimed to ensure the happiness of the citizens by constructing homes with modern amenities for them. Although the neighbourhoods never reached such gigantic dimensions in Sweden, the country did introduce the industrialised production of housing made of prefabricated concrete slabs.[12] Now the Swedes experienced firsthand what was long since clear to the people in the Eastern bloc, that even if the policy goal of building an apartment for every family is achieved, the mass construction campaign results in a dreary, unarchitectural environment with poor building quality, with the landscaping typically not fitting in the budget.

While in the rest of the Soviet Union new housing districts were usually built in empty fields outside the city, in the Baltic republics attempts were made at least to some extent to take into account the surrounding natural environment and adapt

SUMMER COTTAGE of architect Modris Gelzis in Saulkrasti, Latvia, 1959–60. Photo by author 2011.

to the existing landscape, following the example of Helsinki's Tapiola district in particular, but also other developments. Starting from the late 1950s, the Agenskalna priedes district in Riga and Mustamäe in Tallinn were both built in a pine grove. However, being used to plodding about freely, the builders only managed to leave a few pine trees standing. Built in the 1960s, the Lazdynai district in Vilnius[13] was more of a success, as the builders actually managed to arrange the houses within the surrounding greenery. The architects never made a secret of the fact that they used Toulouse-Le Mirail, Vällingby and Tapiola as their models. Unfortunately, the element most strongly reminiscent of Vällingby – a cultural and shopping centre across the trenched motorway to the city centre – was planned but never built. Despite that, however, Lazdynai received the highest award in the USSR, the Lenin Prize, from Moscow in 1972, and was to serve as an example for future projects.

In Central and Northern Europe, workers living in apartment buildings had been cultivating small patches of land in allotment gardens, or *Schrebergärten*, outside the city since the early 20th century. These offered activities in the fresh air for both visual pleasure and dietary variety. In the Soviet Union, the establishment of gardening cooperatives was permitted from the late 1950s, as mass housing construction was picking up speed. Given the constant shortage of foodstuffs in the Soviet Union, growing your own food was of vital importance. While this lovely hobby allowed for experiments in landscape architecture when planning the allotments in Denmark (e.g. Naerum), in the Soviet Union people stuck to the plain old grid plan. This is not to say that people didn't invest much in their garden houses, however; designed by architects, these sometimes looked quite smart. Cottages further away from the city, often by a lake or on the coast, became very popular in the Nordic countries

FARUM MIDTPUNKT HOUSING in Copenhagen, 1972–75. Architects Jørn Ole Sørensen, Viggo Møller-Jensen and Tyge Arnfred. Photo by author 2012.

in the post-war decades, but were quite widespread in the Baltics, too. Added to this in the 1960s, was the introduction of Finnish saunas, which transformed what had been a washing place into a party venue. Company holiday houses for employees were common in the West, but became especially popular in the Eastern bloc, which officially promoted a collective way of life.

As the German researcher Elke Beyer points out, the idea that the existing urban planning based on expert knowledge was inadequate was gaining ground in the East as well as the West in the 1970s, and traditional architectural knowledge was increasingly valued.[14] The East, where most of the buildings constructed only came from the housing factories, envied the West, where low-rise, high-density housing was built widely in the 1970s. Among the most exciting experiments in this field is the Farum Midtpunkt (designed by Jørn Ole Sørensen, Viggo Møller-Jensen and Tyge Arnfred, 1972–75) in Copenhagen, a group of residential buildings, which takes its cue from the world of mega structures. Cars enter under the buildings and people are led to each apartment along inner streets; as a result, the only views of the natural surroundings open from the apartments' spacious terraces.

Although rare, attempts to build such gigantic social containers can also be found in the Eastern bloc. In Estonia, the Kolkhoz Construction Office of the Pärnu region built a stepped house almost a kilometre long for its staff (designed by Toomas Rein, from 1971).[15] An inner street at ground floor level brings together the residents from both wings of the building to the centre, where a shop was planned but never built, leading on to a kindergarten and sports complex. Although the kindergarten was completed, the absence of the shop means it is not accessible through corridors and children still need to be dressed warmly to be taken across the yard in the winter.

THE LONG HOUSE of the Pärnu KEK, Estonia, from 1971, architect Toomas Rein. Photo by author 2016.

PALACE OF WEDDINGS, Vilnius, 1968–74. Architect Gediminas Baravykas. Photo by author 2014.

Playground of architects

Industrial mass construction pushed the architect aside in both the East and the West; with the crisis of modernism, a distrust of expert knowledge followed starting from the 1970s. While before the war architects were increasing their grip on construction, now they maintained control over just a fraction of the construction process, despite the increasingly huge numbers of architects being trained.

The standard view is that equality between men and women has been cultivated for a long time in the Nordic countries and not so in the post-communist societies. Nevertheless, the post-war architects in the Nordic countries were mostly men, although they may have had strong wives by their side (for example, Heikki and Kaija Sirén or Reima and Raili Pietilä). In the Baltics, however, where Soviet modernisation brought large numbers of young women into universities right after

the war, female architects emerged as very important indeed. In Estonia, Valve Pormeister, who had a background in landscape architecture, was among the most highly esteemed promoters of Nordic modernism starting from the late 1950s.[16] In Latvia, Marta Staņa, who began her architectural education already before the war, was among the co-designers of the Daile Theatre (1961–76) in Riga, a central piece of post-Stalinist modernism in the country.[17] Elena Nijolė Bučiūtė won a competition and designed the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre (1960–74) in Vilnius.[18]

In the egalitarian Nordic countries, churches were a laboratory of architectural experimentation and a key opportunity for architects' self-expression in the second half of the 20th century. The distinctive church buildings with their sculptural forms stood out against the conformist background architecture. In the Eastern bloc, churches were being built in Poland, especially in the 1980s, after the Gdańsk strikes, when extravagant religious architecture served the function of demonstrating opposition to the authorities. In Lithuania, another Catholic country, the Soviet authorities, however, invested effort into rituals aimed at replacing the church, and so ostentatious wedding palaces and funeral homes were built.[19]

Cultural transfer

Throughout the entire post-Stalinist period, attempts to emulate Western architecture are observable in the Eastern bloc. Nordic architecture was enjoying its heyday and was more familiar, which made it a likely model during that period in particular. Sometimes, however, the transfers could also be based on chance or pragmatism. The inclined side walls of the long volume of the 1972 Olympic Centre in Kiel (Olympiazentrum Schilksee) reappeared in the hotel section of the Tallinn Olympic Yachting Centre erected for the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. Although this was a rather common device in the architecture of the time, the functional similarity of the buildings alerts one to the possibility of a connection. Indeed, the then city architect of Tallinn Dmitri Bruns came from a mixed family and was fluent in German as well as having close ties with architects in Hamburg. He was able to get hold of the design documents for the Kiel building, which were relied on when drawing up the conditions for the Tallinn competition.

The Baltic Sea countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain also had some shared sources of inspiration. During the Cold War, Germany and Northern Europe were among the most receptive to American influences. In the USSR, however, a bipolar worldview of a race between Moscow and Washington dominated. While during the Khrushchev Thaw around the turn of the 1960s the goal had been to catch up with America in terms of welfare (i.e. consumption), this pursuit was given up as hopeless during the 1960s, focusing on rivalry in the conquest of space instead. The corporate modernism of American architecture, as exemplified by the minimalist, coolly anonymous General Motors Technical Center in Warren (1948–55) by Finnish-born architect Eero Saarinen, was perfectly capable of serving as a model for both Arne Jacobsen, when he designed the Rødovre Town Hall (1956–69) outside Copenhagen, and Ell Väärtnõu, when she designed the kolkhoz sanatorium "Tervis" (1967–71) in Pärnu. The universality of modernism made the same aesthetic code serve the needs of a technical centre of a major corporation, a social democratic municipality and Soviet veteran workers alike.

These instances of cultural transfer should not, however, be seen as mere pairs of giver and taker, original and copy. And it is not just that borrowed ideas are always treated differently in new circumstances; in the Baltics, the primary importance of these loans was to reaffirm being part of Western culture despite the Soviet occupation. It is disputable whether this attitude was part of a resistance movement or intentional collaboration where imitating the West gave architects an advantage over their colleagues in Moscow. In any case, what was important was to be different from the rest of the Soviet Union and to build one's identity on being different.

Despite the fact that the Cold War divided the Baltic Sea countries between different sides of the Iron Curtain, which the people were able to perforate with peepholes, both sides sought to build a happy society through intensive industrialisation. The contemporaries on both sides were unhappy with much of the new architecture, but the half-century that has passed since then has healed the wounds. Today, the buildings constructed at the time are instead seen as heritage, which in turn is forcing us to revise the current principles of heritage conservation. This, however, is an exciting task that is still on-going.

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DAVID CHIPPERFIELD

Restorations and Reconstructions: Reflections on Berlin

I come here today not as somebody who can talk with much authority on heritage, and I must admit that I am not particularly fascinated with heritage per se. As an architect, I happen to have become involved in heritage. However, looking at heritage as something not only from the distant past but also as something closer to our time can bring us into a stronger dialogue with a fundamental issue in architecture: its meaning to society. I hope to illustrate this through sharing some of my experiences.

I come here from a battleground, from the frontline. When I look out from the window of my office in London I see a city being rebuilt and the struggle between protection and development in its most explicit form. We all know that protecting history through monuments is important, and it is societally accepted that we protect important relics of our past. In 1882, the UK government passed the Ancient Monuments Protection Act which was specifically set up to protect any pre-historic sites

IMAGE OF THE LONDON SKYLINE from David Chipperfield Architects London. Credit: David Chipperfield Architects.

PROJECT ON FRIEDRICHSTRASSE IN BERLIN. Copyright: Ute Zscharnt for David Chipperfield Architects.

that are links to deep in our past. To many the heritage argument has been won.

However, the topic of this conference brings to us to a pressing issue. If we start looking at the heritage of post-war architecture and our recent past, we must not only consider singular monuments but also those other things which contribute in more vague ways to our idea of a city. We architects are currently seeing the development of architecture through singular architectural objects yet as architects we believe that buildings should contribute more than their individual qualities. Buildings should contribute to the idea of a society and a city. Architecture as an isolated individual act is something which endangers our cities.

In Britain, we largely disregarded much of the country's non-monumental architecture until the late 1960s. We had been demolishing large swathes of now-celebrated Georgian architecture until it became protected through listing. Though partly protected purely for its age, we came to realise that this architecture also had an important impact on the broader shape of our built environment.

One case study that stimulates this debate is the competition to replace the Kaufhaus designed by Josef Eiderman in Munich, for which I was on the jury. The existing post-war building is not particularly significant yet interesting as the city resisted its demolition, or substantial rebuilding, based on three main arguments. Firstly, that the building represented a moment in history and if too many of such structures are removed the sense of the city and its historic layers would be lost. Secondly, there was a general sense that whatever replaced would only be worse, indicating a general loss of confidence in the abilities of contemporary architecture itself and its motivations. Lastly, and perhaps most strongly expressed, there was nervousness and scepticism about the financial motivations behind a new building development.

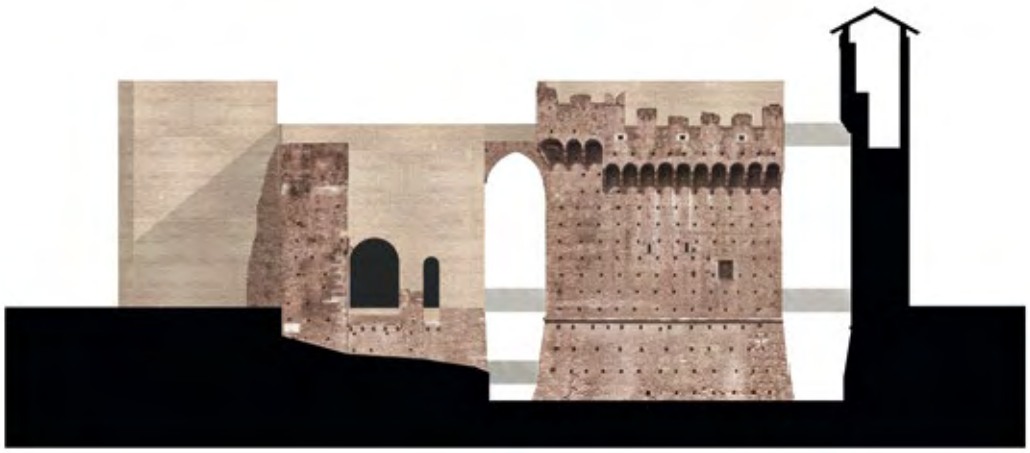
This experience raised many interesting questions. Outside the academic environment, how does one deal with protection and discussion of memory on the front line of an ever-increasingly commercial environment? How can we make issues of protection and development relevant to each other rather than polemicized against each other? How can we bridge these seemingly opposing sides? In Munich, the city's arguments were not academic defences for a historic building but rather a more sentimental attitude about the shape and form of the city as a whole.

In Berlin, my practice has worked on several small-scale projects, often rebuilding old war-damaged buildings with commercial developers who were looking to protect and develop them. We must accept that damage is done to buildings because they are essential to our daily messy lives and subject to various uses. A building is not an artefact that can be easily stored away, new ones will often necessarily replace an old one. Of course, there are exceptional buildings that are preserved as artefacts, such as churches, but what about a school or an office building that is no longer in use? Often it involves modification, adaption and extension to give them new function and economy.

Our most extreme example of this mediation between protection and development is in Shanghai where we were responsible for a row of mediocre buildings on the Bund. A developer had proposed 'keeping them' by rebuilding replicas in better quality. Over the 10-year process of the project, we argued for keeping the old bricks to ensure continuity of substance instead. It should not be forgotten either that there is also the social side of the question of heritage redevelopment and changes to the societal mix of an area, particularly where former residential areas become retail areas for instance. We are often at risk of turning our cities into museums, I see it in China and in Europe.

Another area of concern for architects practising today is the confusion of histories and which ones to protect. Some years ago, my office entered a competition to work on the cathedral of Pozzuoli in Italy. After a fire, it was discovered that the baroque church was built around an ancient Greek temple and we were tasked with working out how to deal with these many layers of history and which ones to refer to in the new project. When adapting buildings, I have come across an academic reluctance to adopt strategies that were had been used historically. It used to be possible to re-interpret historic buildings but now we seem to have an ideological attitude that there is one moment in a building's history that we must re-find or one crucial characteristic that we must celebrate. There is a lack of confidence in what we might add, or even in just revealing more fully the complexity.

With more recent buildings this is even more complicated, particularly if one has the drawings



RAVELINS OF CASTELLO SFORZESCO in Milan. Credit: Richard Davies (above top).

NEUE NATIONALGALERIE by Mies van der Rohe in Berlin. A view from Postdamer Strasse. Credit: Ute Zscharnt for David Chipperfield Architects (above left).

PROPOSAL FOR HAUS DER KUNST in Munich. View from southwest, Prinzregentenstraße. Credit: David Chipperfield Architects (above right).

of a world-renowned architect that differ from the completed design. We seem more willing and able to accept that there may be reversible mistakes in the construction of a recent building but not in older structures. In recent buildings, the design intent can often overrule the substance. If we want to give some balance to the struggle between protection and development – protection of layers of history in our city, not just single structure – then we ought to be a bit more flexible in how another building might be borne out of an existing one. And yet, intellectually we don't seem to like that.

In the nineteenth century, the existing military structure of the Castello Sforzeco in Milan was embellished by the architect Luca Beltrami in order to transform it into a more fantastical idea of a castle. This confusing act has now been widely accepted as a layer of the structure's history. We are now involved in rebuilding a fragment of the castle for the museum complex now established there. In this process, we are not looking to restore it but rather to also build on the existing structure to substantiate it, stabilise it, and give it a new life.

In the next few years, the US Embassy in London designed by Eero Saarinen will be vacated and given new life as a hotel. As one of America's greatest architects, there is an understandable interest in the building from an architectural heritage perspective. Yet, when talking about a building from the 1960s, it is debateable to what degree the artefact is to be protected and left untouched. What happens if it's not popularly liked? And what if the master architect to whom it is attributed was, in reality, not very closely involved in its construction or at times unsure of the design? These are questions with which we are grappling. In researching the history of the building, we found some drawings that showed the building as a taller structure. Naturally, this discovery made the developer very happy because it could somehow validate proposed changes to the structure. We are aware that this is a very fragile discussion and we keep reassessing the values of the structure itself as well as the design intent. In the end, there must be some mediation between protection and reuse. It is often so difficult to understand where the line should be drawn between the conservationists and developers as both sides exaggerate and do not communicate well. In the end, the city is the victim of such failures.

Returning to Berlin – a city with too much history – we find all sorts of confusion and paradoxes. For example, after the historic and much celebrated fall of the Berlin Wall, fragments were sold all over the world leaving recent tourists disappointed that they don't get to see it, which in turn has led to discussions about rebuilding parts of it as a tourist attraction.

The Neue Nationalgalerie by Mies van der Rohe was part of the provocative project to build the cultural centre of West Berlin as close to the wall as possible. The buildings of this campus are utopian in spirit. The layout of Hans Scharoun's Berlin Philharmonic concert hall seeks to develop new social concepts by changing of the relationship between the audience and musicians. Meanwhile, Mies' temple-like building tries to bring a sense of order to a chaotic environment. At first it was disliked because Mies' had tried to build the design elsewhere first and it did not function well (it is difficult to hang art in large glass hall). Over time, however, it became a symbol of West Berlin even in its perceived uselessness, and embedded itself in the identity of the city. Today the fabric and structure of this icon are no longer in good condition and we have been tasked with its repair. It should be added, though, that despite the poor performance of the main exhibition space, there are many aspects of the building, including back of house facilities that still work very well and are testament to Mies' skill.

Heritage is an industry and it has often become an excuse for doing things in a fixed or formulaic way. As such, it often becomes isolated from daily practice. Nonetheless, I am interested in it and strongly feel that the Neue Nationalgalerie is an important piece of our architectural heritage. Some assume that in such a case of careful restoration the creative architectural input is almost zero, no desire to interpret the work of Mies but rather just the aim to save it. In a building such as this, everything is on show and any intervention is revealed – no walls can be thickened, no insulation added. So why am I interested in this work?

When I am designing a building from scratch the client may well question the design and its cost implications. In such situations, it is me and my team trying to counteract these commercial forces. When there is a third person involved – Mies van der Rohe – it is already accepted that the design has quality and beauty, so there is a collective effort towards resolving any issues. It's not that 'you can't do that to my façade' but rather than 'you can't do that to Mies' façade'. It is rare for an architect and the client to be in such agreement and collaboration.

In most projects you have to ask the developer or client to trust you that the physical qualities of your design are worth the cost. It is difficult to convince someone of the importance of the 'feel' of a building and this is an issue with much of our modernist architectural heritage today. The construction quality is often poor because it is not considered worth the investment.

When looking at the work of Mies, however, the 'feel' of the building is something everyone seems to understand and we are to avoid changing that 'feel' in any way. Seemingly simple decisions about glazing took a year to reach a result that would improve the thermal performance of the building without disrupting the integrity of Mies' design. It must be added that a sophisticated environment is needed to create the right forum for debating and making these decisions, and my experience in Germany has been very positive in this regard.

Neues Museum in Berlin, southwest corner.
Credit: Ute Zscharnt for David Chipperfield Architects.

Neues Museum in Berlin, staircase hall.
Credit: SPK / David Chipperfield Architects, photo Joerg von Bruchhausen.

Let us look at another piece of difficult twentieth-century heritage deeply rooted in German history: the Haus der Kunst in Munich. This is a building contaminated with history. Hitler was involved in the design by Paul Ludwig Troost for this art gallery which opened in 1937 with the 'Great German Art Exhibition'. An insidious example of Nazi propaganda, the show was Hitler's attempt to define an 'authentic German art' in contrast to 'degenerate' modern art. The building was camouflaged and survived the bombing of the city by Allied forces. After the war, it was used by the American occupation forces who sealed off the front door, only allowing access through the side doors to humiliate the building in some way. More recently, the steps leading up from the street have been removed and trees have been planted around the building to disguise it.

We are now working on the renovation of the building and trying to promote it in its current role as a progressive contemporary art museum. In doing so we and the client are facing some difficult questions, not regarding architecture but regarding its meaning. Given that it is now a publicly-funded institution that itself has meaning, we felt it should have a physical presence and our proposal included the removal of the trees as a way of encouraging people to confront the fascist structure and engage with it. This has provoked a very active ongoing debate, and I am delighted that so many people are emotionally and intellectually engaged with the project. As architects, our work is often heavily criticised but if we want architecture to mean something to society, we should be glad that there are debates and views of all kinds.

Though I very much enjoy grappling with difficult questions about heritage as a distinct scientific intellectual activity, it is only because I think it really does mean something for our physical environment that I am so enthusiastic about it. I am nervous that our built environment is undervalued, and that where it is valued it risks becoming simply a series of places to visit. Within the discussion about how to protect our history, however, one eventually leads to a discussion about how to protect our environment and how to ensure that the notion of permanence and the physical powers of architecture are respected more generally.

Before turning to my work on the Neues Museum on Berlin's Museum Island, I want to discuss the context a little and consider the nearby site of the Stadtschloss, the former Prussian palace that was badly damaged during the Second World War. Though the ruin could have been rebuilt after the war – several intellectuals argued it should stay – instead it was demolished and replaced with the GDR Palast der Republik which is in itself also a fascinating building. It is not often that you find bowling alleys and amusements in a political building. Unfortunately, it was ugly and the urban plan around it was weak. From an urban point of view, then, one can understand the need to fill the gap left by the Stadtschloss. A temporary awning of the façade on scaffolding revealed how the Stadtschloss formed an important part of the urban composition of Unter den Linden. Nonetheless, the revision of history through the eradication of buildings and records of moments in time is a questionable act. There is a need for a balance between protecting the layers of a city's history while accepting that buildings are not artefacts, they are subject to discussions that are much more complex.

The intense discussions around the Neues Museum were one of the aspects of the project that I enjoyed most. The building was badly damaged during the Second World War and, having been a ruin for the following 60 years, it developed a magical quality. Parts of the highly-decorated and didactic spaces were left intact while others were totally missing. We intended to protect and celebrate what survived while maintaining archaeological integrity. The new building grew out of the old one by putting the damage back into perspective and accepting some of the loss. Under the full glare of public opinion there was continuous discussion and opposition about every corner. More than 500 newspaper articles were written over the 12 years. In the end, what was important to me was that it was a project of meaning. It could not have been achieved without the intense discussion and collaboration regarding each decision.

It seems that by gathering around historic buildings that have collective memory and meaning one can have discussions which do not exist in the production of contemporary architecture. It is my opinion that such a discussion of meaning should exist in the production of contemporary architecture.

Thank you.

PETER ARONSSON

The Role of Cultural Heritage and the Use of History in the 20th-Century Baltic Sea Region

Making heritage

Making heritage out of the material world is an act changing the appearance of the world. It has social, legal, commercial and political implications. Interaction also works the other way around: changing social and economic conditions creates possibilities and a need for the making of new heritage. This is an act which involves drawing an epochal line. Heritage signals a past significance worthy of honour and remembrance but void of pragmatic functiontality once its appearance has been defined. Heritagization moves reality from the sphere of pragmatic action to a more or less sacral zone (unless it is a church, then it is the other way around with the religious being translated to the semi-sacral sphere of heritage.) That zone contains new functionalities for creating a community, dealing with conflicts and producing values for an experience economy. Heritage is made to deal with change.

The agrarian society was heritagized when industrial and urban society was making its way as history progressed. The heritagization of modernity and industrial society is connected to the process of making post-modernity viable. It entails some unquestionable tranformations of early ruins of industry into Industrial Cool, but the transformation as a whole has not set a new canon of how to represent this transformation. This signals an important question of the nature of current transformations. What part of modernity is still in motion as a maker of the futures of society and what parts are ready or in nead for heritagization?

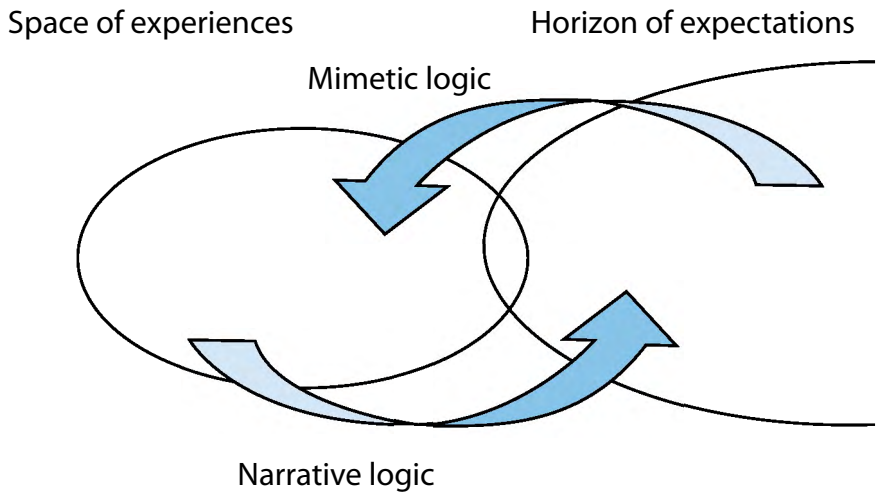
Heritagization means an aestheticization of the material world. With legitimate institutions selecting, protecting and communicating heritage, the conceptualization of the past is stabilized to serve the victorious powers of change, also with the help of good taste and educated sensibilities.

Without doubt, difficult heritage may also arise and serve important roles as contrast. Auschwitz is the example par excellence. This is not the rule, however, nor does it often happen that what is evil, ugly or boring can reach secure heritagization. Remains from industrial society are an ambivalent case: which parts are worthy of becoming heritage? Are they still representing the future (re-industrialization of Europe) or mainly an economic and environmental problem?

This paper will discuss the ambivalent role of turning the modern period into history. Even the title of the conference can be seen as a contestable argument. While some art historians might argue that even post-modernism is now being historicized by the idea of contemporary art, a more social, global and economic standpoint might be that we are still in the midst of a world dominated by industrial capital with increasing individualism and neoliberal economics dominating and where conflicts globally take the forms of neo-nationalism and religious revivalism.

The making of Heritage is an arena for arguing, not only for the value of reminiscences of the past, but also for the description of the contemporary world and its direction towards the future. Looking for reasons for differences is not only confined to academic perspectives but is subject to wider views of how the future should be shaped, involving the fears and hopes for the future of our societies.

The hopes and fears for the future shape the mimetic logic which reassembles the past as a space of experience into a narrative logic proposing directions on how to direct the present to move into the future.[1] Pre-modern society argued in principal for



Drawing on Reinhart Koselleck, I have proposed the following model for the past-present-future relationship:

fulfilling traditional patterns, overlapping space of experiences and horizon of expectations nearly completely, while modern society as an opposite celebrated radical and unique novelty. Post-modernity realizes the power of contemporary logics to re-assemble the past to meet different issues and situations with more varied strategies.

The transition from agrarian to industrial society gave birth to heritage

It is perhaps easier to acknowledge the power and dynamics of the recoding of reality into heritage if, for the sake of argument, we look back to an earlier epochal shift, when the great leap was to move from agricultural to industrial society, or even more generally from pre-modern to modern society. The second half of the 19th century is a period that makes great and paradigmatic efforts to deal with changes through uses of the past, making it into history and heritage. However, in the 19th century, neither the academic nor the administrative spheres for action and management were well defined. History, on the one hand, gradually turned into one of the most fundamental formats for knowledge and, on the other, into a proper academic discipline. Nature and biology were historicized by glacial and evolutionary theories, and museums were set up to secure empirical evidence and to narrate both natural and human history. The framing was both universal, according to the Enlightenment ethos, and national in an increasingly political mobilization of identity and economic dynamics.[2]

At the end of the 19th century, the agricultural sector still dominated the GNP of most countries, including Sweden. Rapid change involving urbanization, marketization and secularization leading to migration as well as new ideologies questioning traditional hierarchies, socialist and Marxist movements, all challenged the stability of traditional world views and polities. A sense of disappearing stability created a high need for anchoring nation-making in a distant and homogenous past placed on a fundament of academic research in order to reject any suspicion of being the offspring of the ideology or insecure politics of the present.

Scientific history developed at its fastest at the universities in Göttingen and Berlin. In 1853, Germanische Nationalmuseum opened in Nuremberg. Academic disciplines and cultural institutions, securely anchored in science, created, materialized and visualized one of the most complex and insecure state- and nation-building processes in Europe, for the very reason that it was so urgently needed.[3]

In Sweden, the economic and social transformation was among the fastest in the world. Here, the invention of the open-air museum celebrating tra-

ditional agrarian society became one of the greatest exports to other nations in the making, especially in predominantly rural Eastern Europe. Opening Skansen for the popular co-creation of past worlds in 1891 and Nordiska museet, the new palace for saving the heritage of a lost world for scientific study, a decade later made some strong statements, which were, however, not obvious to the participants, who thought that they were rescuing a solid, undisturbed disappearing material and immaterial heritage, relics of Nordic culture and the Swedish nation.[4] The function was more profound and contemporary:

First, the institution made a strong statement that we are all Swedish, overrunning and transforming regional differences as well as differences in consumption, crafts and class, but displaying differences as contributions to a concerted national glory.

Secondly, these institutions made a tribute to popular and agrarian culture as carriers of long-standing values: simple, content, traditional and stable, to argue against the value of possibly radical changes in the social, economic and political constitution.

Thirdly, it secured national borders by naturalizing them in response to recent changes and threats. The threats from Germany and Russia were looming over the Baltics, the bone of contention about the Union with Norway (dissolved unilaterally by Norway in 1905), and the territories earlier lost (Finland in 1809) were kept in mind, but never materialized into violent action. Sweden has not taken active part in war since 1814, and the transformation of Scandinavian state hostilities to a realm of a shared Nordic heritage has been of major importance.[5]

Fourthly, placing agrarian society in a museum marks that the future belongs to industrial society. – "Thank you very much, we honour you by preserving, and visiting you on Sundays – but you are History", in the very sense of past practical significance used in American English.

Fifthly, it presents a field of activity and a playground for polite society to role-play these changes, acting on feelings of insecurity as regards the legitimacy of the changing world order and a privileged position.[6]

These examples show the dynamics of negotiations that are both possible and necessary to take on through the making of a viable past and institutionalizing it as heritage, in this case by paradigmatically saving and moving built environment in a new musealized setting.[7]

Certainly, heritage was created before this period. Traces from all periods of human history give evidence of universal needs to apprehend the turning of time in the face of individual death. With the making of nation-states from the 16th century onwards, the uses of heritage were enhanced to state policy and laws of protection to ensure a heroic past for the newly emerged monarchies and their nation-states. Napoleon set an example in herding heritage treasures into Paris to demonstrate power, taste and the supremacy of the French nation. The making of national heritage and museums became a cultural consequence of this global competition to make nations out of dynastic states where former subjects were to be transformed to engaged citizens and mobilized as willing soldiers and tax-payers. The sovereignty of the state became dependent on heritage. The capacity of the heritage institutions and museums to perform a viable cultural constitution dealing with communities and differences productively is decisive for the quality of the contract between civil society and the making of the political community, nation and state.[8]

Modes of transition to post-industrial society re-shape heritage

If we jump one hundred years ahead, we can see that the predicament thought of as exclusive to our own time bears a striking resemblance to older undertakings. Heritage as a term was used for the first time in Sweden by the author Viktor Rydberg in 1887 and experienced its second strong revival in Europe from the 1990s onwards. The Swedish discussions of how to transform heritage to a relevant process for contemporary society include three main themes: how should migration and minorities participate and be represented? What undertakings need to be made to secure the relics of earlier industrial society? How does heritage become a relevant tool for the making of a community, for democracy, integration and for cultural and travel industries?

The re-making of the 20th-century built environment from a purely practical, pragmatic and programmatically functional sphere of engagement to cultural heritage interacts with the under-

standing of the epochs involved. The forms this took differ dramatically from one state to another and change over time. Where the Swedish period from the 1930s to the 1970s is demarcated and historicized as the heyday of Welfare society, the Peoples' Home (Folkhemmet), and looked upon with productive nostalgia by various interests, the same period is sharply divided south and east of the Baltic by the Second World War and the ensuing Cold War. Moreover, the following period around 1989/91 is first dominated by a neo-liberal turn in connection with the dissolution of the Soviet empire - a period of hope, even the "End of History".[9] The Yugoslav Wars could be seen as a remaining unlucky heritage of the former communist system. From 2001, the threat of global terrorism, seemingly endless wars and unrest in the Middle East and international terrorism directed towards Western powers and modes of life have presented new challenges as has the new and more aggressive foreign policy of Russia.

The sensibilities vis-à-vis the past might accordingly shift dramatically in response to these recent turning points in history. The National Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest takes a radical stance against the use of text to present heritage – text being still too closely associated with Marxist propaganda, while empirical evidence of peasant realities is aestheticized and universalized to remind the nation of its authentic Christian popular heritage in modes very different from the aesthetics used in northern Europe. When the Deutsches Historisches Museum re-opened to present the same Marxist period, it used text extensively to convince the audience of the temporary character of that period in the longer time perspective of German and European nation-making.

Moving to the Baltic region, this post-war region contains very different meanings, drawing mainly on the pace of modernization and on its roles in the two world wars and the Cold War. Germany is the country having been in need of the most explicit and sustained working through of its past through its *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The process was more openly and, I would say, successfully negotiated in BRD as the recognized heir of German statehood in the West, while DDR tried to escape responsibility for Nazism by associating with the anti-fascist struggle led by Soviet forces. Some of the difficulties in pleading the legitimacy in the relationship between the people and the state in Europe are, I would argue, due to the lack of a relevant and legitimate working through of the responsibilities for atrocities during the World War and the Cold War. The consequences have not always been as catastrophic as in the case of the Balkans but are more comparable to the enduring lack of trust between civil society and the state in the former eastern parts of Germany, making for problems otherwise more visible in Greece and Italy.[10]

Memories of modern heritage will carry very different meanings for countries with a history of being occupied by Soviet and of struggling to rebuild ruins after the war, on the one hand, and Scandinavian welfare states like Sweden, taking advantage of its undamaged production apparatus to pursue an even faster modernization and urbanization under social-democratic hegemony, on the other. It was able to draw heavily on the high appreciation of modernity and social engineering that was present as early as the 1920s. History and heritage were largely to be overcome, as they signalled either poverty or pre-democratic hierarchies.

This is, of course, putting it rather strongly, but it is striking in comparison with the programme of rebuilding the medieval cities of Gdansk, Warsaw, Münster etc. after the Second World War. The anchoring in a pre-modern past was not on the agenda in the Nordic welfare states. Of course, there were slight differences here, with Denmark and Sweden representing the old empires and Sweden remaining the nation least threatened and occupied as the one extreme of modernity, while Finland and Norway still felt a strong need to anchor their independence in the medieval, pre-occupied era.

Memories of or in the welfare State

Memories from the industrial era thus constitute an ambivalent field of heritage in several senses:

- In what sense is it really a past historical epoch in need of protection? This is contested in several ways: even if part of the industrial production has moved to low-cost countries, there are still strong interest groups describing both Europe in general and Sweden as a country with an industrial economy with a future – very much similar to the case argued for agriculture around 1900.

- Heritage from the industrial epoch often consists of massive, large-scale structures difficult to preserve at a reasonable cost.

These structures are of less obvious aesthetic value than the selected heritage of pre-modern conspicuous consumption filling up the art and crafts museums.[11]

It is obvious that a similar pattern from the 1900 turn of the century can be discerned. The new developments that do care for industrial heritage are to some extent institutionalized , in Sweden through Arbetets museum ("The Museum of Work") and industrial heritage initiatives but are as often carried by actors identifying with the new economy. Industrial Cool is easier to develop for a new IT entrepreneur than for anyone who still works as a sub-contractor to a car industry outsourced to China.[12]

It is possible to discern a dominant mode of aesthetic and political modernity working hand in hand in Swedish historical culture. It is shared, with nuances, among the Scandinavian countries, often with an added international appeal, as in concepts like Nordic design and Nordic Light, as well as being recognizable in material artefacts ranging from Alvar Aalto to IKEA.

We should, however, not overstate the power of one dominant discourse, even when supported and orchestrated by cultural policy and official heritage institutions. Nostalgic modes of desire and visions of other futures are not only projected to modernity and Industrial Cool. The typical Falu red colour croft in the countryside possesses considerable attraction as a summer house and a dream of a simpler life not only for Swedes but also for Danes, Dutch and Germans buying and caring for houses abandoned by urbanized Swedes in southern Scandinavia. New urbanism carries other references backwards, even if only seldom as openly as in the fake medieval city of Jakriborg between Lund and Malmö, or in a proposed national romantic building project in Växjö, re-creating a late nineteenth century street. These highly debated applications of post-modernity demonstrate that repetition is never possible. The attraction of the medieval in late-modern society is very different from both late-nineteenth century medievalism drawing on the origin of the nation and the desperate reconstructions after the Second World War. In contemporary society, it merges with the dream of a more rustic and natural never-never land, less historical and more mythical than ever - a dream that seems to replay the long-standing dilemma of modernity: the need for refuge from the ever-changing demands of contemporaneity.

Contemporary political implications

The political impact of the ambivalences of contemporary challenges and relevant uses of the past can be demonstrated by the Swedish case.

The clearest mark of the heyday of classical expansionist welfare state policy was the building of the Million Programme of concrete suburbs in the major cities. People outside these settings seldom regard them as a valuable part of history, but mostly evaluate them more as a problem. Without doubt, many people, among them many second-generation immigrants, embrace them with a similar warm feeling as earlier generation of Swedes have done through their local history communities (hembygdsföreningar). At the other end of the spectrum, the city centre of Stockholm with legacies of ruthless modernization is becoming a field for more or less successful heritage argumentation and protection (Slussen, Sergels Torg). This corresponds to a consumer hype for furniture, arts and crafts and even for IKEA products from the 1950s and 1960s. "Per Albin Hansson built the people's home and Ingvar Kamprad furnished it". An IKEA Museum opened in Älmhult in 2016. It narrates a story of successful Swedish modernity interacting with local values and entrepreneurship in creating ideals for modern living and a successful company strategy.

As a parallel to these aesthetic ambivalences, the turns in national politics show similar twists and turns. Around 1990, the neoliberal turn in Sweden entailed a strong stand against the culture associated with collective social democracy lumping together society and state into one expanding public sector, a Welfare State. This strategy emanating from the right-wing party did not lead to a strong and lasting governmental position. Changing the strategy to embrace the ethos of the People's Home, Folkhemmet, the New Moderates could argue that they wanted to preserve this heritage but modernize the provisions through market mechanisms and individual choice. Even this turn paid tribute to the positive value of modernity within the broader political

culture in Sweden.[13] As downsides of the new model show up, an even more open and insecure political situation has come to dominate political culture and has opened for a more right-wing and ethnic version of Folkhemmet as a political force. Consequently, this wrestling with heritage and politics is an ongoing process, with parallels around the globe.

Conclusions

The tool box of history has basically remained stable since the late 18th century. Similar sites, artefacts and narratives are framed by a national history outlined already in pre-modern state-making, refined in the era of history in the 19th century and delivered to us. Using these tools can produce quite different and sometimes competing narratives representing different modes of historical consciousness. History is today less valued as a science (not to say destiny) and more as a source of meaning for identity politics and for production, as heritage industry. The epoch of modernity provided historical consciousness both for conservatism, liberalism, communism and fascism, all moving modernity in different directions.

What roles will be played to open horizons of expectation for these different modernities for creating a future in a fundamentally challenging global setting, dealing with the past critically or as role models? Apart from more repetitive and reactionary backlashes into old -isms obviously at hand, we can identify both productive and legitimate tendencies of two kinds: 1. To create a sense of belonging and security we may see more site- and situation-specific strategies and sensibility resulting in a much needed contribution to a qualitatively renewed heritagization of modernity, relating to a more complex appreciation of historical legacies then the traditional national framing. 2. To gather and demonstrate positive roads towards future through making heritage, the framing needs to demonstrate not only warnings to the contrary but above all to celebrate and inspire innovation for sustainability in all the aspects needed for humanity to make the future both possible and desirable.

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MARIJA DRĖMAITĖ

Long Life of the Socialist Modernism in the Baltic States

In 2016 UNESCO World Heritage Committee Session inscribed the works of Le Corbusier on the World Heritage List.[1] It must have been the moment of triumph for many lovers of the Modern Movement and people who initiated preservation programs for modern architecture. With key works of Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius and other masters on the World heritage list we can be sure that Modern Movement became an established cultural heritage.

What about the socialist modernism? It already had its momentum few years ago with lectures, books, conferences and exhibitions. These events testify to the need to understand and consider Socialist pasts not as a "lost", which is better ignored, but rather as a distinctive phenomenon that is still affecting us, exploring which can at least in part explain our present. And many of my colleagues ask why socialist modernism did not make it to the world heritage list.

We can speculate that it might be because of the poor value of the socialist modernism, or, to put it in other words, because socialist modernism did not produce any World class architectural icons? Or maybe the reason is a less influential community, which did not make enough effort to prepare an outstanding nomination? As a good provocation I would like to mention a book Belyaevo Forever (Strelka, 2014) by Polish researcher Kuba Snopek, who tried to put a Moscow mass housing area Belyaevo on the UNESCO world heritage list and discussed the values of generic architecture. However, it is so far a research project.

Or maybe the post socialist world simply does not love socialist modernism at all and is not interested in preserving it? At a recent conference on Socialist Modernism, hosted by the Collegium Hungarium in Berlin (24–26 April, 2016), an issue of general refusal of postwar modernism was raised focusing on an alarming example from Skopje. Macedonia's capital was rebuilt after the 1963 earthquake with a modernist city center plan by Japanese architect Kenzo Tange (1965). Now, the hollow Doric columns and "antiquitisation" are transforming the city. Asked why, Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski told, that national feelings were suppressed in Tito's Yugoslavia and "there were no monuments or statues to express our nationhood."[2] Doesn't it suggest a thought that socialist modernism is not worth preserving at all?

It is quite paradoxical, but for the time being it was easier to find society's support for the preservation of buildings from the Stalinist period, because of their elaborate Neo-Classical facades, perceived as architectural beauty. So architectural historians really have to struggle explaining architectural values of the modernist glass boxes, seen on almost every corner. Several years ago people thought that communism was already history. However, after the 2014 Russian invasion in Ukraine, there began a second wave of revisionism, when Soviet period monuments that remained after the first wave in 1990–1992 as rather neutral, were questioned again. The real communist legacy that bothered the society was actually sculptural monuments that literally symbolized the Soviet. Some were even taken off in July 2015 in Vilnius, a well-known case of the Green Bridge.

What about the socialist modernism, which does not speak ideology so explicitly? Wherever I go, my fellow modernists are complaining that socialist modernism is left abandoned and not preserved in their countries. Is it also the case in the Baltic Countries? Is it perceived as an ideological "other"?

It is important to notice, that buildings of socialist modernism has reached the moment, where they lived approx. 25 years in socialism and equally 25 years in democratic societies. When I look around, I see that most of the functional buildings are renovated and used for the purposes they were designed for (schools, shops, offices, hospitals) and even edifices built for communist regimes seem to be adaptable for the representational needs without moral problems – Ministries and Parliaments operate there. In recent years there have been significant public campaigns to save socialist-era buildings under threat. This rather pragmatic approach was well put by the 2013 Tallinn Architectural Biennale's topic "Recycling socialism": "With Biennale we wanted to take the discussion further by gathering architects-visionaries from all around Europe to find ideas for the future".[3]

MODERNIST PALACE OF ART EXHIBITIONS in the Old Town of Vilnius (Vytautas Čekanauskas, 1965–1967). Photo: Personal archive of Vytautas Čekanauskas.

Baltic Modernism as "an inner abroad" within the Soviet Union

Why modernist architecture from the 1960s to the 1980s is important in the Baltic Countries? Being the latest to be incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, with the still present national schools of modern architecture, in the late 1950s Baltic Republics generated a form of critical modernism towards Stalinist architecture and became mediators of the Western modernism in the USSR, further gaining the title of the inner abroad or the Soviet West. That is a very short summary of the popular mythology.

For the generation of young Baltic architects (born in the 1930s, graduated in the 1950s) the Khrushchev's Thaw in 1955 encouraged the process of cultural liberation that could be characterized by a clear re-emergence of national, Western-oriented and modernist aspects of culture. By grafting westward looking orientation onto local traditions, architects at the Baltic periphery of the Soviet Union kept alive an historical ambition to be included in a Western European cultural community.[4]

Gyorgy Peteri, editor of the book Imagining the West in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, developed a concept of symbolic geographies, that reveal "how human agents, in particular historical and cultural contexts, define themselves by locating themselves spatially as well as temporarily, drawing the boundaries of social spaces where they are within, and relating themselves and their spaces to others. … What makes these socially and historically situated processes really important is their intimate relationship to the formation of identities and, indeed, to identity politics."[5]

We can trace that temporal geography, or the modernism from the pre-war independent states, as an important source of inspiration. Another, spatial symbolical geography can be perceived as an interpretation of the Western modernism or the imagined West. The possibility to visit capitalist countries, and especially Finland, made important influence. In the Nordic regional modernism Baltic architects saw the features they were aspiring to – an acceptable combination of the international modernism and regional identity. Therefore the national modernism in the Baltic republics was based on the use of local materials (red brick, stone and wood), combination of natural light, and respect to natural environment and historic heritage. First it was experimented in relatively small designs for interiors, recreation pavilions, and cafes. Later designs for major commissions employed modernism for the National Highlights, as in the Palace of Art Exhibitions in Vilnius, Dailes Theatre in Riga or Song Festival Arena in Tallinn.

Officially Baltic design contributed for the Soviet urban planning – the first State and Lenin awards in the USSR were given for Lithuanian and Estonian mass housing microrayons and the Baltic

collective-farm settlements, and were also widely used for propaganda reasons as soviet architectural achievements. In 1988 the Lenin award went to the Lithuanian state farm Juknaiciai for completely different garden-city design and individualization of the kolkhoz architecture. It is evident that these designs were not following but setting the new standards and changing ideals of the soviet architecture. Together with critical processes in the late Soviet Period (for example the Tallinn School acted as a platform for presenting a criticism of building regulations, Soviet mass construction, standardization and modernist urban planning), Baltic architecture earned the reputation of a very strong, western oriented architectural school with a regional identity. And they loved it.

So, are we actually longing for something today? There are different types of longing. One of which – the architect's longing for the lost honourable status of the master after the fall of modernism (and the entire system). In the East and in the West alike there were architects whose personal vision coincided with the official one and this became a key to their success. This is related to the "urban legends" that have subsequently arisen – Lithuanian architects like telling stories about their "silent resistance" to the Soviet regime. By repeating it again and again they uphold the myth on the exclusivity of the architecture of the Baltic States. According to Andres Kurg, the loss of strong positions in 1990, when an architect became just a part of the real estate development programme, encouraged a nostalgic feeling for former positions and former powers: "It is quite paradoxical. They became theoreticians when they lost their power as architects. I think they are nostalgic for their lost status in society".[6]

Adaptive re-use of socialist modernism buildings

We have reached a turning point when many European architects consider socialist modernism as historical architecture. It is no wonder that more than 20 pieces of Socialist Modernism listed in Lithuania, and most of them were listed back in 1988–1990 as the achievements of the socialist Lithuania and it was initiated mostly by architects themselves. Most of them stood out the time challenge and now are on the renewed list after revision. An illustrative case is the Neringa cafe interior in Vilnius that was listed already in the Soviet period. During the wild 1990s, when all private cafes and restaurants refurbished their interiors, the Neringa cafe and hotel was bought by the Nordic investors. With respect to listed interior they have restored it. That is how the only authentic Socialist Modernist interior has survived and now is in great respect.

There are a lot of socialist (in the essence) buildings that continue successfully their functional duties. Former Latvian Communist Party Central Committee building is now functioning as the World Trade Center, one of the most prestigious office buildings in Riga. The same building of the Lithuanian Communist Party is now functioning as the premises of the Lithuanian Government, and in Estonia it is now home to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The same can be said about the houses of Political Education that were built as modern educational buildings containing large halls and number of classes. Former House of Political Education in Riga is now a Riga Congress Center; House of Political Education in Kaunas was adapted to the University premises whereas in Vilnius it was not completed by the collapse of the Soviet Lithuania and was immediately turned into the Congress Hall.

Famous cultural buildings, like Dailes Theatre in Riga or Opera and Ballet Theatre in Vilnius continue to function after thorough renovations. Revolution Museum in Vilnius was successfully renovated and adapted to the new use as a National Gallery in 2009. The Red Latvian Riflemen Museum and Monument was also adapted to the new Museum of the Occupation of Latvia. And there are of course many more functional buildings that are being used and are being renovated, however with much less attention to their architecture than function. I talk about architecturally important hospitals, schools and other functional buildings.

There still are many problematic cases that are connected to the functions of the socialist society that are not anymore in use. For example, a funeral home in Kaunas built in 1978 for special purposes of secular funeral ritual is a very interesting building, both from the functional as well as architectural point of view. And it is listed. However, it is not in use anymore and it is really difficult to adapt it to new use. However, when there is a strategic interest in replacing a socialist building, socialist legacy is

CAFÉ NERINGA at the opening in 1959. Photo: Vilnius County Archive.

CAFÉ NERINGA after renovation is still a popular place. Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2012.

usually used in a negative way. This was said about the Palace of Sports and Concerts in Vilnius when there was interest to demolish it and use its plot. It was called a Soviet Concrete Monster. Then it was listed in 2006 and continued to stand derelict until it got included into the major redevelopment project for the National congress center. And now it is an architecturally and technologically interesting building from the 1960s.

There are also many significant buildings that did not survive, like the beautiful restaurant Jūras Pērle on the Latvian beach. Demolition of these buildings is not usually ideological, but rather economical – usually a new development project. However, demolition of the restaurant Banga on the Lithuanian beach in Palanga last year sends a rather alarming "Skopje like" message.

LAZDYNAI RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT was the only mass housing Soviet district to be awarded with Lenin Prize and is now a listed urban area. However, Lazdynai do not have a management or renovation plan, which result in random renovation of houses. Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2012.

FORMER REVOLUTION MUSEUM in Vilnius was renovated and adapted to the National Gallery in 2009 (Audrius Bučas, Gintaras Kuginys, Darius Čaplinskas). Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2011.

ARCHITECTS IN VILNIUS at the meeting against planned demolition of the Postmodernist Road Police Administrative building (1985). Photo: Audrius Ambrasas, 2016.

What is the Future?

Taking into account that approx. 70% of our built environment was built in the postwar period, we must be ready to deal with this load of constructions. The attitude towards Socialist modernism has been changing over time – the judging aspect has been gradually diminishing (backwardness in comparison to the West or being in search for Western copies), more contextual questions appear (what were the conditions of the time? why were such commissions made?). In the post-Socialist world, an evaluation of architecture based on ideology is no longer relevant. Even more so, buildings of the Socialist modernism are being devastated more often not because they are "Socialist", but because of their strategic locations in city centres, under the pressure of developers or any other commercial interests. There is also an issue with aesthetical acceptance of Socialist Modernism, which looks "standard, industrial, grey and dull" for many.

The conclusion that is revealed when consistently scrutinizing Baltic modernism is a growing suspicion about its universal character. How could the modernist architecture be so universal, while also being so personal at the same time? In discussing the various judgments on the heritage of modernist architecture one could also feel the same suspicion: how much are such judgments influenced by different forms of nostalgia and how much by a truly critical outlook? If it really is nostalgia – is it possible to reconcile it with critical thinking? And if it really is nostalgia – whose nostalgia is it and nostalgia for what? After an entire generation has emerged since the fall of the Berlin Wall, which basically represented the end of the epoch of modernism (or at least a part of it), it is interesting to have a look at what kind of challenges await the researchers, curators, audience and society.

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MAŁGORZATA ROZBICKA

Poland's Postwar Architectural Heritage: A Record of Political, Social, and Economic Change

Poland's postwar architecture and urban planning is a phenomenon that is remarkably diverse both formally and in terms of content. Although Polish architects were never completely isolated from European and world architecture following 1945, their architectural creativity up to 1989 was strongly influenced by political, social, and economic changes taking place in Poland.

Presented here is the architectural landscape of postwar Poland. It provides proof of great diversity and cultural value. Still stirring mixed emotions among Poles, it is cultural heritage that should be protected in accordance with its artistic, historical, and scientific values.

1945–1948

Regardless of attitude to systemic transformation, the priority task before the Polish population over the years 1945–1949 was reconstruction after wartime destruction. This was especially true of Warsaw – 85% rubble. However, its capital function and reconstruction were decreed by the new communist

WARSAW. POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUILDING (W. Kłyszewski, J. Mokrzyński, and E. Wierzbicki, 1947–1952). State in 2016. Photo by P. Kobek from the Collection of the National Heritage Board of Poland (hereinafter referred to as Coll. NID).

authorities in the winter of 1945 as the "primary task in rebuilding the country".[1]

Actually getting this job done necessitated the recruitment of the intelligentsia, especially architects. For the most part, they did not look favorably upon the government as conferred and protected by the Soviets. Today, it is difficult to fathom just what ultimately caused them to collectively join the centralized process of reconstruction initialized by the communists. However, it seems that the exceptionally skillful dosing of communist doctrine in the initial stages of systemic transformation was key.[2]

In architecture and urban planning, the unique liberalism of the first phase of communist rule guaranteed architects freedom in creativity while limiting the role of political factors to formulating needs and creating an organizational framework.

Apart from rebuilding the core of old Warsaw – the Old and New Towns and adjacent streets – that was carried out with a relatively faithful preservation of historical buildings, the architecture of the years 1945–1949 developed in direct relationship to the achievements of interwar Modernism. Depending on subject, designs and erected buildings made creative reference to Constructivism – the classical tradition that developed in Poland in the 1930s – and the left-wing accomplishments of the Avant-Garde in social matters.[3]

Even the first major construction projects of postwar Warsaw saw the successful application of 1930s' academic Constructivism joining functional perfection with an official feel based on axial symmetry, meticulous stone finish, and reinforced concrete structure. One example is the State Economic Planning Commission complex (Stanisław Bieńkuński and Stanisław Rychłowski, 1946–1948). Another is the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee building (Wacław Kłyszewski, Jerzy Mokrzyński, and Eugeniusz Wierzbicki, 1947–1952).

Freedom in creativity also bore fruit in the architecture of public buildings through yet other tendencies. A most interesting architectural phenomenon is the creativity of Marek Leykam – exceptional through its architectural form coupled with the logic of function and the rhythm of reinforced concrete structure. Outstanding Warsaw buildings include the Corbusian CDT department store (Zbigniew Ihnatowicz and Jerzy Romański, 1948–1952).

The Avant-Garde mainly left its mark on the architecture and urban planning of Warsaw housing estates. There, the prime thought was the building of social ties on the basis of the Anglo-Saxon concept of the "Neighborhood Unit" (Żoliborz – Barbara and Stanisław Brukalski, 1946; Mokotów – Zasław Malicki and Stefan Tworkowski, 1946; Koło II – Helena and Szymon Syrkus, 1947–1950).

Unfortunately, starting with 1948, respect for the creative independence of the architectural community by state ideological and political bodies deteriorated as systemic transformation quickened. The authorities gradually took over full control of all aspects of architectural work.[4] State nationwide design institutions began to emerge. Housing cooperatives were deprived of their function as investor in 1949. Housing construction encompassing investment, design, and construction was almost completely monopolized by the ZOR Workers' Housing Development Administration.[5]

1949–1955

Thus, after a brief few years of creative freedom, enthusiasm, and dedication to reconstruction, Polish architecture entered a time of strong ideologization.

The offensive of Socialist Realism was launched by a resolution passed in June 1949 at the National Party Convention of Architects. It decreed that architecture "must become the ideological weapon of the Party."[6] It must be clear and close to the people. It must be national in form and socialist in content – a "creative mapping of the ideology and spirit of the times"[7] supporting the Six-Year Plan for the Economic Development and Building of Socialism (1950–1956).[8]

The Design Office Coordination Committee was established in February 1950. Its purpose was the subjugation of architecture to ideology, and to develop criteria for its assessment in terms of the postulates of Socialist Realism.[9] Piercing criticism of the achievements of the years 1946–1948 was launched. Major public buildings still under construction were modified in the spirit of socialism.[10] Only a few, like the CDT, ranked among "designs manifestly on the loosing architectural side,"[11] were completed without significant changes.

The impact of ideological and organizational transformations also marked the architecture of housing estates under construction. Rectification

WARSAW. MDM MARSZAŁKOWSKA HOUSING DISTRICT (S. Jankowski, J. Knothe, J. Sigalin, and Z. Stępiński, 1951–1952). State in 2016. Photo by P. Kobek. Coll. NID.

was the fate of the architectural detail and finish of housing estates such as the Modern Praga I (H. and S. Syrkus, A. Przybylski, and R. Dowgird, 1948–1952) and Muranów South (Bohdan Lachert, 1949–1956), built on the rubble of Warsaw's Ghetto.

Socialist Realism, in its search for "national form" in the past, chose Classical composition and detail as the basis of its development and logic. Expressions of Constructivism were aggressively fought by totalitarian neo-Classicism. Modernist Disurbanism replaced courtyard solutions with vast axial-radial structures while the "penury and barrenness" of Constructivism was supplanted by a wealth of stylized detail uniformly introduced onto the façades of government, culture, and apartment buildings.

One of the most spectacular applications of the ideology, planning, and architecture of Socialist Realism was the MDM Marszałkowska Housing District (S. Jankowski, J. Knothe, J. Sigalin, and Z. Stępiński, 1951–1952), a monumental housing complex and parade route on the ruins of Warsaw's city center with the enormous Parade Square, the site of the Palace of Culture and Science building (Lew Rudniew, 1952–1955) – "gift of the nations of the USSR" – Polonized Soviet-Classical architecture applying detail paraphrasing Polish Renaissance and neo-Classical forms.

Outside of the capital, the most significant example embodying Socialist Realism is the greenfield project of the 60 000 strong city of Nowa Huta and Europe's then largest steel mill. Erected in stages on the basis of a master plan by Tadeusz Ptaszycki (1950), it assumed construction of over a dozen housing estates of diverse layouts and architecture within a structure of traffic arteries radiating from a five-sided central square.[12]

The gradual retreat from rigorous adherence to the formal and ideological assumptions of Socialist Realism began with its timid criticism during the First National Convention of Architects one month after Stalin's death.[13]

KATOWICE. SPORTS-ENTERTAINMENT ARENA (architecture: M. Gintowt, M. Krasiński, structural engineering: A. Żórawski, 1960). State in 2015. Photo by M. Rozbicka.

The first monumental structure that broke with the canons of Socialist Realism is the Tenth Anniversary Stadium seating 70 000. Designed and built utilizing wartime rubble, it was an earthwork-masonry structure crowned by a conspicuous glazed pavilion (J. Hryniewiecki, M. Leykam, and C. Rajewski, 1954–1955).

1956–1960

The Polish architectural community ultimately cut itself off from the theory and practice of Socialist Realism in March 1956 during the Polish Nationwide Architects' Convention.[14]

Coming to power in October 1956, Władysław Gomułka ushered a brief period of moderate reform and "thawing." There was an opening to the West, improved relations with the Roman Catholic Church, and a halt to agricultural collectivization. Architecture and urban planning looked for a new, modern aesthetic and modern structural, material, and planning solutions.

A basic problem facing the new Party leadership was housing. A housing policy was developed over the years 1957–1958. It assumed using the population's resources for housing projects and a bigger role for cooperatives[15] – certainly positive changes. However, there were also new ideas regarding housing construction. Among them was the principle of type standardization announced in 1959[16] as well as the introduction that same year of design standards[17] making dwelling unit floor area dependent on occupancy – a mere nine square meters for every individual.

Nevertheless, the post-October "opening" brought several successful residential buildings. Among these is Warsaw's Sady Żoliborskie I housing estate (Halina Skibniewska, 1958–1962). Meeting standards it creates a harmonious complex of twenty carefully planed and developed five- and three-story buildings picturesquely positioned amidst vegetation.[18]

The design freedom of the "thaw" also bore fruit in ambitious designs for public buildings. Unfortunately, they often exceeded domestic contracting potential. They were built in reduced form or not at all – e.g., the novel design for the Eclectic Zachęta exhibition building expansion (Oskar Hansen, Lech Tomaszewski, and Stanisław Zamecznik, 1958).

In spite of technological and economic restrictions, many ambitious 1956–1960 public buildings designs were eventually built, albeit not until the 1960s or later. Among the most original in form and structural bravery is Warsaw's Supersam building. It was Poland's first supermarket and cafeteria (Jerzy Hryniewiecki, Maciej and Ewa Krasiński, Wacław Zalewski, Andrzej Żórawski, and Stanisław Kusia, 1959–1962). Another is the Katowice sports-entertainment arena (architecture: Maciej Gintowt and Maciej Krasiński, structural engineering: Andrzej Żórawski, 1960, construction 1964–1971).

The "thaw" also brought with it several buildings using modern forms and material-structural concepts. On a wave of improved State–Church relations these included churches such as the Church of the Holy Mother of Polish Emigrants in Władysławowo (Szczepan Baum and Andrzej Kulesza, 1957–1961) and the Church of St. John the Baptist in Nowe Tychy (Józef Kołodziejczyk, Tadeusz Szczęsny, and Zbigniew Weber, 1957–1958).[19]

The 1960s

After the "thaw's" Five-Year Plan (1956–1960), the authorities backtracked in the two successive economic plans (1961–1965 and 1966–1970) and invested in industry and raw materials. Their decision resulted in a slowing of housing construction, especially dwelling unit quality and size.

As the 1960s started, "post-thaw" enthusiasm began to wan in the architectural community. Centralization of design processes and multiplication of formal restrictions continued. The government introduced type standardization in 1959[20] and urban and rural building construction guidelines in 1966. The development of nationwide housing construction prefabrication systems became a priority (1966).[21] Obviously, pressure to implement prefabrication and type standardization limited the freedom of designers.

Any identifying of the architects with their work was additionally weakened by the cost-cutting legislation of July 1960[22] and stricter standards defining net building intensity introduced in 1964. This had the effect of decreasing the area within housing estate limits and increasing the share of long high-rise buildings.[23]

Searching for reserves and savings, state authorities implemented plans for cheap buildings in 1961.[24] One year later a directive introduced a program that assumed the lowering of construction costs by 20%. Changes introduced to housing design standards in 1961 also insisted on extreme savings. They forced dwelling units that were as small as possible, with single–sided airing, windowless kitchens, minimal entry halls, and bathrooms that required special permission for a bathtub, shower, and washbasin.[25]

An inadequate construction and materials industry and the dependence on "building contractors consistently demanding simplification" had a negative effect on architectural design, especially housing design.[26]

The 1960s was also a period of the supremacy of urban plans, which instead of shaping the cultural landscape often served to "legalize decisions taken counter to the plan,"[27] while simultaneously "assigning buildings the role of simple volumes and functions."[28]

Ongoing centralization of the design process, cost-cutting, multiplying restrictions, and the primacy of prefabrication, especially large panel construction, fashioned a utilitarian, economical, and standardized architecture springing out of Modernism and its concept of the social housing estate – Socmodern. The effect was a landscape filled with hundreds of similar block-filled housing estates.[29]

Nevertheless, in spite of standards that were probably the most restrictive in Europe, thanks to designer stubbornness and creative inventiveness, this same period saw the emergence of housing estates that stood apart from the Socmodern template with its five- and eleven-story standardized rectilinear volumes. In terms of urban and architectural planning, the most original was the Juliusz Słowacki housing estate in Lublin (architecture: Oskar and Zofia Hansen, structural engineering: Jerzy Dowgiałło, 1960–1963, construction 1964–1972). This was the first effort to give reality to the novel idea of an open linear and open form system

WARSAW. ZA ŻELAZNĄ BRAMĄ HOUSING ESTATE (J. Furman, J. Czyż, J. Józefowicz, A. Skopiński, 1965–1972). State in 1992.
Photo: W. Stępień, Coll. NID.

presented by Oskar Hansen at the 1959 CIAM Congress.[30]

A controversial achievements of this period is the Za Żelazną Bramą housing estate located in the center of Warsaw and consisting of nineteen "cubby-hole" sixteen-story buildings (Jan Furman, Jerzy Czyż, Jerzy Józefowicz, and Andrzej Skopiński, 1965–1972) – an attempt to actually build Le Corbusier's vision of dwellings surrounded by vegetation in functionally self-sufficient high-rise buildings applying extreme cost-cutting in the politicized reality of the 1960s.[31]

On the other hand, the Eastern Wall (Zbigniew Karpiński and Jan Klewin, 1962–1969) in the very center of Warsaw is undoubtedly a success of the 1960s. This late-Modern retail-housing complex based on two parallel circulation routes – vehicular and pedestrian – consists of four department stores, architecturally diverse retail, culture, and office buildings of various height along the pedestrian route, all overlooked by three twenty-four-story towers.

The 1970s

The economic situation of Poland began to deteriorate with the end of the 1960s. Although true that industrial production continued to grow, the living standard of the population remained at an unchanged low level. Instead of adjusting economic expectations, the authorities introduced price hikes. This increase in December 1970 met with protests. After bloody suppression Edward Gierek took the helm of the Party and promised increased consumer good supplies and more dwelling units.

This is why the 1970s were a decade of dynamic housing construction based on large panel construction – 80% of housing projects. Prefabrication also meant expansion of production facilities – "house factories." Sixty-three were established over the years 1971–1975, reaching 160 by 1980.[32]

WARSAW. DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR URSYNÓW NORTH HOUSING ESTATE (M. Budzyński, J. Szczepanik-Dzikowski, A. Szkop, 1972–1975). Collection of the Department of Polish Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Warsaw University of Technology.

Apart from industrialization of construction technology, a 1974 standard influenced housing estate urban planning and architecture significantly. This was mainly due to urban planning guidelines.[33] They aimed at integrating residential--retail urban tissue[34] and were supplemented by housing standards[35] that increased usable floor areas of dwelling units.[36]

These newly defined technical-construction and legislative conditions coupled with economic growth in the first half of the 1970s spurred work on wide-ranging housing projects. In spite of low construction quality and contractor-dictated restrictions, variations in the volumes, heights, textures, colors, and detail provided relatively many housing estates that demonstrated individualized planning and architecture.

The most spatially and architecturally unconventional one was Wrocław's Przyjaźń housing estate (Witold Jerzy Molicki, 1970–1980). Warsaw's Służew nad Dolinką housing estate, with its interesting detail and skillful insertion into the landscape, is also noteworthy (Janusz Nowak, Piotr Sembrat, and Jerzy Kuźmienko, 1974–1979). However, Warsaw's Ursynów North housing estate (Marek Budzyński, Jan Szczepanik-Dzikowski, and Andrzej Szkop, 1972–1975) based on sociological[37] and nature studies, integrated housing, retail and recreational services, and traditional municipal streets and squares,[38] was the most original and largest housing complex of this period.

Through loans, the 1970s saw a whole series of spatially and architecturally ambitious public buildings and facilities. The years 1971–1976 brought new projects, especially in Warsaw – mainly the Western Center region (Jerzy Skrzypczak, 1969–1974) with two skyscrapers and a glazed hall, Europe's most modern railroad station at that time (Arseniusz Romanowicz, 1973–1976). The years 1971–1975 also saw the building of the largest traffic project of the capital. Changes in Party policy with respect to the West in the years 1972–1973 made possible several projects by Swedish architects (e.g., Sten Samuelson, Hotel Forum, 1972–1973).

State-Church relations were ultimately normalized with the start of the 1970s. This resulted in numerous projects that were not restricted by the rigors of type standardization. Designers molded traditional religious models into the language of contemporary architecture. Among the flagship designs of this period are the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gorajec (Jan Bogusławski, 1973–1979) and the intriguing pyramidal form of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Tychy (Stanisław Niemczyk, 1976–1983).[39]

The first symptoms of a worsening economic situation became visible around 1975. Over the years 1976–1980, national income fell by 7%. Shortages in consumer goods also appeared. Once again the only remedy forwarded by the authorities was price hikes. Once again there was a wave of strikes ending with the signing by the government of an agreement with the protestors on August 31, 1980 and the emergence of the "Solidarity" Independent Trade Union Association.

The 1980s

The brief period of post-August liberty was overshadowed by an atmosphere of confrontation. Solidarity pushed for change. The authorities tried to

ELBLĄG. NEW DEVELOPMENTS AT THE OLD TOWN (1985–). State in 2004. Photo by M. Rozbicka.

prevent this.[40] The social, political, and economic crisis of the end of the 1970s was exacerbated by the introduction of martial law in December 1981. Organizational paralysis, hampered movement, lack of resources and construction potential were apparent in the drastic fall in construction work and related difficulties. A period of investment stagnation and the breaking of the monopoly of state design offices by independent design studios[41] established 1982–1983, it triggered serious discussion in the architectural community. The 14th Congress of the International Union of Architects in Warsaw in May 1981 marked the beginning. Topics included new currents in architecture and ways of overcoming systemic and technical barriers blocking architecture, especially housing.[42] Postmodernism proved of special interest. It was a current of tolerance, plurality, and sensitivity to the historical, regional, landscape, and social context. It was perceived as a desirable remedy for the type standardization and unification of 1960s and 70s Socmodern.[43]

With limited investment potential in 1980s Poland, Postmodernism mainly existed as theoretical ideas, but did make its mark with several noteworthy buildings. Primarily designers supplementing downtown tissue made reference to it by utilizing traditional technologies and reintroducing appropriate scale and meaningful detail. Among major housing projects were the Centrum E housing estate (Romuald Loegler, 1988–1995),[44] outstanding in its Postmodern forms and colors amidst the Socialist Realism buildings of Nowa Huta, and the Poznań's Zielone Wzgórza housing estate (J. Buszkiewicz and his team, starting 1982), an urban design based on traditional towns.[45] The desire to make reference to local tradition also found expression around the mid-1980s with reinstated historical property lines and street networks lost over the course of a complicated history together with their

WARSAW. WARSAW UNIVERSITY NEW LIBRARY (M. Budzyński, Z. Badowski, 1994–1999). State in 2000. Photo: W. Stępień, Coll. NID.

architectural identity – Elbląg, Kołobrzeg, and Głogów.[46]

The Church – probably the most creative investor of that period – also embraced Postmodernism. Designers raised buildings of increasing scale and expressiveness. Among numerous churches erected during the 1980s, the most outstanding was undoubtedly the Postmodern Resurrectionist Congregation Higher Theological Seminary (Dariusz Kozłowski and Wacław Stefański, 1985–1996) and the Church of the Ascension in Warsaw's Ursynów (M. Budzyński and Zbigniew Badowski, 1982–1989). Just the latter's very presence with its modern form based on Polish architectural tradition within a socialist housing estate speaks of the breakdown of formal and program standards forced by the communist authorities.[47]

The 1990s

The democratic breakthrough that occurred in Poland after the first almost free elections in the Eastern Bloc in June 1989 came at a time that was exceptionally difficult both a politically and economically. After martial law, international sanctions, years of stagnation and strikes, and inflation running at 700%, Poland was truly bankrupt. Thus, the years 1990–1997 were primarily ones of radical economic and local government reform (1990) as well as … "regaining balance."[48] In architecture it was a time of the final collapse of state monopoly in design. Initially, this led to projects for the Church. These were followed by domestic business, including residential and retail projects. Unlike the unified style of Socmodern, designs applied expressive Postmodern meanings in strict relation to sur-

roundings and traditional forms of architecture. This particularly applied to infill buildings like the Wrocław designs of Wojciech Jarząbek (residential building at the corner of Zielińskiego and Swobodnej streets, 1991) or Jacek Lenart in Szczecin (the corner of a tenement quarter on Zgody Square, 1995–1996), built in the centers of cities, hoping to give order to chaos.

It was not until the mid-1990s that conditions emerged allowing Polish architects to embrace world architectural and technological trends. The result was the construction of several significant buildings: a new wing for the Poznań Music Academy (Jerzy Gurawski, 1995–1997) built in the spirit of muted Postmodernism, the new University of Warsaw library saturated with Postmodern references combining expressive environmental threads with contemporary technology in a fascinating way (Marek Budzyński and Zbigniew Badowski with their team, 1994–1999), or the glazed Supreme Court building in Warsaw, steeped with symbolism and plant accents (Marek Budzyński and Zbigniew Badowski with their team, 1996–1999). Simultaneously, international capital began its encroachment, especially into cities where it dictated its rules to local government thanks to conditions created by the unfortunate reform of the spatial planning system (1994). What has started is the commercialization of space that is continuing to this very day. Combined with the neoliberal architectural discourse it has released a pluralism of styles that has never been seen before, but which is a far cry from the pro-social ethos of the Modernism cultivated in Poland from the interwar period right up to the beginning of the 1990s.

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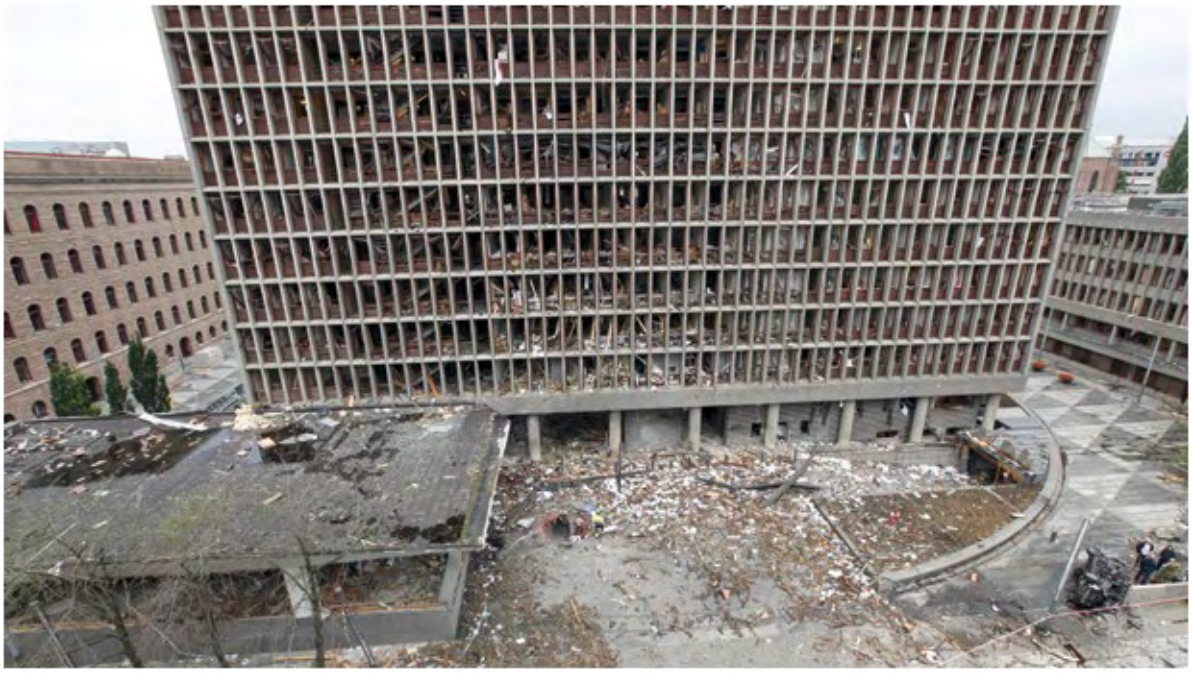
SIRI SKJOLD LEXAU

Lost Cultural Heritage: The Aftermath of the Bombing of the Government Quarter in Oslo and the Need for Collective Memory

A blow to openness and democracy

Cultural heritage has become a crucial target in conflicts. In this paper, I will discuss controversies and challenges when symbolic buildings of high value as cultural heritage are harmed due to terrorism, but also by ignorance of their architectural value. The value may be as economical or material resource, historical significance or architectural quality. At the same time, contemporary needs ask for buildings adapted to changing needs. My point of departure will be the bomb attack on the Norwegian government quarter on July 22nd, 2011.

In the middle of Norwegian holiday time, when a large part of the population was enjoying their free time and long, bright summer nights, the shocking news of a bomb attack to the Government Quarter in the centre of Oslo reached listeners all over the world. 8 people were killed, 10 severely injured and 30 treated for their injuries. Interrogations showed that the terrorist blow was meant to harm the social democratic system and its values, and what the attacker Anders Behring Breivik found to be islamist friendly politics of the Labour Party government.



THE H BLOCK OF THE GOVERNMENT QUARTER after the bomb attack on July 22, 2011. Photo: KRIPOS/Scanpix.

According to Breivik's ideology, the attack was meant to harm

1. the H block government building housing the Labour party's prime minister's offices
2. the political ideology of the state management
3. random civilians in Oslo
4. future politicians of the Labour party, participants at a labour party youth camp at Utøya near Oslo (77 young people were killed and 150 were hospitalized due to their injuries).

The main government building, the H block that was damaged in the attack, was designed in the 1950s by Gunnar Viksjø (1910–1971), one of the nation's most prominent architects at the time, to house offices of the state administration. The bomb destroyed the interior of the lowest floors and environments of the H block, but left other buildings nearby less harmed. We will have a look into the architectural qualities of the building and its nearby sibling the Y block, and the debate concerning the future fate of this very central city area in Oslo. Questions related to finances, functionality, security, architectural quality, cultural heritage and memorial significance both of the damaged H block, and the adjacent Y block that was not harmed in the attack, were elements of these discussions. My lecture will discuss the following questions attached to these buildings of high architectural value and significance as cultural heritage.

1. It is decided that the H block will be preserved, but maybe built higher, and surrounded by new buildings. What kind of memory will it convey?
2. How about its kin, the Y block? Should it be demolished, including its integrated art works of very high value, to give way for new plans of the area?
3. How about the openness created by the architect to give people of the social democratic welfare state direct access to the country's highest representatives, in a time where terrorist attacks have to be considered?
4. Should the area of historical significance be closed off to Oslo's citizens for security reasons?

During political conflicts and war, we are used to the alarming news that buildings and other cultural works are destroyed on purpose. We have witnessed Turkey's systematic erasure of Greek heritage in the occupied territories of Cyprus from the mid-70s and onwards, Serb artillery burning the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, Taliban's destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan in 2001, and DAESH's recent demolition of heritage in Palmyra or any shrine or monument not being in accordance with their conception of religious practice. It is often the symbolic significance of the buildings that causes such political motivated attacks. Even of less impact than other international examples, the symbolic value of the Government Quarter in Oslo is very strong for Norwegians, which I will return to later. Should the state itself, in a period of peace, destroy its own heritage?

Architectural qualities of the Government Quarter

The high-rise H block of originally 15 stories where the prime minister's offices were located, is contrasted by the lower, curved Y block of three stories where the Ministry of Knowledge was located in recent years. The H block was inaugurated in 1958 and the Y block in the same architectural style, by the same architect Erling Viksjø, was completed in 1969. Both buildings are adorned with an innovative concrete/stone surface called "natural concrete", a method invented and patented by the architect and the engineer Sverre Jystad. Before the cement of the façades was cured, the formwork was removed and the surface sand blown to create a durable and beautiful surface where the natural stone appeared as decorative elements in the facade. In this way, Viksjø's buildings constructed by concrete skeletons got facades of natural stone. By using different colours and size of the pebbles, varying patterns and roughness give the surfaces diverse qualities. The sand blowing technique also made it possible to integrate works of art directly into the concrete walls of the façades and on interior walls.

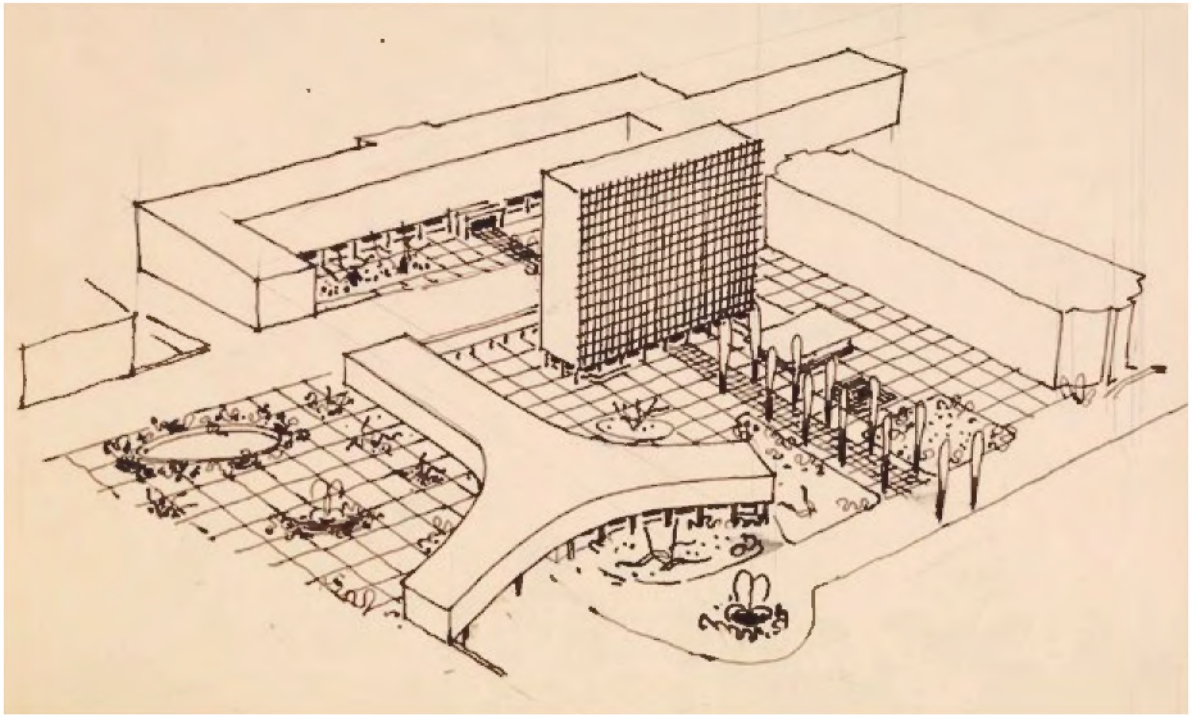
By letting artists use sand blowing as a way of artistic expression, Viksjø wished to integrate art in his architecture. Among profiled contemporary artists, Carl Nesjar (1920–2015) is the one best known for using such methods, and he had through 17 years a close cooperation with Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). The buildings also have integrated works by Tore Haaland (1918–2006), Odd Tandberg (1924–), Inger Sitter (1929–2015) and Kai Fjell (1907–1989). The area binding the H block, the Y block and

THE H BLOCK AND THE Y BLOCK
of the Government Quarter.
Photo: Trond Joelson, Byggeindustrien.

SANDBLOWN NATURAL CONCRETE
and artistic work designed by Pablo Picasso
and executed by Carl Nesjar.
Photo: Teigens fotoatelier/Nasjonalmuseet.

ERLING VIKSJØ: The H block of the Government Quarter in Oslo, 1958. Photo: Teigens fotoatelier/ Nasjonalmuseet.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT QUARTER, sketch by Erling Viksjø, probably 1958. Photo: Andreas Harvik /Nasjonalmuseet.



other buildings together, is partly designed to continue the qualities of the natural concrete facades. Geometrical patterns give vitality to the pedestrian areas, which connected the buildnings, parking lots and garages.

The H block was designed through different stages during the period 1940 to 1958. Statens bygge- og eiendomsdirektorat (The Directorate for Building and Properties in Norway) announced an open competition for the H block Government Building project in 1939, and 49 entries were submitted. Preconditions were to provide an economic and effective system of ground plans combined with a representative design. In March 1940, the entries Rytme designed by Ove Bang and Øivin Holst Grimsgaard, Vestibyle by Erling Viksjø, U by Nils Holter and Fri by Dagfinn Morseth and Mads Wiel Gedde were awarded as four equal winners (Tostrup: 92, 95–96). Viksjø's entry shows a rather strict raster system, with window frames withdrawn from the outer facade grid. In many ways, this makes his proposal stronger, but also heavier than other entries, as Bang's more transparent glass body.

Two further steps in the development of the area were anticipated, but only one was completed. In 1958, Viksjø continued to work on a possible extension of the Government Quarter, and a drawing probably executed in 1958 shows a second, Y-shaped building complementing the high-rise.

Contemporary challenges

Now, we will have a closer look at how we plan to deal with these buildings today. The first question raised after the bomb attack in 2011 was whether the H block should be saved or demolished. Rigmor Aasrud, Minister of Local Government and Regional Development stated already the day after the bomb attack that it probably would be far too expensive to reconstruct the building, it was probably too damaged, and further it did not have any architectural value. Then followed a long process of investigations: Was it structural possible to use the H block in the future or was the structure too damaged? How about the human factor? Should traumatized employees who had lost their colleges or miraculously avoided a fatal situation in the bomb attack be forced to go back to work in the same building? Later investigations showed that the structure of the building was not severely damaged, and that it could easily be rebuilt as a functional office building with its remaining qualities intact. Experts on architectural history also pointed to the architectural value of the building, and the fact that it was a core example of the Norwegian welfare state's open form architecture of the post-war period. On the other hand, the human factor was a challenge.

But the buildings have values of their own right. When the bomb attack hit the H block, the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway was already preparing a listing of both the H block and the Y block as part of the National Protection Plan of Buildings owned by the State (Landsverneplan for bygninger i statens eie). It was argued that

1. the H block was for many years one of the largest single buildings in Norway
2. it is urgent to protect the building's architectural value as one of the most significant buildings of Norwegian after-war modernistic architecture
3. the H block is a monumental building where all functions are connected in one building
4. it represents an ideal of education/public buildings for its time.

All the same, the bomb attack triggered revised debates on the future development of the Government Quarter. Questions were raised related to architectural quality, administrative functionality, material resource value, security challenges and work quality for traumatized employees. In June 2013, the result of the first concept investigation by architects Metier, LPO og OPAK for a possible future use of the buildings in the Government Quarter was published. The commission was to find a long-time solution meeting the necessary demands of security and functionality, and the investigation concluded that it would be rational to demolish and reconstruct the buildings. In October 2013, an additional concept analysis was delivered by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway. This investigation concluded that both the H block and the Y block have national value and should be preserved. Probably it would also be resource effective to preserve them vs demolishment and reconstruction.

In May 2014, Prime Minister Erna Solberg and the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Modernization, Jan Tore Sanner presented the plan for a New Government Quarter where the H block

would be preserved, stating: "The H block is the most significant symbol building of the modern Norwegian Welfare State after WW2. The H block is among the best examples of monumental modernism, and the art works stand in a special position among recent Norwegian history of art and architecture" (Statsministerens kontor). So, finally, the H block was saved. The Y block should, however, be demolished to give space for new buildings, while two of its integrated art works should be preserved and moved.

Collective Memory

Only in the very last years, huge concrete buildings designed and constructed in the first decades after WW2 have been evaluated for possible protection. In many ways, they are too recent to be regarded as cultural heritage in the public and professional opinion. They are experiencing their mid-life crisis, as Siri Hoem puts it in a chronicle (Aftenposten 04.08.2015). If we had the patience to wait another 10–20 years before judging their future, maybe we would appreciate them otherwise. Quite recently, a profiled Norwegian lawyer and former head of the Norwegian Police Security Service, Ellen Holager Andenæs, in the popular Friday evening programme Nytt på Nytt October 9th 2015, several times claimed that the H block had no value for people, that it was just ugly. "It's UGLY. Case closed". This was in a discussion with Jørn Holmene, head of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway. I suppose that her view represent a substantial part of the Norwegian population's view of post-war architecture, including bureaucrats who have been or will be working in the building in the future.

The buildings of the Government Quarter were initially seen as quite controversial because they repressed a beautiful city area in the 1950s, further because they by many were regarded as "ugly", ultimately destroyed by an ultra-conservative activist who wished to harm the symbols of the political social democracy and the welfare state. On the other hand, the discussions on the significance of the buildings, both as architectural heritage and as an important memory of the nation's recent political history have had its effect. The decision to preserve the H block as part of a future city renewal of the area has been accepted without much resistance. The problem is that the Y block has to go,

UN HEADQUARTERS, New York, designed by Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer (1947–49). Photo: Creative Commons, Geoffreyq, 06.08.2011.

according to this plan. This will be a huge loss, seen from an architectural historian's point of view, as such a composition of building bodies is to be found very few places in the world. A superior example is the UN Headquarters in New York, consisting of the office tower for the Secretariat designed by Le Corbusier, and the Assembly Hall in a separate, curved building designed by Oscar Niemeyer. The assemblage was erected in 1947–49.

In Oslo, the rectangular high-rise block is contrasted to the curving façade of the lower Y block in a very similar way to the UN buildings. Another point is that buildings with curving facades over a ground plan of Xs and Ys were used several times for buildings associated with the post-war international cooperation work among democratic states. Further examples are the Unesco Building in Paris, designed by Marcel Breuer, Pier Luigi Nervi and Bernard Zehrfus and built in 1952–58. Marcel Breuer used this shape for several buildings. Another international example is the Berleymont Building in Brussels, directly inspired by the UN Headquarters, and designed by Lucien de Vestel and Jean Gilson, built 1963–69. The UN buildings were erected at the same time as Viksjø submitted a revised version av his H block design. In 1958, he proposed the Y block as a strongly contrasted building volume, and there is reason to believe

that he knew the design of the UN Headquarters, designed by two of the most internationally renowned architects of the time. This assemblage of buildings was erected in Oslo, Norway, but Norwegians wish to remove half of the composition, maybe the most important part, due to what I will call pure historic ignorance.

The area around the H block and the Y block was an open, public accessible area where everybody could walk literally through the lavish buildings of the state administration. This was exactly in accordance with Sigfried Giedion, Josep Lluis Sert and Fernand Léger's thesises of "Nine Points on Monumentality" in their paper published in 1943, and in Giedion's article "The Need for a New Monumentality" from 1944. Public resources should be used for the obligations of the welfare state to the contemporary society's living population and their everyday needs, not to costly monuments of the dead. In Norway as anywhere else, concrete, often with a very rough and untreated surface, was a preferred material to obtain this new kind of monumentality for public buildings. Schools, hospitals, town halls, sport halls and bank buildings were erected in raw concrete with few decorative details except the aesthetic qualities of the concrete itself. Viksjø had such principles more or less in front of him when he designed the Government Quarter, but he enriched them with his innovative use of concrete. Anyway, his planning was in accordance with international, contemporary, politically conscious architectural theory.

The new, 2015 plans for the Government Quarter states that the H block will still be the highest building of the area, but this will be obtained by building it even higher than its extension of 1990 by Per Viksjø. Surrounding buildings will also be quite high. So – what kind of public area will this be in the future? Which memories will it convey? That a bomb explosion led to a thorough transformation of the area?

Probably the area will not be very attractive for pedestrians, if they should be allowed to enter. We will lose the openness originally so characteristic of the Norwegian Government Quarter, due to security reasons. We could have chosen to preserve the main buildings, the H and Y block, as functional office buildings. We might even recognize their value as material resources not to be thrown away at extra costs, in addition to keep them as monuments of important political ideals for the benefit of society that a terrorist did not manage to destroy. We might even be proud of them. And it is not necessarily a good idea to compress the whole state administration in one place – concerning security. Current plans for the area will destroy the unique composition of two contrasting, but related buildings of very high architectural quality. It will transform the Government Quarter into a high-rise business district with high security precautions. And we will completely loose this architectural mirroring of political ideals so characteristic of Scandinavian welfare states in the post-war period.

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JĀNIS LEJNIEKS

Rebranding the Soviet Regime's Built Cultural Heritage and the Need for Collective Memory

The Soviet regime in Latvia has a long pre-history, as noted by the distinguished historian Stanley G. Payne, "Latvia's unique contribution to the revolution was to become the first region in which the Bolsheviks created an organized and disciplined armed force, much more reliable than the Red Guard militia. This took the form of volunteer Latvian "Strelkii" (riflemen) regiments, stemming from elite Latvian regiments in the old [Russian imperial] army."[1]

The Latvian riflemen were military formations assembled starting 1915 in Latvia in order to defend Baltic territories against the Germans in World War I. Initially, the battalions were formed by volunteers, and "from 1916 by conscription among the Latvian population. A total of about 40 000 troops were drafted into the Latvian Riflemen Division."[2]

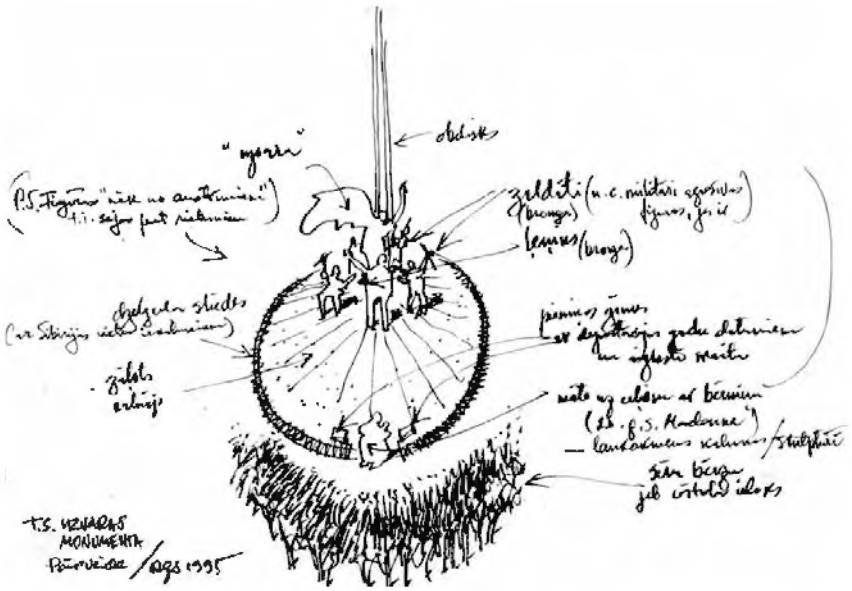
After the collapse of the Russian empire the Latvian regiments in the Tsarist army were split in politically right and left wings. The first eventually became the core of the military forces of the new Latvian state. The left-minded, which inherited the radical tradition from the rebels in the Revolution of 1905, "showed popular support for Bolshevism. The Red Army arrived in Riga on 3 January 1919, and the first Communist regime outside Russia was set up as the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic."[3]

The second time a Communist regime was set up in Latvia was in June 1940, shortly after the Red Army occupied Latvia on the basis of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Soon the Latvian communists were sent from Russia to establish and strengthen the regime. In June 1941, German forces "liberated" Latvia, but in 1944, when this occupation came to an end, a Soviet regime was set up for the third time after the Red Army "liberated" Latvia again.

MONUMENT OF DELIBERATION OF RIGA by Red Army in 1944, arch. E.Vecumnieks, V.Zilgalvis, E.Bāliņš a.o., built in Victory Square in 1985. Photo: Unknown.

During the years of the Soviet occupation regime many monuments and buildings devoted to the history of the regime were built. Most of them, including all the statues of Lenin, except for war cemeteries, were destroyed in the early 90s, when a campaign of iconoclasm took place. Nevertheless, some of the most controversial and prominent of these, connected with the native history, survived and became the stumbling block in the non-homogenous society of contemporary Latvia. The ideology of the re-established Latvian state was one aspect of the changes.

The "Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments" of the Republic of Latvia, adopted in 1992, deliberately included the regulation that prohibited to list buildings whose age is less than 50 years. Negativism regarding Soviet Modernism-style buildings was prevalent in the 90s, when, consequently, a lot of them were abandoned or demolished regardless their architectural quality.



PROPOSAL TO REMODEL MONUMENT OF DELIBERATION of Riga by Raimonds Slaidinsch (USA), 90s.

One of such still threatened artefacts is the Monument Devoted to the Liberation of Riga in 1944 by the Red Army. It was built in 1985 by Latvian artists, architects and engineers at the place where German war criminals were publicly executed in 1946. The monument was built partly from donations collected at workplaces. It is the most visible dominant feature on the left bank of Daugava River in the Riga city centre, located on the main East-West axis of city.

In 1997, extreme nationalists attempted to blow it up – unsuccessfully, and the state repaired the damage. Later there was a suggestion by Raimonds Slaidiņš, a Latvian-born architect from the USA, to remodel it by adding some elements telling the controversial story about the violence against Latvian people by the Soviet regime, but the proposal was not carried out.

The financial aspect in the process of changes started playing a role with the introduction of liberal market economy. Investors contrived to destroy or substantially remodel buildings of the Soviet era, which had become private property. The interest for income coincided with the wide-spread public opinion about "worthless Soviet cultural heritage". For example, cinema buildings became parts of supermarkets or casino chains. The best samples of Soviet Modernism, located in the places with a high estate property value, were demolished to build new buildings with much more density.

Re-use of the Soviet-era buildings became another way of dealing with the communist past. The easiest way of re-branding them consisted of removing the symbols of the hated regime, as it was done with the pentagonal star on the top of the building of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, built in the 50s. More controversial are cases when essential changes are offered. One of such buildings is the Museum of the Red Latvian Riflemen built in 1971, which served as the icon of the regime until 1991.

The location of the Museum and memorial statue is the most controversial one in the capital city of Latvia, as it stands at the very core of Old Riga, close to the Town Hall Square with the famous 14th-century Blackheads House. There were intentions to change the area in the late 30s, when President Kārlis Ulmanis planned to remodel the old Hanseatic city into the national capital of Latvian state. The plans were stopped by WWII and Soviet aggression. In June 1941 the core of Old Riga was destroyed by a fire caused by war action.

After WWII the remains of buildings were razed, and a large square created, along with numerous plans and projects aimed to revive the place. In the late 60s, when the regime decided to build the museum and memorial devoted to the brave Red Latvian Riflemen, there was no planning document to reconstruct the Blackheads House. The Soviet city planners' philosophy for the future

OLD RIGA. WWII damages.
Axonometric view, 50s.

of Old Town was based on ignoring the historic urban fabric.

The authors of the winning design deliberately planned their museum building ignoring the foundations of the Blackheads House. The Memorial sketches were prepared to develop it as a dominant ensemble. Nevertheless, the cultural heritage protection authorities had other plans in their minds, and they forced the authors to shift the new building, taking into account the possibility to reconstruct the Blackheads House in the future as a pastiche.

Political support for such intentions came much later, when in the early 90s the enthusiasts of restoring the situation ante bellum got the chance to build copies of the Blackheads House, as well as the Town Hall. After the construction was completed, the Museum's building lost its dominant role at the centre of a large square and became a part of perimetral building front of the block.

Along the way there were unsuccessful attempts to take a political decision to raze the Museum's building and remove the statue of the riflemen. Instead of them, a sketch for a hotel building was prepared by the Director of the Riga City Development Department, Juris Paegle, but protests of the Latvian architects' community stopped the process. The clash between the business interests and intents to keep the building for public use were recognizable.

Persons who escaped West or were deported during WWII established the Occupation Museum Foundation (now: Association) of Latvia and adapted the building of the former Red Latvian Riflemen's Museum building for the use of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia. The building belongs to the Latvian state, and in 2006, by a special law, it was exclusively dedicated for the use of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia.

The Museum is owned and administered by the Occupation Museum Association of Latvia. Besides maintaining the building, the Latvian state pays an annual subsidy to the Museum to fulfil important state functions, including protocol visits by high state guests. However, the subsidy currently covers only about 1/4 of the actual costs of running the Museum.

In 2001 the "world-renowned Latvian-American architect Gunnar Birkerts generously designed as a gift the project for reconstruction and expansion of the Museum building. The Museum has entitled this project 'The Building for the Future' [Nākotnes Nams]".[4] The addition will have much improved facilities for visitors, museum staff and a

MEMORIAL OF RED LATVIAN RIFLEMEN in Old Riga, built in 1971, arch. Dz. Driba, G.Lūsis-Grīnbergs, now Museum of Occupation at the Town hall square. View from St. Peter's church. Photo: Unknown, magazine Māksla.

TOWN HALL SQUARE, Museum of Occupation behind the Blackheads house, reconstructed in 1999. View from St. Peter's church. Photo: Jānis Lejnieks.

modern interactive exposition. Birkerts describes his design metaphorically as the progression from the dark past, to the bright present and enlightened future.

A preliminary design was approved by the City Building Board in 2008. A public hearing was held, a detailed plan of the whole block was approved by the City Council in 2010. The design by Gunnar Birkerts was on the way toward realization in 2015 when a group of Latvian architects protested against the long-approved project. There are several reasons for the protest.

ADDITION TO MUSEUM OF OCCUPATION, design by Gunnar Birkerts (USA), 2001.

The influential Social Democratic Party "Concord" ("Saskaņa"), ruling Riga City, has not recognized the fact, that Latvia was occupied in 1940 by the Soviet Union under the provisions of the 1939 Hitler–Stalin Pact with Nazi Germany. As follows, the development of the Museum of the Occupation close to the Town hall building is in conflict with the political platform of the ruling party of Riga City Council.

Another reason can be the jealousy of local architects. Gunnar Birkerts was earlier commissioned to design the Latvian National Library without a competition. The failure of the star architect to invite the author of the original Museum building, G. Lūsis-Grīnbergs, to take part (another author, arch. Dz. Driba had passed away) in the design process played a negative role as well.

The Latvian society nowadays is split in its attitude toward its own history. The line of demarcation does not lie between nationalities but different-minded people, since the last-minute protest against the long-approved Birkerts project is signed by the academician of Latvian Academy of Sciences, Professor of Architecture Jānis Krastiņš, and some prominent architects, such as Zaiga Gaile and Andis Sīlis.

Zaiga Gaile proclaims that she and her associates want to reconstruct the Occupation Museum – the black sarcophagus that houses the permanent exhibition. Instead of building the white addition to the Museum they propose to invest the rest of the allocated financing (ca. EUR 7 500 000) to remodel the former KGB building to house the Museum's other functions. "I talked with the PM and others, and everyone agrees – if there are numerous empty buildings in Riga, there is no need to extend the museum. Let's not destroy our past".[5]

The question is raised about the past. The past is in presence everywhere where the Soviet regime built any monument. On the main street in Riga a Lenin statue was unveiled in 1950; it was pulled down in 1991. The neutral background of this place indicates that before WWII there was a refreshment stand in this place. In 2002, a group of business people announced a competition for a statue to commemorate the leader of the anti-Nazi resistance organization "Latvian Central Council" during WWII, Konstantīns Čakste.

After two years of public debate the winning proposal by Ojārs Feldbergs, as well the second one by Gļebs Panteļejevs, was rejected by city and state officials. Poor management of branding policy was the reason why the proposal did not pass. The bad "aura" of the place was the main argument for public opinion makers along with the generally unknown personality of Čakste, the son of the first president of Latvia, who died in 1945 in a Nazi concentration camp and whose role was not known during Soviet occupation.

There are a few things that all sites will need to consider when they are branding themselves: at first "The effort must include a very broad cross-section of place stakeholders and, secondly, it must employ a consensus-building process."[6] This can be verified by the case of the planned but not yet realized development of the Museum of the Occupation, as not all the stakeholders in Latvia are in favor of it.

The Riga City Architect and the Building Board have refused to approve the design by Gunnar Birkerts, motivating his refusal by the claim that "the addition to Museum of the Occupation fails to restore the structure of the medieval Old town (building lines, facades, local traditions, traditional materials)." The arguments are based on the building code of Riga, created on the basis of ICOMOS recommendations, since Riga Historical Centre has been the UNESCO World Heritage Site from 1997.

Right-wing parties, leading the government, reacted soon. Since the Museum of the Occupation operates under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture, the Parliament plans to make amendments in the Law of the Museum of the Occupation to grant to the building the status of an "object of national interest" and to enable the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Planning to issue a building permit. If passed, this amendment would effectively bypass the City Building Board. While waiting for the building process to proceed, the Museum has been housed in temporary quarters for nearly four years, where its exhibition attracts only 1/4 of the more than 100 000 annual visitors that came to the old building. Income from visitors has declined dramatically. The Museum's financial reserves are dwindling, and further delays will defray them to the point of no return.

The Memorial of the Red Latvian Riflemen in Old Riga still bears the iconic brand of Soviet Modernism. Along with the political interpretation of the regulations regarding the preservation of the World Heritage Site of historic Riga, this fact frustrates intentions to re-brand the building to serve its stated purpose to research and present all aspects of the occupation of Latvia in the period of 1940–1991 that is deemed especially important nowadays in hybrid-war time.

WWII has not yet ended at the very core of Old Riga, and the debate on the expansion of the Museum building in the Parliament this autumn will not be end of this story. There is not enough space for two controversial, as well as powerful icons on one site: the Memorial of Red Latvian Riflemen and the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia.

The Latvian Institute, working on the promotion of Latvia's positive international recognition, stresses, that "branding must strengthen the most popular elements of the brand. It also must widen the brand in spheres which potentially could promote the state and make it more recognizable. The rise of Latvia's reputation is a long-term challenge. However, the state has one worldwide recognized brand that is more popular than the state itself – Riga."[7]

The capital of the state has become the battlefield of radically different opinions regarding the rebranding of the Soviet regime's built cultural heritage. It is not clear which part of history should serve better for the identity of the nation and should be preserved: the heroic story of the Latvian riflemen, or the sad story of those deported and exiled Latvians, whose fate accuses the Red part of the Latvian riflemen. The conflict between Latvian architects reveals the political background of the decision not yet taken.

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HÅKAN HÖKERBERG

Difficult Heritage: Various Approaches to Twentieth-Century Totalitarian Architecture

Architecture is an efficient instrument to manifest and spread the political agenda of a nation; therefore it is often prospering in totalitarian regimes. This explains why architecture from twentieth-century dictatorships is richly represented in the European urban landscape. It is sometimes defined as totalitarian (or rhetoric) architecture, but this definition has to be used with some caution. It may imply that certain architecture has an inherent ideological nature and may consequently lead to the conclusion that certain architectural styles are associable with dictatorship. Totalitarian regimes often have a predilection for certain architectural styles but their employment is not limited to such regimes. They can also be found in democratic states.

Although we must dismiss the idea of specific totalitarian architectural styles, it is indisputable the case that certain qualities and building elements can distribute specific political meanings and messages. Furthermore, symbols and inscriptions on buildings and monuments left behind by totalitarian regimes often leave no doubt of their ideological intentions. This paper will focus on official buildings and sites that express such explicit connotations. They constitute a controversial heritage and their assimilation to democratic society entails a multitude of difficulties. These challenges are met with a wide spectrum of strategies, ranging from neglect or demolition to conservation and protection. These varying approaches are usually related to historiography, prevailing images of national identity, or the specific identity to which the post-totalitarian nation aspires.

The past in the present

The idea of history as an objective discipline, unaffected by temporary ideological and political trends is no longer valid; it is interacting with present political and cultural circumstances. This interaction between the past and the present enhances the complexity of historic knowledge but it does also imply some limitations; 'hindsight paradoxically limits our ability to understand the past by giving us greater knowledge than people of the time could have had' (Lowenthal 1993:216–217). Our reconstruction of the past makes it more coherent than it actually was.

'In order to create a community's required history and destiny, which in turn can be used to form the representation of the nation, the nation requires a usable past' (Misztal 2003:17). An operational use of history allows for an interpretation of history that serves specific interests, for example to highlight some epoques while others are ignored or glossed over as a parenthesis in history. To design a usable past provides the possibility to establish a desired identity and self-legitimation. The display of ideologically difficult heritage can also contribute to the creation of a usable past, where different approaches represent the significance that is given to the heritage.

Its conservation can turn into a witness to an accepted oppressive past and encourage reconciliation. In other cases, conservation is favoured by supporters of a revisionist agenda who endeavour to use it as a chauvinistic and nostalgic manifestation of a glorious past. Demolition is often the solution when the legacy is too painful to be of any utility to present agents.

The postmodern conception of history has made its distinction to memory more diffuse. Similarly to history, memory is the representation of the past in the present. We are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities (Gillis 1994:3). Personal memories of past events diminish over

time and become transformed to collective memories – a process that facilitates heritagisation of controversial sites and buildings. No one can be held accountable anymore, as for example at Auschwitz.

Not only memory but also forgetfulness are fundamental elements when nations seek to establish their representation in the past – as the French philosopher Ernest Renan declared already in 1882 is his discourse '*Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*'; he states that 'getting its history wrong is crucial for the creation of a nation' (Renan 1882). Obviously forgetting (or mental suppression) is not an entirely negative phenomenon; memory gaps can contribute to national stability and democratic consolidation: 'to remember everything could bring a threat to national cohesion and self-image' (Misztal 2003:17).

History is the prerequisite for heritage, but the two serve quite different purposes. 'Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but in its attitude toward bias' (Lowenthal 1998:122). Heritage leaves out far more than history, and the political impact is more evident in heritage than in history; heritage is the product of contemporary political and scientific circumstances and it is continuously redefined in changing political, cultural and social contexts.

Heritage is usually associated with positive qualities such as historical, aesthetic and ethical values, but existing social and political conflicts based on different interpretations of history that are reflected in a physical object do not disappear simply because these objects become classified or listed as heritage. Heritage has the capacity to cause discord – an inherent quality that has to be recognised and accepted as it contributes to tell a more 'truthful' history and mirrors the complex nature of the disputed heritage (Dolff-Bonekämper 2008).

Various Approaches

The architectural heritage from twentieth-century totalitarian regimes is a materialisation of the national history. Its physical condition and display are reflections of how historiography, the use of history and collective memory have been coordinated to achieve a usable – and suitable – past. The various approaches to this controversial heritage represent applied history; they justify the official history and identity that the nation wishes to promulgate, even if the above-mentioned methodological imperfections affect the representation.

FORO ITALICO, the obelisk. Photo: Håkan Hökerberg.

The following inventory on different approaches to dissonant heritage is mainly focused on Italy. This is not to imply that there is no evidence from other post-totalitarian nations but Italy preserves much more objects and a greater variety of responses to them.

Conservation

Foro Italico (former *Foro Mussolini*) is a large sports complex in Rome, inaugurated in 1932. It was the first large-scale building project by the Fascist regime and it was built to bring not only physical but also ideological education to the younger generation. The sports ground is largely intact and still emblazoned with highly charged fascist symbols and inscriptions.

A marble obelisk at the entrance to the complex has the inscription 'MUSSOLINI DUX OPERA NAZIONALE BALILLA' that can be seen from a

FORO ITALICO, the mosaics. Photo: Håkan Hökerberg.
THE FORMER CASA DEL FASCIO, Pomezia, today a police station. Photo: Håkan Hökerberg.

great distance. In post-war Italy, left-wing political groups have asked for the demolition of the obelisk several times but its existence has never been under serious threat. When it was restored in 2007, the municipal conservation authorities declared that the obelisk was national heritage and therefore the inscription must be preserved. Consequently, the obelisk continues to immortalise 'Mussolini Dux', attracting the worship of neo-fascist groups who view it as a shrine to the *Duce*.

A street leading from the obelisk to the stadiums was inaugurated one year after the declaration of the Italian Empire, and was named *Viale dell'Impero* (today *Viale del Foro Italico*). Eleven massive marble blocks are placed on each side of the street, carrying inscriptions that commemorate important dates in Italy's fascist history. The pavement of the street is decorated with mosaics in black and white. Even though there are no physical representations of Mussolini, he is present in every component of the iconographic programme of the mosaics.

The official Italian evaluation of *Foro Italico* as heritage recognises only the aesthetic qualities of the complex, while the ideological and historic significance of the site is ignored; the result is a normalisation and trivialisation, a depoliticised and false narrative of an entirely political project (Arthurs 2010:124).

Adapted re-use

An enormous number of fascist public institutions were built all over Italy during the twenty years of the Regime; all of which became redundant after the war. Most of them were in a good physical state, and demolitions motivated by purely ideological reasons were out of the question due to the precarious post-war Italian economy and also the shortage of intact buildings that could meet the requirements of the new democratic state. A pragmatic solution was reached: many fascist official buildings were converted to police stations, local government offices etc. and their politically charged history was disregarded. Readaptation to institutions informed by democratic ideals can in itself disarm a building's political messages. In a sense, such appropriation of buildings associated with the fascist regime can be regarded as a symbol of conquest, a manifestation of the superiority of the democratic society. But the smooth transformation of fascist institutions to democratic Italy can also be viewed as a symptom of a reluctance to confront the nation's dark history.

'Desacralisation'

The Monument to Victory (Monumento alla Vittoria) in Bolzano was inaugurated in 1928. Officially raised as a memorial to Italian soldiers who fell in the First World War but most of all, it was a tribute to Fascism and a symbol of the fascist appropriation of the First World War legacy. In 2014, a permanent exhibition was opened in the monument's crypt: ('BZ '18–'45 One Monument – One City – Two Dictatorships') with the aim to disarm the aggressive ideological connotations of the structure and to replace it with a new message of peace and reconciliation: to 'desacralise a fascist relic' (Leogrande 2014). Desacralisation is a means to contextualise politically charged buildings: by exposing the detested ideology that they represent they are stripped of their original 'sacred' character.

Neglect

Neglect can have the character of a compromise, combining recognition of an object as heritage that requires preservation with deliberate neglect of its maintenance. This turns the monument into a display of the distance felt to a previous, collapsed political system and downplays its historical significance. Neglect can also prevent a 'sacralisation', the process by which a monument or site becomes a shrine for political groups with totalitarian agendas.

Although the former Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg were severely bombed during the war, much of them still remain. These buildings and spaces constitute a challenge to heritage authorities 'because they have virtually no credible meanings or uses in a democratic society, except for the reflection of political horror' (Benton 2010:135). Some parts have been demolished, while the symbolically significant Zeppelin Building has deliberately been left in a state of disrepair as a profanation, a 'demythification', of the structure (Macdonald 2009).

Mutilation

The tension between, on the one hand, allowing objects laden with strong associations to 'bad' regimes to remain part of the nation's heritage and, on the other, eagerness to demonstrate condemnation of said regime, sometimes leads to a combination of preservation and destruction. An example is the practice called 'military castration', which in

THE MONUMENT TO VICTORY, Bolzano. Photo: Håkan Hökerberg.
MUTILATED FASCES, Direzione Generale delle Entrate, Milan. Photo: Håkan Hökerberg.

Italy takes the form of removing the blade of axes from the Lictoral *fasces*, to deprive it of its most aggressive element while preserving the mutilated symbol as heritage. Such 'castrated' *fasces* can be found on masses of buildings and monuments in the Italian urban landscapes – and their original design often remains easily readable. (Benton 1999:218, 2010:156)

Demolition

Time has a particular relevance for monuments as they usually have one single function: to communicate or propagate a message related to individuals, groups or historic events. When we become entirely oblivious of their original history and causes of erection, they have failed their purpose; the intended connotations of the monuments are lost (Connerton 2009:34). The 'one-dimensional' character of rhetoric monuments raised by totalitarian regimes makes them sensitive to political paradigm shifts. They are frequently objects of iconoclasm and vandalism because of their ideological nature as well as their public accessibility (Gamboni 1997:67). During the first decade after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, the destructions of statues and memorials of communist leaders and ideologists became almost an epidemic; Russia has been called the land of empty pedestals.

To demolish controversial monuments might seem the simplest solution, but that it can also be a very provocative one is illustrated by the destruction of the Lenin statue in Berlin. This 20 m. high statue was raised in 1970 in former East Berlin to celebrate the centennial of Lenin's birthday. Soon after the German reunification the local government decided to tear it down, as it was not seen as convergent with the new democratic federal state. However, the opposition against its removal was massive as the statue was regarded as an important symbol of GDR history. Many resented what they felt as a forced adaptation to a united Germany dominated by the West Germany (Ladd 1998:196-199).

Demolition of entire buildings solely for ideological reasons is less common. In contrast to one-dimensionally rhetoric monuments, buildings are weaker carriers of meaning and are more easily adapted to new political circumstances as they have several functions, not only political but also more operational. That said, a recent and much disputed exception is the dismantling of the *Palast der Republik* in former East Berlin (Ladd 1998:59-70; Wise 1998:114-120).

Amnesia

Collective amnesia can have significant consequences for the preservation and perception of controversial heritage. The main question is what causes it. Is collective amnesia an effect of national efforts to 'censor' modern history? Does the officially sanctioned historiography have the capacity to erase collective memory? As we have seen in the examples from Berlin, destruction of statues and monuments may cause furious polemics, which has led to the appearance of a less drastic approach whereby statues are removed from their original prominent locations in the city centre and re-erected in more remote places. The practice is particularly common in Eastern Europe, where the production of statues and memorials dedicated by leading communists was intense during the years of dictatorship. The Memento Park in Budapest, a 'statue park' with 42 statues and monuments from the communist era, was opened in 1993. Even if statue parks are less radical solutions than demolitions, such removal of monuments from their original location deprives them of their political and historical context, and they become mere artefacts, associated with kitsch and nostalgia.

Final remarks

Any attempts at formulating the most appropriate approach to ideologically difficult heritage must be avoided; the varying levels of political significance, explicit iconography and aggressive rhetoric make it necessary to decide on the best approach to each individual heritage from its own specific circumstances. Physical preservation is obviously preferable as it is fundamental to the understanding of the historical and political conditions that brought the heritage into being. However, the nature and state of preservation can vary: conservation, re-use, desacralisation, neglect or mutilation – according to how the heritage is perceived and used in the prevailing political climate.

It is a towering challenge to ex-totalitarian states to display a negative and oppressive past while at the same time expresses its distance to it. The ability to be reconciled with a difficult history and work for the recognition of its physical

remains as heritage is an important manifestation of the solidity and legitimacy of a modern democratic government. In the words of Benton: '…the remains of the works of tyrants and oppressors may reassure later generations of the healthy survival of their own culture' (Benton 2010:131).

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Session II:
Demolition, preservation or adaptive re-use? Contemporary challenges for Postwar 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage

WESSEL DE JONGE

Heritage for the Masses. About Modern Icons & Everyday Modernism, Historic Value & a Sustainable Future

The theme of post-war modernist heritage can best be understood by reflecting on the roots of modern architecture and the concept of 20th century heritage as such, and how it developed over the last decades. Today's venue, this remarkable Auditorium Maximum, is an outstanding example of post-war Modern Movement architecture, designed for the Kiel University by the award-winning modern architect Wilhelm Neveling, and built in 1965–1969. No doubt in 2008, its designation as a landmark – or Denkmal as you'd say in German – marked a new phase in the conservation of architectural heritage in Germany and perhaps the Baltics Region at large, addressing the built inheritance of a period as recent as the late 1960s. Yet it is not only the very designation of such recent heritage that calls for new and innovative conservation policies, but just as well its nature and character.

Conservation policies

Since in most NW European countries the urgency for conservation policies emerged around the turn of the previous century, the field of work for heritage professionals has widened its scope in an unprecedented way. The early benchmarks of architectural heritage conservation concerned the restoration of historic mansions, neglected castles and ruinous churches – a limited quantity of 'ancient' buildings that were eventually appreciated by the public at large.

The Netherlands was no exception. A first National Department for Conservation was founded in 1918, followed in 1960 by the country's first Architectural Heritage Act. A fifty-year cut-off date was to ensure sufficient distance-in-time to properly assess the historic value of such an object. Moreover, it was decided that structures built after 1850 were not eligible for listing in the national register anyway.

But around 1980 things started to shift. By that time the cut-off date did no longer prevent the inclusion of the works of H.P. Berlage, the expressionist Amsterdam School and 'De Stijl', nor the early works of the Modern Movement, as these had all reached an age of fifty years or more. Despite the fact that an integrated policy on 20th century heritage was still lacking, and the 1850 time restriction was still sustained, some early examples were randomly designated, in case there was an urgency to do so. An example may be the so-called White Villa's in Rotterdam that were listed in 1980 when developments in the area threatened their survival. Today this ensemble includes the famous 1933 Sonneveld Museum House (restored in 2001), and the wonderful Chabot Museum for expressionist art on the other corner.

New challenges

Around that time the first pioneering restoration projects were taken up in other European countries, like the 1937 Asilo Infantile Sant' Elia in Como – a kindergarten designed by Giuseppe Terragni that was restored in the mid-1980s by his nephew Emilio – and the row housing by J.J.P. Oud in the Weißenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart, refurbished around 1985 according to the social housing regulations of that time – a fate that other Werkbund Estates, like the 1929 WUWA Estate of Breslau, today Wrocław in Poland, initially seemed to have escaped due to lack of funding under the socialist system.

As a result of these early efforts, conservation professionals started to realise that the eventual nomination and listing of recent architectural heritage would pose completely new challenges.

First of all, many building of the modern era were constructed by using new and often industrially prefabricated building materials like steel, glass and concrete, the decay and repair of which was still a blanc spot in conservation practice. Many modern buildings were not designed to withstand the ravages of time, despite buildings like Herbert Johanson's 1939 fire station in Tallinn and other examples of Estonian 'Lime Stone Modernism' proving the opposite. Hence, we are often faced with structures that were not intended to last long, which presents a challenge when it comes to the authenticity of materials when taking up their conservation and repair.

Secondly, there was a challenge in terms of quantity. A 1939 cartoon depicts the Swedish Secretary for housing Nils Melander as a farmer operating a harvester producing rigid rows of hay bales, representing the results of the social housing industry in Sweden. An aerial view of the 1929–31 Westhausen Siedlung in Frankfurt, designed by Ernst May and his teams shows how real this picture actually was. These prototypes for mass housing paved the way for the production of millions of standardised housing units after the War. Some of these schemes have remarkable quality, like Tapiola in Helsinki, but due to the standardisation and repetition many other housing efforts met criticism.

The amount of buildings constructed in the 20th century outnumbers all that has been built in all previous ages together. When looking at the post-war period, in the Netherlands more than 75% of all our building stock has been constructed since the Second Wold War. In many countries in the Baltic region these figures may even be higher – for sure they are in Finland. As a result, the series of 20th century buildings initially expected to be nominated for listing, may have easily jammed the entire system of designation and funding. New selection instruments had to be developed, and hard choices were to be made in order not to lose it all – the credo was 'Choose or Lose'.

Moreover, where the architectural legacy from the old days typically celebrates the palaces of the noble, the churches of the clergy and the town halls and other icons of civic pride, the benchmarks of the Modern Movement mostly involve ordinary buildings that were designed to create a better life for the masses, such as healthy housing and schools, hygienic and day-lit workplaces and health-care facilities – that is: ordinary buildings rather than icons, and all of that in large quantities.

Even if many older landmarks can indeed be maintained as a museum site or tourist destination, the sheer number of the then expected 20th century landmarks implied that most of them could only be safeguarded by lending them a second lease of life in an economically viable and sustainable way, by adaptive re-use for new functional programs. This last point in particular is one of the cornerstones of the present national architectural conservation policy in our country, which is represented by the slogan: 'Conservation through Development' – a policy that is quite different from those in most surrounding countries, which tend to be more conservative.

Yet some buildings are being regarded as so unique, that an integrated and careful conservation is required even when that would compromise their proper use – as we did in case of the 1928 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium in Hilversum. However, to my mind such a choice must remain an exception to the rule. So, making the proper choices is therefore essential. I'll come back to that later but it is clear that understanding the true cultural heritage value of an object is of prime importance before such a decision can actually be made.

Spiritual economy

In order to understand the cultural and architectural historic value of post-war modern architecture we may briefly go back to the roots of the Modern Movement shortly after the First World War. A research project at the Delft Faculty of Architecture in the 1980s, published by prof. Hubert-Jan Henket and myself in 1990, unravelled how strongly and diversely the architectural concepts of the Modern Movement are actually rooted in the socio-cultural and technological developments of the Industrial Revolution. The industrialization of Western society caused an unprecedented process of urbanisation and a change of lifestyle – to suit the spirit and the realities of the Machine Age.

Modern Times triggered a demand for new and specific building types, such as factories, power stations, office blocks, educational and healthcare facilities, and infrastructural buildings for railways and telecommunication. The functional programs for buildings became increasingly diverse and particular. And – as any designer knows – the more

THE 1928 'ZONNESTRAAL' SANATORIUM after restoration in 2003, showing custom-made replacement glazing and the re-equipped boiler house. Photo: Michel Kievits/Sybolt Voeten.

EVENING VIEW OF 'ZONNESTRAAL' SANATORIUM after restoration in 2003. The lower floors are now in use for health care facilities, the upper floor serves as a conference centre. Photo: Michel Kievits/Sybolt Voeten.

specific a design solution is, the more short-lived it is likely to be as well. Vanguard architects in the 1920's acknowledged a direct link between the design, the technical lifespan of a building and user requirements over time. As the time span for any such a particular use shortened as well, time and transitoriness ultimately became important issues in the architectural discourse.

Taken to the extreme, this leads either to a transitory architecture or an adaptable one. The consequent translation of these ideas into practice produced some remarkable examples of Modern Movement architecture, of which both the 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium and the contemporary Van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam are stunning examples in the Netherlands, for both of which I've had the pleasure to be involved in their preservation as an architect later on.

Ruled by the principle of utmost functionality, for both buildings a rigorous distinction was followed out between load bearing structures and infills to allow for maximum functional flexibility. Light and transparent materials in the facade were to ensure the unhampered access of daylight and fresh air. Based on scientific research, architects took advantage of the specific qualities of materials to construct as light as possible, with a minimum of material used. Related to the idea of varied lifespans was the introduction of prefabrication for building components, allowing the easy replacement of deteriorated parts, as well as future adaptation to respond to functional change.

The Dutch Modern Movement architect Jan (Johannes) Duiker (1890–1935) labelled this approach 'spiritual economy' that, as he wrote in 1932, 'leads to the ultimate construction, depending on the applied material, and develops towards the immaterial, the spiritual.[1] In their search for optimal constructions, buildings were designed with an extreme sensitivity concerning building physics.

Functionalism and rationalism

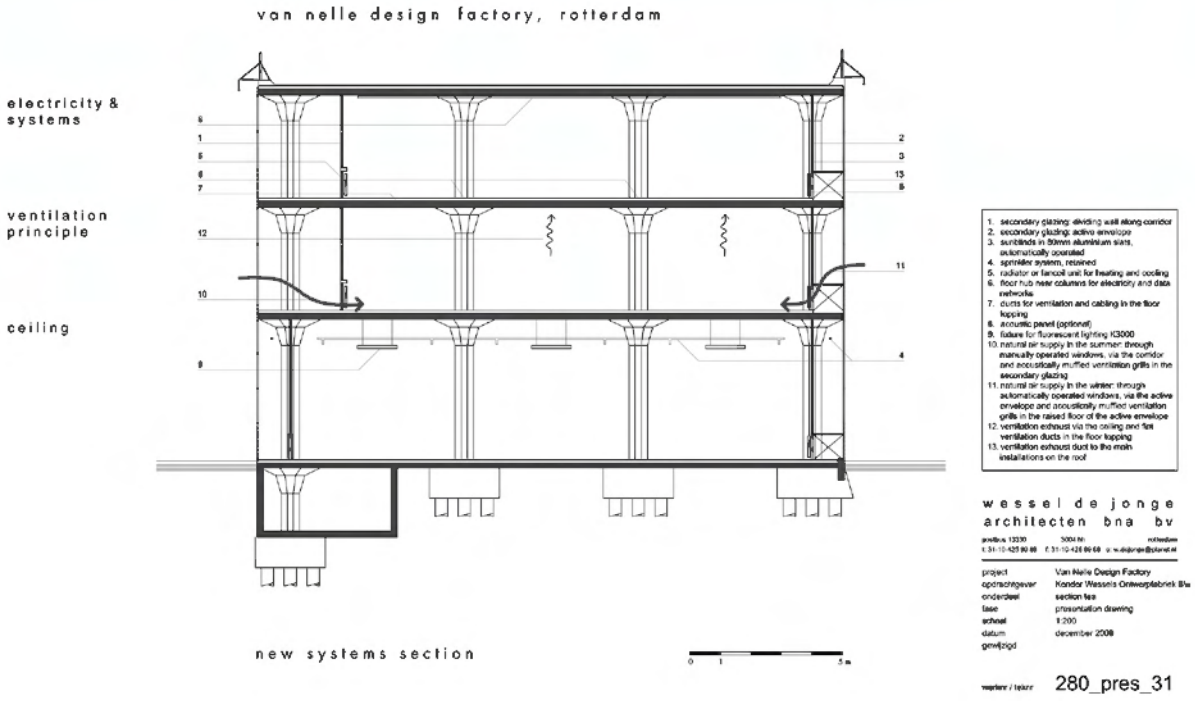
With 'Zonnestraal', designed between 1926 and 1928, Duiker with his associate Bernard Bijvoet (1889–1979) produced a first and arguably most direct response to a short-lived functional program in his professional life. Duiker advocated an architecture that would be the result of reason rather than style. He promoted the idea that whenever a building's purpose had to change, the form would seize its right to exist and the building must be either adapted or demolished altogether. In doing so, he interpreted buildings as utilities with a limited lifespan by definition and – in the case of the sanatorium – even as 'disposables'.

Based on a solid belief in Science and Progress, the sanatorium buildings were indeed established in the conviction that tuberculosis would be exterminated within thirty years. The materials and constructions adopted for its construction were apparently chosen to last just for that period. In doing so, he managed to subtly balance user requirements and technical lifespan with the limited budget of the client, creating structures of breathtaking beauty and great fragility at the same time.

Hence, in such cases, we are faced with the conservation of structures that were intended to be transitory. And indeed, 'Zonnestraal' lost its sanatorium function – after 29 years. It was transformed into a general hospital in 1957 and finally abandoned in the 1980s. It is clear that the conservation of such buildings poses great challenges in both conceptual and material terms as the idea of transitoriness must be understood as part of the original design intention.

The sanatorium buildings seem to evoke a striking demonstration of Adolf Behne's original definition of 'functionalism' of 1923, as opposed to 'rationalism'. Behne (1885–1949) published his ideas later in his ground breaking publication 'Der Moderne Zweckbau' of 1926. He defined functional planning to depart from the program and to involve the careful design of individual spaces for each particular use, with specific dimensions and performance characteristics, organically producing a tailor-made suit. Indeed, in 'Zonnestraal's main building each room has particular dimensions, and even the height of the spandrel varies according to the individual use of the space concerned. It is self-evident that the specificity of this architectural solution went hand in hand with a short functional life expectancy.

The Van Nelle Factory, designed between 1925 and 1928 by Leen van der Vlugt (1894–1936) and Jan Brinkman (1902–1949), on the other hand complies with Behne's definition of 'rationalism', providing large quantities of generic space to accommodate a use that would greatly vary over time – typical of production processes. The non-specificity of the factory halls suggested a long functional lifespan and – just as well – a long technical life expectancy.



THE VAN NELLE FACTORY after restoration, in use as a business centre for the creative industry. Photo: Jannes Linders.

SECTION THROUGH THE VAN NELLE FACTORY showing secondary glazing and climate control systems. Drawing: Wessel de Jonge architects.

Observing the obvious differences between both cases, we may realise how the contrasting visions in the 1920s of how to respond short-lived functional programs, as suggested by Behne's definitions, have produced buildings that show great differences regarding their suitability for adaptive re-use.

A highly specific, tailor-made 'functionalist' building like 'Zonnestraal', may not be easily adaptable to functional change and is likely to have a short functional life expectancy, as opposed to such striking examples of 'rationalism' as the factory in Rotterdam, where the non-specific, generic space could be relatively easily adapted to a new use as a centre for design studios and offices.[2] Such architecture is more about the manageability of change than about a building as a cultural artefact. This means that our approach in valuation may have to shift from 'product' to 'process', which will have a significant impact on our understanding of the so-called 'authenticity' of such a heritage item.

We have to understand that – even within the Modern Movement and post-war modernism – various architectural concepts led to principle differences between modern buildings that must again lead to different approaches when planning their conservation and adaptive re-use. This underlines the necessity of a comprehensive survey into the conceptual background of a building – next to the material aspects – before making design decisions as part of a transformation or restoration project.

Moreover, as architects today, understanding this lesson from history is the key to design new, sustainable buildings for the future.

DOCOMOMO International

Ironically, the landmark designation of 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium has now canonized this transitory structure as a timeless masterpiece. But however paradoxical the heritage status of Duiker's chef d'oeuvre may have appeared, the case of 'Zonnestraal' had a huge impact. It inspired the creation of DOCOMOMO International, an international platform to share research and early hands-on experience with the conservation of 'modern heritage' with other architects, heritage professionals, researchers, students and their teachers. The International Working party for the Documentation and Conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement, was established at the TU Eindhoven in 1990.

DOCOMOMO working parties are organized along national and regional lines. Several thematic networks operate as international specialist committees, for instance on selection criteria, urbanism and landscape, and early 20th century building materials and their repair, but the organisation is also reflecting on the lessons to be learned from the Modern Movement and its translation into modernism after the Second World War.

Today, DOCOMOMO International has working parties in more than 60 countries, from Canada to South Africa, and from Brazil to Japan. Most countries in the Baltic Region are represented, although some branches have gone through a dormant state, as is common in voluntary organisations. Operated from the Netherlands for the first 14 years, the international secretariat moved from the Netherlands to Paris, later to Barcelona and is now at the Architecture Department of the Institute of Technology in Lisbon, under the presidency of prof. Ana Tostões.

Even after more than 25 years – on an international scale – these first steps still serve as a reference in the discourse about 20th century architectural heritage, that has meanwhile reached the agenda of such institutes as the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS in Paris and the Getty in Los Angeles.[3]

'Zonnestraal' restored

Coming back to the guinea pig that caused all the troubles, we were commissioned to take up the actual restoration and adaptive re-use of the 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium complex in 1993.[4] The works largely involved the restoration of the original facades, partitions and finishes, and there has been little conservation of authentic materials except for the concrete structural frame, a few partitions and a section of salvaged steel window frames, which was all that was left of the original substance. We considered the essential meaning of this building to lie within the conceptual starting points of the original designers, and the project has been aimed at revitalising the perception thereof.

Yet, during our preparatory research we came to realise that the material aspect was just as well vital to make the full cultural context of 'Zonnestraal' in its time comprehensible, and to revitalise Duiker's architectural concept successfully. Therefore, some lost parts have been carefully reconstructed at high

cost, such as the new steel window casements, the drawn window glass, the terrazzo floorings in particular areas, and including remade linoleum and hand-crafted replicas of mass produced parts from the 1920s, like window hardware and light fixtures. Other parts could convincingly be replaced by standard products that are still readily available.

To my mind, one could successfully argue that it still concerns a truthful restoration. The 'Zonnestraal' case testifies that the presence of substantial amounts of original materials is not a prerequisite to convey its cultural and architectural historic significance – an observation that actually underlines the ambiguity of the notion 'authenticity'.

Today, the centre involves a variety of independent, polyclinical health services and additional conference facilities. The works at the main building could only be completed after ten years in 2003, and a first pavilion's exterior followed in 2013 – twenty years later…

Post-war modern heritage

From these experiences with the early examples of modern architecture lessons have been drawn that help us in dealing with the post-war inheritance of modern architecture. As was to be expected, given the quantity of this stock and the high vacancy rates of obsolete office buildings in particular, we are more and more dealing with clients who are traditionally active in the real estate market, like property developers, investment companies and housing associations who have to develop viable projects, rather than the more idealistic clients with the corresponding budgets in the pioneering phase.

What remained however is the often fragile character of these buildings, even if the technical quality of buildings has enormously improved in the post-war period. The vulnerability of the materials and construction is most prominent in their facades, particularly single-skin metal frames with light infills and single glazing, and light precast concrete elements and thin claddings.

An issue that became much more prominent is energy saving and sustainability in general. Although roofs were generally insulated, few early post-war modern buildings feature adequate thermal insulation in their facades. Although listed buildings in the Netherlands may be exempted from many building regulations, there is a huge societal pressure to improve their thermal performance. The insulation and sealing of facades may further be required for sound proofing, as our urban environment got much noisier since 1945. Such technical improvements are likely to have a significant impact on the design and appearance of the original facade of a building.

THE 1953 HUF BUILDING after restoration. Sunscreens have been added in order to allow for clear glazing. Photo: Jannes Linders.

A further downside of sealing and insulating our buildings is that the natural ventilation on which the interior climate originally may have depended is impeded and mechanical climate control systems may be required. Such systems may have a huge impact on the original mid-century interiors.

HUF building

In the case of the 1953 HUF building in Rotterdam, many of these challenges came together. The original store owner, who required a ground floor retail space with storage room in the basement and on the first floor, was forced to add four floors of office space that he didn't really needed, in order to comply with the Reconstruction Master Plan for the devastated centre of Rotterdam.

Architects Van den Broek & Bakema therefore tucked away the office entrance to the back in order to create a continuous shop front for the shoe store.

The hidden entrance made the office floors already hard to rent out but the disastrous interior climate conditions made it even worse. The floors are only 400 m2 in surface area and are completely enclosed by a curtain wall with glass from floor to ceiling, without any sunscreens. In the summer the interior already overheated in the morning before office hours. Period photographs show how the original tenants struggled with this problem by covering the glass with tin foil and adding ventilators.

After the tenants moved out in the 1990s the upper floors remained vacant[5] until squatters took over and the building fell prey to vandalism and fire. When a property developer decided on a mayor investment close by, it was not very helpful that this once glorious building just around the corner was a complete disgrace. The HUF building was therefore acquired and the property developer hired us for an adaptive re-use and refurbishment project.

The main issue here was the upgrading of the single glazed steel curtain wall and to improve climate control. For 'Zonnestraal' we had developed very thin insulating double glazing units at high expenses and we had learned how to fit these into the steel window casements. In some of the Van Nelle buildings we could test them again. Since then, these glazing units became readily available on the market and now we could afford to use these for the HUF building too.

But without blocking the sun, the overheating problem would only get worse due to the double glazing, because the heat is captured inside. There were only two options to resolve this problem: the choice for sun reflective coated glass that would ruin the transparent character of the building or the addition of exterior sunscreens which were not part of the building as originally built. Meanwhile the building was nominated for listing and unexpectedly, we now had to deal with the municipal heritage authorities as well. As we are used to do in our way of working, we developed and calculated both options to be discussed with the heritage office.

However, we remained confused how an expert architect like Van den Broek & Bakema could have made such a design error. Additional archival research produced an original perspective drawing indeed featuring sunscreens. Apparently the architects originally designed the building to have sunscreens. Close inspection of the façade posts indeed revealed the holes where the screens were planned to be fixed. This allowed to decide for the addition of new sunscreens, and leave the glazing as transparent as possible.

The screens are effective for the vision panels but less so for the lower spandrel panels that were originally fitted with wired glass for security. We developed a variant glazing unit with a restrained reflective coating on the inside, and a patterned outside glass panel to mimic the original wired glass. A further challenge was the safety of the glazed spandrel panel. Even if we would have made the spandrel panel with wired glass – which is not really possible in double glazing units – this would not have complied with safety regulations. There was no way that the glass panel could be designed to perform in that sense.

On close inspection we realized that the heating radiators were somehow already preventing people to fall through: they were made of steel, and almost continuous along the facade. We had the radiators tested for strength and raised them 10 cm in order to have them accepted as 'fences', thus complying with the safety code.

As is mostly the case, much of the climate control issues can be substantially reduced by making such clever changes to the building skin. If changes to the facade are rejected altogether and upgrading of the building skin is ruled out, the problems have to be resolved entirely with climate control systems. This means that huge ducts will run through the building, and large machinery has to be placed somewhere, which mostly ends up on the roof.

For HUF it was sufficient to introduce a central air distribution duct in the middle and one extraction unit in the staircase for each floor. The original suspended ceiling was already gone as it contained asbestos, and we decided to leave it that way to enjoy the extra head room.

The hidden entrance was transformed by slightly projecting it out from the continuous shopfronts and by adding some colour. The climate control units are disguised behind an illuminated screen on top of the roof apartment. The HUF Building was only listed as national heritage after completion of the works in 2010, as one of the first 100 post-war buildings in The Netherlands.

THE 1960 GAK BUILDING after conversion into housing, featuring a re-designed aluminium-and-glass curtain wall that looks almost exactly like the original. Photo: Luuk Kramer.

GAK building

When we started working on proposals for a new functional program for the former National Social Security Central Office in Amsterdam, the building wasn't listed either but some sort of a nomination was pending – and still is. The highly innovative building was designed by the architect Ben Merkelbach and opened in 1960. Modelled after the 1954 Lever House in New York, it was the first completely air-conditioned building in the Netherlands. The aluminium-and-steel curtain wall featured double glazing with a sun-absorbent green glass outer panel. Because of the air-conditioning, all windows were fixed and the interior climate control depended completely on systems.

The challenge was what to do with this structure that features 40 000 m2 of floor area. The building was bought around 2006 by a property developer and a housing association together, after long term vacancy started to have a negative impact on the neighbourhood and affected the social structure as well as the value of other properties in the area.

After running quick scans for several functional programs the decision was made to refurbish it as an office block again, until the economic crisis in 2008 ruined the market for offices almost overnight. The sheer size of the building obstructed an efficient redevelopment. Several initiatives were developed, amongst others for a hotel and a school, but none of these could fill up more than about one-third of this colossus.

Several years passed until finally it was decided to convert one wing of the building into housing for single young professionals, featuring studio apartments of about 30 m2 each, including a bathroom, that were put up for sale rather than rented out.

Although there is a huge demand for such units in Amsterdam the redevelopment of the entire building in one go would have released over 750 units simultaneously, which would have spoilt

the market. Only after the successful sales of the units in the northern wing, it was decided to continue with the other wing. Would sales have disappointed, the other parts of the building may have been converted into a school, a hotel or offices, are a combination thereof.

Due to the pending nomination, again we had to deal with the heritage authorities, although the building had no formal status. Operating in this twilight zone makes our work as an architect sometimes very complicated as we have to convince our clients ourselves to respect the building and there are hardly any incentives from the heritage institutes to support our case. In doing so, we may act against our client's interest, which is contrary to our professions' ethics.

Given this situation we were asked to replace the failing facade in such a way that the appearance would remain the same but the performance would be up-to-date. Although the client proposed to keep the facade closed, we proposed to introduce operable windows for the apartments. It was quite a challenge to fit these into the clear-cut aesthetics of the original design, but we managed by introducing a moveable frame that is completely covered by a glass panel, which is glued to the frame from the outside – the so called Paff windows made in Germany.

Fortunately the same green glass was still available and because the glazing technology has advanced enormously over the last decades, we could make high-performance insulating glazing units with the same looks as in the 1960. The real challenge was the backside of the building where a main highway is located. Given the noise and air pollution, it is actually not allowed to make housing in such locations with operable windows.

Again we learned from our earlier experience. At the Van Nelle Factory similar problems were overcome by introducing a secondary glazing on the inside, a solution that was adapted for the Western facade of the GAK building. By strongly ventilating the shallow greenhouse zone we were able to accommodate about 320 apartments in the North wing, which was completed in 2013. The South wing was put to use in 2015. The works on the central part are still underway and we hope to finish the works by mid-2017.

After that, the heritage authorities are still expected to consider the designation of the building as architectural heritage, but we don't really know what their strategy is. Would the building not be listed in the end, my client will have spent quite some extra investments without even having the return of a heritage listing.

'Patrimonium' Technical School

The last example concerns a school building in Amsterdam for elementary technical education, completed in 1956 after design of the young architect Ben Ingwersen (1921–1996). The building is clearly inspired on Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation in Marseille that had been completed a few years before.

The school building had been designed as a life-size mock-up for the students to explain the basic principles of building engineering. The application of bare concrete was part of that effort and even the electrical system was exposed so as to educate future electricians, carpenters and mechanics.

Fortunately, we could have a Historic Building Survey commissioned even if the building wasn't listed yet when we started our work. Initially, we were asked to only improve the interior climate conditions. We convinced the new School Board that it wouldn't make sense just to put in a new HVAC system, unless the thermal insulation of the single-glass-in-concrete facade and further sustainability issues would be addressed too.

With the historic report on the table, step-by-step we succeeded in raising enthusiasm with the new users to preserve and restore the architectural, spatial and technological qualities of the building to a great extent. Remarkably, the school team recognized the educational value of the building for the teaching curriculum of the grammar school that was to make use of the premises.

In an earlier effort to restyle the atmosphere of the building altogether, all the interior concrete work had been painted mint green with peach-coloured walls, including some of the unique concrete art reliefs. After series of test were conducted by a professional restorer, we managed to have all the paint removed, albeit at high expenses. The message here may be that, whenever a concrete building has to be repaired, it may be better to accept the colour differences of patch repairs then to paint it altogether, because it is really hard to get the paint off later.

Much effort was made to have the thin precast concrete panels and window frames repaired with

THE 1956 FIRST TECHNICAL SCHOOL in Amsterdam after conversion into the Cygnus Grammar School in 2013.
Photo: Raoul Suermondt.

CYGNUS GRAMMAR SCHOOL, detail of the entrance showing concrete repair and natural wood window frames.
Photo: Raoul Suermondt.

matching mortars. We hope to publish an extensive report about these works in a book that is currently being prepared by the Getty Conservation Institute.

As traffic noise and pollution had increased dramatically since 1956, the wooden sliding windows were no longer used, often resulting in alarming CO_2-levels inside. A regular mechanical ventilation system would have involved a huge amount of ducts running through the building. By using the corridors and stairwells as a return channel the amount of ducts could be reduced by half.

The improvement of the climate control systems suggested that the non-insulated concrete-and-glass facade be upgraded as well. The original detail of the single glazing set straight into the subtle concrete rebates seemed impossible to maintain when installing energy-efficient double glazing units. To our surprise, the supplier unexpectedly came up with the proposal to still glue the glazing straight into the concrete rebates with a sealant. By using a product in a similar color as the concrete the improved fixing of the insulated glazing units remains almost unobtrusive.

The next challenge was what to do with the continuous concrete members of the window frames themselves. As the fins have a larger outside than inside surface area, it was expected that they would radiate heat towards the outside rather than cold towards the inside, and calculations confirmed that no structural condensation risk was to be expected. In case of excessive humidity levels – i.e. large numbers of students at the same time – condensation is expected to occur occasionally on the glazing, which will be collected in a small gutter, from where condensation water will easily evaporate as soon as humidity levels in the room drop. Although not 'according to standards' we could convince the client that this would work in practice and that we would arrive at a balanced proposal to be agreed by the heritage authorities.

Choices

Since the 1980s, our national heritage authorities developed various programs to extend the field of work, first with an inventory of the period 1850–1940, which resulted in hundreds of additional designations. Since a few years, buildings as recent as 1970 are now within their scope, which means even more buildings are becoming eligible for listing.

Let's briefly go back to my earlier remarks about the exceptional treatment of some selected buildings that deserve an integrated and careful conservation, even if that would impede their proper functional use. Taken to the extreme this approach leads to buildings whose primary function is now to be a museum, as has been the case of the 1930 Tugendhat House by Mies van der Rohe, with which I've been involved as the vice chairman of THICOM – the international advisory board for its restoration.

Apart from 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium that has already been mentioned and that could be given some sort of a suitable functional program, other more moderate examples are Alvar Aalto's 1935 Library in Viipuri in Karelia, today Vyborg in Russia, that remains in use as a library, and the 1939 Villa Stenersen in Oslo, designed by Arne Korsmo, which is used as a venue for conferences and concerts.

It goes without saying that the process of making a selection of such buildings to stand out from the regular policies is crucial. How do we determine which buildings justify such a treatment that is not only likely to be very expensive but may also prevent their economic use? Which means not only that investments have to come from public resources but just as well that the future maintenance budgets may not be generated by the object itself. This choice has to be based on solid research of the cultural and architecture-historical values of such an object that forms the basis of a Cultural Value Assessment and preferably a Historic Building Survey.

A paradox however is that the listing system in most countries does not involve any differentiation in designation. Unlike the British system, where graded levels of designation indicate the importance of each object and the various strategies set out for their conservation, in the Netherlands all landmarks appear in the register as being of equal value. In practice however, this 'equality' appears not to be the case. While the historic value of listed buildings is interpreted in some cases as a reason to object almost any significant change that would be in favour of its adaptive re-use, other listed buildings may be approached more conceptually allowing adaptation and transformation to a greater extent.

The examples of the Zonnestraal sanatorium and the Van Nelle Factory illustrate our case, whereas it was the factory that has been inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2014. For building owners and their consultants it is not always possible to understand which approach should be followed. It would be helpful to inform the stakeholders in the field more precisely and in advance. Particularly in case of the huge amounts of post-war heritage buildings, a grading system may be helpful to convince stakeholders to embark on conservation and adaptive re-use project that suit their ambitions and capabilities.

In any case, it appears key to define the essential values as precisely as possible. This is true for all scale levels ranging from modern landscaping and landscape objects, to building complexes, buildings themselves, building parts, interiors and the related details and materials.

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ENDNOTES

1. Duiker, J., *Dr. Berlage en de 'Nieuwe Zakelijkheid'*, in 'De 8 en Opbouw' 1932, pp 43–51.
2. Extensive reports on the adaptive re-use and restoration of the Van Nelle Factory has been published in Backer et.al. 2005.
3. The Getty Foundation has recently engaged itself with modern heritage launching the 'Keeping it Modern' Grant Program that provides funding for preparatory research and planning, as well as conservation works.
4. Extensive reports on the history and restoration works of the 'Zonnestraal' Sanatorium have been published in Meurs & Van Thoor 2010.
5. This is a general problem in The Netherlands: as the incoming rents for the shops are multi-fold of the rent for office floors or apartments, building owners do not make much effort to rent out the upper floors.

PANU LEHTOVUORI & GEORGIANA VARNA

Urbanism at a turning point – Modern, Postmodern, Now

Introduction

Deep-cutting innovations and paradigm shifts in urban planning seem often to coincide with global economic recessions. Ebenezer Howard presented his 'social city', a metropolitan system of connected garden cities, in the 1890s, at the end of the Long Depression 1873–96. Modern Movement fixed its planning principles in the early 1930s, during the Great Depression 1929–39, a period of economic and political uncertainty that finally led to Second World War. Critiques of the ostensibly rational modern planning surfaced as the Lefebvrean call for the 'right to the city' in 1968, leading the subsequent interest in participation, co-creation and autopoiesis, in urban history and the 'Other City Planning' as well as limits of economic growth during the first and second Oil Crisis 1974–80.

Today, we still suffer from the Financial Crisis that started in 2007, culminated in the collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2008 and continued as the European Sovereign Debt Crisis 2010–, Russian financial crisis 2014 and Brazil's recession 2014–. If the casual observation about links between global recessions and new planning ideas holds true, we should be witnessing the emergence of a new planning paradigm.

Is this the case? Is urbanism at a turning point?

Yes and no. Yes, because urbanism is facing pretty radical and large challenges as the whole humankind is becoming urban. The theories, celebrated examples and ethics of urbanism are changing. No, because it is so hard to recognize one movement or one thinker that would give shape to the change. Urbanism is changing but the change occurs in plural, with varied speeds. Or we are just too close to see clearly.

In what follows, we will discuss interesting novelties and critiques of urban planning, its practices and outcomes. The text is structured in three main parts: Modern, Postmodern and Now. Our aim is not to rewrite the rather well-known history of modern planning, but to learn from the previous more or less successful paradigm shifts in 1930s and 1970s (Kuhn 1962; Taylor 1998). Especially, we devote space for the post-war discussions leading to architectural postmodernism and the academic debate on 'postmodern urbanism'. Exploring diverse examples and narratives, we will chart the current situation of urbanism and urban change. We ask what might be the elements of a paradigm shift today. Where will the directions of future's urban thinking lead us? How to combine ethics and economy? What is the role of the past – cultural and built heritage – in shaping future's urban practices and built environments?

Part 1: Modern – Alternative Histories and Critiques

Early CIAM's 'global conception of space'

Modern urban planning can be seen as a reaction to the growth of the industrial metropolis. Its founders, the likes of Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier, aimed at finding clear solutions to the perceived problems of the cities of their time, especially to the impoverished conditions of working class neighbourhoods. The foundational analysis of industrial city and society was crystallized in CIAM's Athens Charter (Le Corbusier 1973 [1943]). The document, conceptualised in 1933, gave a general spatial interpretation to the main 'functions' of the industrial society. In a rather direct way, mass-production of goods, organised public consumption of surplus

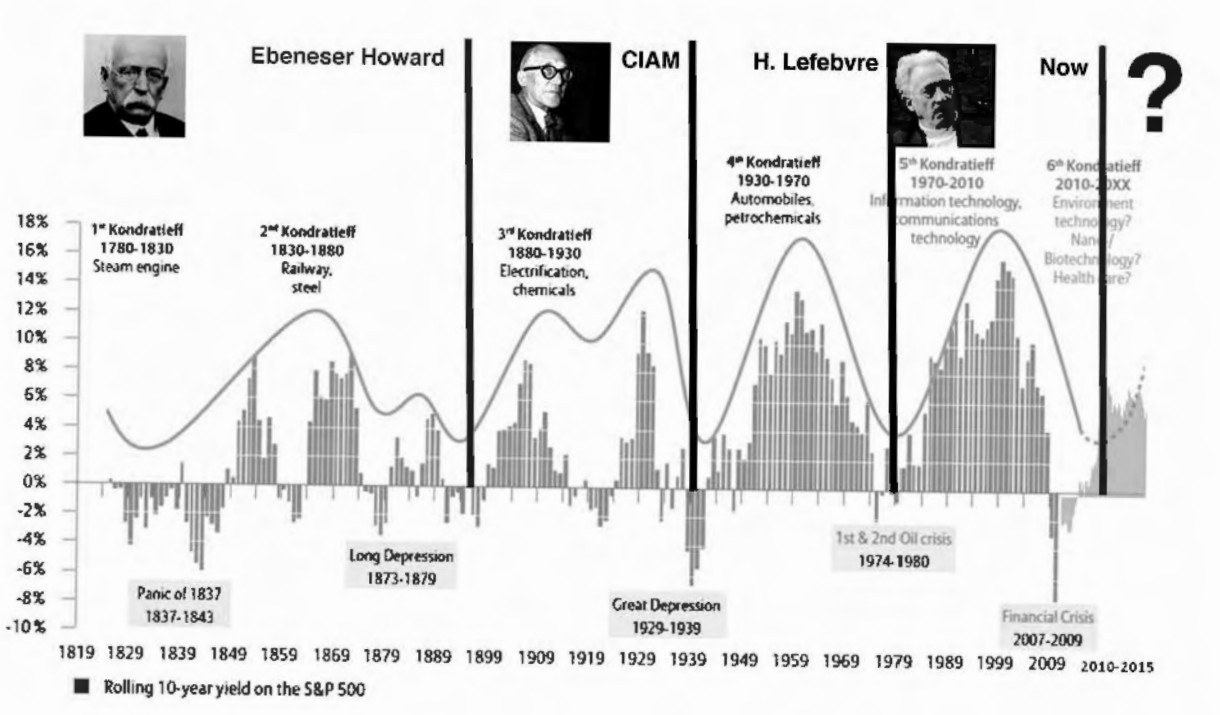
in social housing and reproduction of labour were interpreted as homogenous and mutually exclusive metropolitan 'land-uses'. This reading led to the well-known zoning and separation between industrial areas, housing areas and parks for leisure. Transport served as the necessary link between the three main spatially separated functions. Henri Lefebvre underlines the intellectual importance of the early modernists' work, stating that:

> For the Bauhaus did more than locate space in its real context or supply a new perspective on it: it developed a new conception, a global concept, of space. At that time, around 1920, just after the First World War, a link was discovered in the advanced countries (France, Germany, Russia, the United States), a link which had been already dealt with on the practical plane but which had not yet been rationally articulated: that between industrialisation and urbanisation, between workplaces and dwelling-places. No sooner had this link been incorporated into theoretical thought than it turned into a project, even into a programme. (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]; cf. Le Corbusier 1973 [1943], 48; 95–96)

Because modern urban planning viewed industrial cities as problems warranting a radical redesign, it never took 'the Urban', i.e. the key spatial, social and political characteristics of existing urban settlements and communities very seriously. In its full-grown version since the 1930s, modern land-use planning systematically overlooked urban reality both in terms of historical built form and the intricacies of urban life. Public urban space, especially, was neglected. This is exemplified by the fact that the Athens Charter does not mention a single time the phrase 'public urban space'. The words the Charter (sparingly) uses to address the various spaces between buildings or outside cities include 'open space' and 'verdant space'. The Charter succinctly states that '…sun, vegetation, and space are the three raw materials of urbanism.' (Le Corbusier 1973 [1943], p. 55)

Urban interests in Camillo Sitte's and Ebenezer Howard's works

The above is well known. Less known – but central for our discussion – is that across the formative decades of modern urban planning there always was an alternative discourse, an alternative



A DIAGRAM SHOWING THE KONDRATIEFF'S 'LONG WAVES' of economic growth periods and recessions. The author has made a heuristic observation that important innovations in urbanism often occur at global recessions. The UK stock market graph by courtesy of Allianz Global Investors / deconstructingrisk.com.

view to cities and urbanity that put high value of urban life and public urban space. An early example is Camillo Sitte (1843–1903), whose study on the mediaeval urban form titled City Planning According to Artistic Principles (1889) criticized the homogeneity, order and two-dimensionality of urban planning and design in the industrial metropolises. For Sitte, the most important was not the architectural shape or form of each building, but the quality of urban space.

Sitte was contemporary to Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928), whose Garden City programme, published as To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform (1898), is often considered as the start of modern planning. Howard's main concern was relinking the people to the land. He writes:

> … the key to the problem how to restore the people to the land – that beautiful land of ours, with its canopy of sky, the air that blows upon it, the sun that warms it, the rain and dew that moisten it – the very embodiment of Divine love for Man – is indeed a Master-Key … (Howard 1898, p.5)

Howard was nevertheless sensitive to urban qualities. Discussing the 'Town-Country Magnet', he envisions public space and its use very clearly. The centre of each Garden City should have 'well-watered garden', 'great boulevards' and a 'Crystal Palace', a circular glass corridor which in wet weather is 'one of the favourite resorts of the people' (ibid. p.14). The concept of a Crystal Palace was Howard's original innovation. It was actually a shopping mall, at a convenient walking distance for every citizen (Hall & Ward 1998, p. 21). Furthermore, Howard was not just promoting self-sustained Garden Cities, but a networked 'Social City' offering metropolitan qualities and services as part of a regional system. Rapid railways and waterways would link the individual Garden Cities to form town clusters of roughly 250 000 inhabitants (Howard 1898, p.130). In his Megacity Lectures, sir Peter Hall discussed the benefits of that moderate size, but actually the Social City could proliferate almost without limit, to become the basic settlement form of any developed society (cf. Hall & Ward 1998, p. 25). During post-war decades, the regional settlement form has indeed evolved globally, re-positioning the traditional city in many areas of the world (Gottdiener & al 2015).

Patrick Geddes' and Joze Plecnik's evolutionary strategies

Patrick Geddes deserves special attention as a key figure of the alternative planning discourse during the consolidation of the Modern planning paradigm. Geddes was born in 1854 and had a versatile career as a biologist, sociologist, geographer and town planner in Scotland, France, Palestine and India. He is credited as one of the founders of regional planning and the inventor of multi-channel mapping as a starting point for planning (survey method). His main planning publications are City Development (1904) and Cities in Evolution (1915) and his most important project was the masterplan for Tel Aviv and Jaffa (1925).

Unlike Le Corbusier and other inter-war CIAM members, Geddes believed that a successful urban plan should be based on developing the existing urban whole, not on its replacement by a new structure. For Geddes, a 'city' was an evolving organism that both carried influences from the past and involved promises of the future (Koponen 2006, p. 85). In practice, he engaged in 'constructive and conservative surgery', a careful work that aimed at improving the city's social and spatial conditions with small interventions. Geddes' view, by necessity, involves a keen interest in urban space and the meanings citizens give to it. As an example, his early survey on Edinburgh involved maps, plans, aerial perspectives, models, drawings, photographs, written documents and statistics, aiming to present the historical and lived city as an understandable whole, awakening a sense of the values of place (ibid).

Batty and Marshall (2009) discuss Geddes as the fore-runner of 'evolutionary physicalism', a little-explored and misunderstood dimension of the theoretical background of planning and urban design. Warning against the intellectual fallacies of organic metaphors in urban thinking, they state that 'we can identify an evolutionary paradigm, in which the city is not conceived of as a unified whole following a developmental programme [of modern planning], but is more usefully seen as a collection of interdependent, co-evolving parts.' (Batty and Marshall 2009, p. 552) Their argumentation shows that Geddes is a forgotten link between the late 19th century urban design thinking, evolution theory and the contemporary interest in emergent potentials of urbanity, focusing both on clear built form and complex urban process.

ROOSTER BRIDGE (1931) crossing a tiny stream in Ljubljana, an example of the place-based public space interventions by architect Jože Plečnik, working in the city 1920s–50s. Photo by courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Joze Plecnik's work in interwar Ljubljana provides a fantastic example of slow, adaptive and innovative urbanism. Like Geddes, Plecnik used small and careful interventions that over time amount to big and strategic improvements in urban structure and amenities. He also designed several key buildings, such as the national library (1936–41), integrated in the urban evolutionary vision (Havik 2014).

Team X – towards 'Another Modern'

In the 9th meeting of CIAM in 1953, new approaches started to surface, foregrounding public space and citizen power and challenging the modernist orthodoxy. The internal critique of modern movement centred in Team X, a group of architects active between 1953 and1981. Team X members were genuinely interested in users and public space, developing 'an Another Modern'. Team X's ideas led to New Brutalism in Britain and Structuralism in the Netherlands, movements that foregrounded the user-space relationship over aesthetic concerns. By shifting the aesthetic orthodoxy of modern architecture, these movements paved way for post-modernism.

Discussing the changing role of the architect in the post-war architectural culture and modernists' interest in the notion of public(s), Tom Avermaete (2010) distinguishes between architect as syndicalist, populist, activist and facilitator. Working in Avermaete's 'facilitator' role, Giancarlo de Carlo, one of the core members of Team X, called in 1960s for an equivalent relation between architects and users. According to Avermaete, the 'creative and decisional equivalence' was well exemplified by Renzo Piano and Peter Rice in their design for the Mobile Workshop:

PARTICIPATION, CO-CREATION and site-specific actions are key issues in contemporary urbanism. CityBee in action in Hedehusene, a marginalized suburb of Copenhagen. Photo: Jens Brandt.

> This temporary structure, which arrived in a container truck, was meant to be set up in the center of ancient towns. It was thought to facilitate the encounter between professionals and inhabitants, who could engage in mutual dialogues and collaborative actions on city renovation. (ibid, p.59)

Clearly, in the new collaborative processes, public encounter and thus public space became central. The Mobile Workshop seems to predate the current proliferation of on-site collaborative spaces, including students' modest design containers, novel 1:1 design approaches such as 'CityBee' by Jens Brandt in Denmark or commercial initiatives such as Guggenheim BMW Lab.

The School of Venice and 'the Other City Planning'

In 1966, Aldo Rossi published his milestone book L'architettura della città. Rossi analyses cities as 'artefacts', as collective works of human labour and social organization over decades and centuries. This approach, known as 'typomorphology', was built on earlier work by a group of Venice-based architects, including Giancarlo Caniggia and Saverio Muratori (Moudon 1994). Typomorphology focuses on the materiality of the built 'artifact'. It maps and analyses the contingent and slow process – evolution if you wish – of both the overall urban morphology and local building typologies. To stress the difference between typomorphology and mainstream modernistic planning, it is sometimes called 'the Other City Planning'.

In this context, Rossi was looking at urban process through the notion of 'monument'. Major buildings, streets and squares, but also recurring large events represented 'monuments' for him. They drive urban change over long time periods, but may become obsolete and thus 'pathological' as well. Criticising 'naïve functionalism', Rossi claimed that cities are heterogeneous collages of morphological elements that change in a variety of ways and

rhythms. The similarity between Rossi's approach and the formulation of Batty and Marshall above, defining city as a collection of interdependent, co-evolving parts, is striking, despite their different theoretical backgrounds and professional contexts.

Structures of urban social life

In the early 1960s, the conceptual foundations, practices and results of planning were heavily criticized both by architects, planners and commentators outside the planning profession. Writing in NYC, journalist Jane Jacobs (1961) focused the attention to the positive values of urbanity and public space. She defended neighbourhoods that were wrongly labelled as 'slums'. Jacobs lucidly discussed the spatial and social aspects that made big cities liveable, and pointed to the fallacies of planning. Christopher Alexander (1965) approved Jacobs' critique. He argued for the importance of mixed public spaces and a certain structural complexity, a shift for 'tree-like' network logic towards 'semi-lattices' that allow for multiple meetings and overlapping life spheres:

> When we think in terms of trees we are trading the humanity and richness of the living city for a conceptual simplicity which benefits only designers, planners, administrators and developers. (…) For the human mind, the tree is the easiest vehicle for complex thoughts. But the city is not, cannot, and must not be a tree. The city is a receptacle for life. (Alexander 1965, p.17)

Robert Venturi in his 'gentle manifesto' Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture (1966) celebrates the historic layering and non-obvious hybrids of urban architecture. Kevin Lynch's The Image of the City (1960) provided a fresh view to the emerging regional urban form and user's perception on it. In tune with Jane Jacobs' ideas, William H. Whyte (1980; 1988) argued for the critical importance of pedestrian life for city culture (Gottdiener & al. 2015). In general we can say that if modern planning was interested in big systems and decisions, based on the 'global conception of space' and metropolitan frame of analysis and action, the critiques trusted in local, historical, evolutionary and self-organising urban practices, the city of use and users. Regarding the ostensibly rational modern urbanism, the critiques worked on a number of critical dualities, such as simplicity vs complexity; design vs process; global vs local; and abstract vs concrete.

Part 2: Postmodern – Formative Urban Discourses

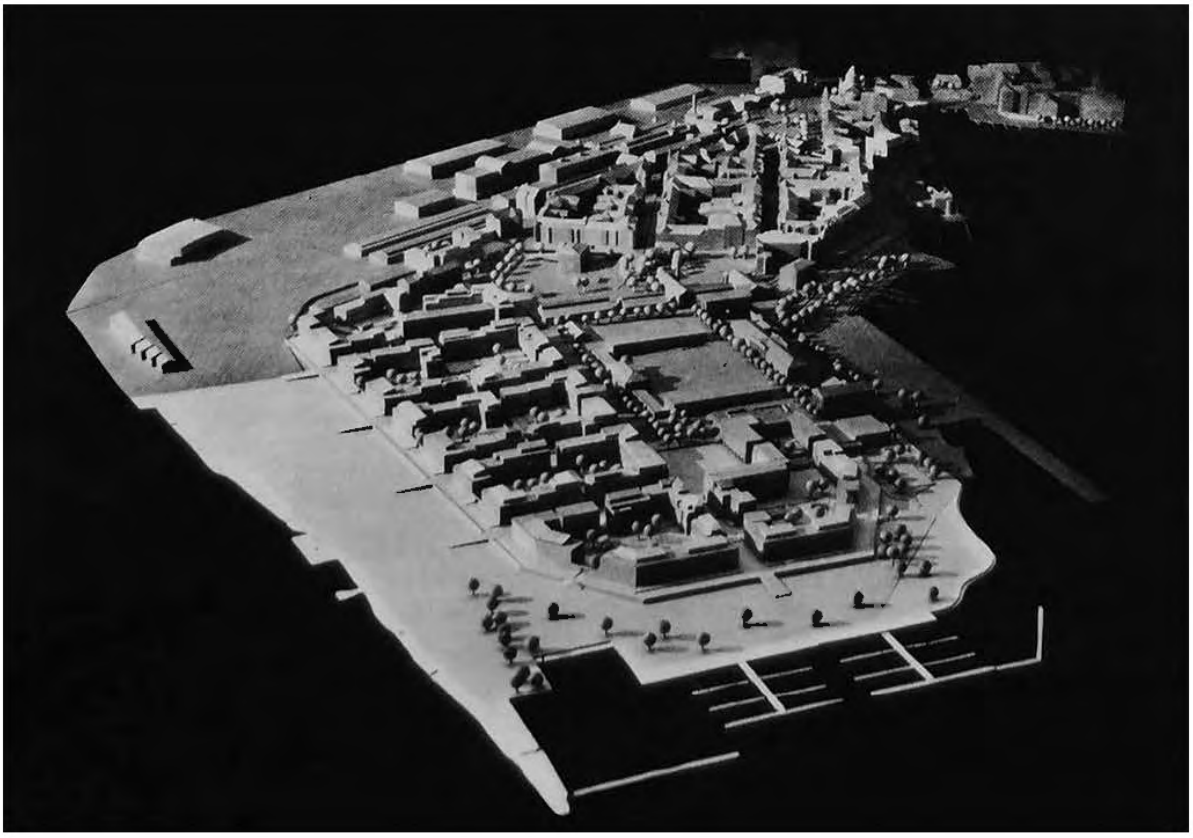
'Right to the City' and beyond

In the urban planning and urban design literature, the early 1970s – the moment of Vietnam War and the crisis of political legitimacy of many Western governments, soon to be deepened by the economic turbulence of the oil crisis – are often seen as a turning point in reconsidering the importance of public space and the views of urban citizens. As Gehl and Gemzøe point out:

> … the tide began to turn around the year 1970. Modernism began to be challenged and public debate took up the issue of urban quality and the conditions for life in the city, pollution and the car's rapid encroachment of urban streets and squares. Public space and public life were reintroduced as significant objects of architectural debate and treatment… (Gehl & Gemzøe 2000, p.7)

Three key philosophical writings challenged the old assumptions about urban planning and design. In 1974, Henri Lefebvre published La Production de l'espace, where he famously put forward a new vision about historical and socially produced space reflecting the conditions of its production, and simultaneously providing seeds for change, for an 'urban revolution'. In the same year, Richard Sennett published his analysis on the changing nature of public life and society, The Fall of the Public Man. Two years later in 1976, the Canadian geographer Edward Relph's meditations on the emotional dimensions of place, on feelings of belonging and loss are published as Place and Placelesness.

Together these writings brought the urban discourse to a new level (Gottdiener 1994). The importance of public urban space for emancipation of marginal groups, for political action, for individual and group identities as well as for the overall organization of society became acutely understood (Lehtovuori 2010). City was (again) an arena of radical political change. Students, immigrants, women and the youth from different European countries



THE SCALE MODEL OF HELSINKI'S NEW KATAJANOKKA AREA, the winning competition entry by architects Vilhelm Helander, Pekka Pakkala and Mikael Sundman, 1972. Photo by courtesy of Juha Ilonen.

and the US, found ways to appropriate space and fight for their cause. Lefebvre's slogan, the 'right to the city', coined just before the revolutionary events of May '68, drove the debate on who produces 'urban values' and who has the right to them. An important example in the early 1970s was the popular reappropriation of the Halles Centrales in Paris. Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) claims that '[f]or a brief period, the urban centre, designed to facilitate the distribution of food, was transformed into a gathering-place and a scene of permanent festival – in short, into a centre of play rather than of work – for the youth of Paris'.[1]

Examples of postmodern planning and urban design

In architecture and planning, Bernard Tschumi's early writings and projects, such as The Manhattan Transcripts (1976–1981, published as a book 1995) and the design of Parc de La Villette in Paris (project 1982, realisation 1984–87) operationalized the radical thoughts of 1968 in an architectural language of event montage, superimposition and cross programming. At the same time, postmodernism started to gain ground. Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia, completed in 1978 in New Orleans to provide a space for the Italian community of the city, can be considered as an early example of postmodern(istic) public urban space. A significant event that shaped the discourse was the demolition of the Modernist estate Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, US in 1972–76. Charles Jencks, for example, has emphasized the symbolic value of the demolition, claiming that it signifies the end of Modernism and birth of Post-Modernism. However, a more realistic view would place at the

ALVARO SIZA'S MALAGUEIRA ESTATE IN EVORA may be the most faithful Aldo Rossian urban project in Europe. Siza expressed the importance of water in the dry climate as rough 'aqueducts' in grey concrete brics that organise the white, cubist housing tissue. Photo: Panu Lehtovuori.

root of the problematic nature of the estate, the deeply entrenched racial and class divisions of St. Louis, and of many other US cities at the time.

In Finland, the change of urban and architectural scene became palpable in 1972. That year, three young architects Vilhelm Helander, Pekka Pakkala and Mikael Sundman won an open planning competition for the Katajanokka development in an old shipyard in central Helsinki. Their project was vocally based on Helsinki's historical features, such as the subtly varying street grid, hierarchical relation between classical monuments and ordinary housing, closed urban blocks, and an interest in the 1920s large open yards and their social potential. The entry completely turned its back to modernistic principles. Their project was realized, and despite its moderate size the 'New Katajanokka' became a game-changing example, pointing to the values of urbanity, historical continuity and public space. Echoes can be seen in Kuokkala district in Jyväskylä, a 1978 competition won by architect Juhani Boman, and many other cases.

In Europe, Aldo Rossi's Gallaratese housing in Milan (1970) and Alvaro Siza's Malagueira estate in Evora (1973–) are celebrated examples of the 'Other City Planning' that views the city as a real, historical artefact (as against a collection of abstract 'functions') and as a citizen-driven long-term process (as against a top-down singular project). Rem Kollhaas' early Ij-Plein in Amsterdam (project 1980–82, realization 1982–88) is an interesting case, as it simultaneously speaks both for the stream-lined modernistic aesthetics and urban typologies rooted in Amsterdam's urban history.

In 1979, West Berlin commenced an international competition for reconstructing parts of the city, respecting (or reintroducing) the city's original urban street plans. This initiative became the Berlin IBA '87, a collection of postmodernistic projects by Aldo Rossi, Alvaro Siza, John Hejduk, Rem Koolhaas, Zaha Hadid, and others, built in the vicinity of Berlin Wall in Kreutzberg and Friedrichsstadt. The project laid foundations for 'critical reconstruction', a principle to rebuild the post-wall Berlin coded as Planwerk Innenstadt. Today, this long reconstruction process and symbolic fight for ownership of Berlin's public space is getting to an end with the rebuilding of the Berlin Castle as Humboldt Forum at the core of the city. – Space here does not allow for architectural comments on that project, but very interestingly the Humboldt Forum may become a highly interesting and relevant global/local cultural space.[2]

Reviewing 'Postmodern Urbanism': are urban values in dangerous decline or just changing?

The English translation of Lefebvre's Production of Space (1991) made space a key term of critical enquiry. European societies were in rapid transformation in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to an unprecedented wave of optimism translated in urban regeneration, as noted above regarding Berlin. However, the unification rapidly led to negative effects, such as the shrinking of many Eastern cities and towns. With the Communist threat gone, neoliberal social and economic policies gained ground in many countries beyond the UK and the US, with private actors starting to play a larger role in the processes of urban development. – In this context, we find two main 'narratives', one of 'decline' and one of 'change'.

The 'narrative of decline' foregrounds the increasingly visible practice of controlling urban public space through design, policing strategies and electronic surveillance. The Finnish geographer Hille Koskela (2000, 2006) has been one of the most critical voices of the practice of video surveillance and its implications for urban space. In the UK, Atkinson (2003) and Raco (2003) analyse the new spaces created as a result of the British urban renaissance, showing that there are signs of Smith's 'revanchist city' (1996) in the practices of redesigning and managing them. In the Netherlands, Van Melik et al. (2007, 2009) analyse 'manifestations of fear and fantasy in the design and management of public spaces' showing an evident shift in the ways that Dutch authorities have become more entrepreneurial and have increasingly provided public spaces mainly for consumers, combining 'fear and fantasy' in the production of privatized public space.

In United States, the 'narrative of decline' unfolds is a different spatial and historical context. First in Los Angeles, commentators raised attention to the 'end of public space' (Sorkin 1992). Critical geographers started to discuss the negative effects of real-estate businesses, their links to neoliberal politics and the increasingly 'global' socio-economic dynamics. They found public space and public culture to be under serious threat, labelling this toxic process as 'postmodern urbanism' (Flusty & Dear 1999). Socio-economic and spatial segregation at regional scale, privatization and commodification of formerly public spaces, loss of authenticity, fragmentation of communities and ecological disaster were among the key issues. The proliferation of gated communities and CCTV, on the one hand, and the construction of fantasy parks, Disneyfication of urban space and its 'pacification by cappuccino' led to exclusion of many groups and infringement of their basic rights (Sorkin 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Mitchell 1995). The more optimistic 'narrative of change' is much based on planners' and urban managers' practical views and actions in developing cities both in Europe and US. The work of Jan Gehl's team (Gehl 1971, Gehl & Gemzøe, 1996; 2000) is well known. Gehl's example of how to re-think and re-shape cities based on the principles of making them liveable – walkable, bike-able, enjoyable – has spread world-wide. The role of public space in creating vibrant urban environments is now rather broadly approved.

In the UK, Mathew Carmona has focused on understanding the management dimension of public space (Carmona, M. & al. 2008) and the creation of design guidelines for both policy and practice (2013a; 2013b). His paper Contemporary Public Space: Critique and Classification (2010a, 2010b) maps in detail the on-going debates on public space, categorizing them in under-management and over-management critiques. He concludes that:

> The discussion revealed both the complex and contested nature of public space, but also the tendency for at least some of the literature to over-generalize complex locally situated phenomena, the extent of which (globally) is largely untested. What is clear is that contemporary trends in public space design and management are resulting (over time) in an increasingly complex range of public space types … (Carmona, 2010b, p. 172)

Recently, innovative work attempting to quantify the publicness of public spaces has been carried out by Nemeth and Schmidt (2007; 2011) in the USA and Varna (2014) in the UK. These authors try to show if indeed privatization and increased control of contemporary urban public spaces can be demonstrated beyond anecdotal evidence. Their results show that in many cities a proliferation of new public spaces and socio-spatial innovations can be observed, giving credibility to the cautiously optimistic 'narrative of change'.

Part 3: Now – Searching For a New Paradigm

Lessons from the past paradigm shifts

From the two previous moments of innovation in planning and urbanism in 1930s and 1970s, we can learn a number of things that help us to understand the contemporary urban landscape.

Firstly, those two moments are not similar. The 1930s were characterized by a fundamental invention of a new societal role for urban planning. The 'global conception of space', as described by Henri Lefebvre, helped architects, planners and eventually politicians to manage the industrial society through the control and zoning of metropolitan land-uses. This conceptual shift essentially hi-jacked politics, re-dressing political questions in terms of rational planning and progressive architecture. The shift in 1930s was more radical than that in 1970s. While in 1930s, a new societal institution was conceived, an institution that really started to work only in the post-war economic and social modernisation, in 1970s this institution remained intact. The ideas of participation, citizen power, limits of growth and value of historic urban form failed to shake and overturn the planning institution, and the paradigm shift stopped half-way (Taylor 1998). The societal role of modernistic planning and the related practices were not exhausted, yet. The well-oiled system that helped to direct public funds, stabilize property values, shape markets and limit competition served well many actors still in 1970s and later on. Thus, planning got support both from business and politics, and continued to play vital roles in Western societies and cities. Despite strong critique against the ruling regime, the challenging new ideas failed to create an alternative view regarding the societal role of planning and, thus, remained in the margins.

Secondly, in a more positive note, the 1970s debates teach about the cultural role of urbanism. Especially the interest in urban history, in the rich and varied morphology and typology of European cities, made clear that city building is one of the most important expressions of culture. Not only big plans, but the mundane everyday process of individual decisions has value and power (Lehtovuori & Koskela 2013). As collective works, oeuvres, cities could be studied in their own terms, and the 'Other City Planning' established a certain independence and a cultural, even avant-garde, position in art, media and politics. I find this observation very important today, because too often we as urbanists fail to ground our arguments in uniquely urban terms, in our own terms. Too often we accept the economic argument as the strongest or most relevant, and start to change both our discursive anchors and actual plans to better 'serve' the economy. I doubt that this will not help the cause of more humane, lively, resource-efficient or resilient cities of the future. It takes culture and cunning to create an agenda for the future!

Thirdly, before a major paradigm shift, there is always a period of innovation and testing. Artistic experimentation in 1910s and 1920s was essential for modern architecture and planning, as was the long and versatile critique towards the ideas and results of post-war urbanization from late 1950s till 1968 in arts (eg. Situationists), urban studies (eg. Jacobs) and planning and architecture itself (eg. Team X). In the theory of systemic change or systemic transition, the flocking and mutual strengthening of several 'niche innovations' is one of the two main processes of change. Currently, temporary uses, tactical urbanism, urban acupuncture and other site-specific approaches represent a broad field of new urban practices, developed since

late 1990s (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila 2012; Bishop & Williams 2012; Stevens & Ambler 2010; Hou 2010). These approaches are relevant both in the relatively stable Western cities and in the rapidly evolving mega-cities of the 'global south'; fresh ideas have moved both ways. It is very likely that these ideas play a continued role in shaping the new urban paradigm.

Setting the future urban agenda

Above, we asked if urbanism is at a turning point, and what elements might point towards a paradigm shift. Clearly, the broad societal role of urban planning is a main question. In 1930s planning was about spatial management of the main functions of industrial society. In 1970s it might have been about channelling of political discontents and new critical social and ecological views, but the change remained incomplete, as discussed. Now, it is high time to realise the global scope of urbanization and cities' global status as the main human habitat. This year, already 54 percent of people globally live in cities (UN Habitat 2016). Humankind is moving to a new historical phase that may be referred to as a totally urban society, planetary urbanization, anthropocene, or urban continent (eg. Lefebvre 1991; Brenner & Schmid 2013; Schmid 2005). We have to rethink cities as a resource-efficient mode to organise the totality of human life in the post-industrial, urban era.

It is a huge task, but the sheer size of the problem might show the direction of the solution: people themselves. In the current situation, the production of the Urban, well-working and self-managed, is the main thing in itself. Cities or city-regions are not instruments for economic prosperity or social equity, only, but ends in themselves. Not surprisingly, this idea is in tune with many of the 20th century alternative and critical thoughts discussed above. A certain valuation and even respect of the Urban – defined either as the unfolding daily urban life or as the historical urban artefact – unites those critiques. Simultaneously, they see urbanism as a field of action that deals with the complex and emergent urban whole in a subtle and dynamic manner.

We are witnessing history's largest migration, and the remaining rural areas in Africa and South-East Asia are rapidly urbanizing. While there are several urbanization paths and much regional and national variety, in general cities are the devices that will lead humankind to a sustainable future. In the few coming decades till 2050 urbanism – planning, design and architecture but even more urban policies and practices that define how much self-help, self-organisation and capacity-building is tolerated – will largely define the tenor of 'global society'.

21st century urbanism: intangible urban resources

In our view, the global horizon offers a clue about the societal role of 21st century urbanism: to facilitate urban processes so that especially the intangible resources cities are good at producing can be maximized for collective benefit: networks, skills, capabilities, up-ward social mobility, informal and formal education, economic and social standing, political opinion-formation, identity… Natural resources are crucial, and resource-efficiency a must, but social capital that is best built and sustained in urban processes is the key. The importance of intangible resources is beautifully elaborated by Doug Saunders in Arrival City (2011), a book about first generation rural-urban immigrants' new, or newly defined, neighbourhoods, 'arrival cities', across the Globe:

> Rather than dismissing these neighbourhoods as changeless entities or mere locations, we need to start seeing them as a set of functions. (…) [Social capital] is, in short, what arrival cities are: repositories of social capital, machines for its creation and distribution. (…) The modern arrival city is the product of the final great human migration. A third of the world's population is on the move this century, from village to city… (Saunders 2011, p.20–21)

This call can be put in a broad and historical frame. Some commentators, for example, propose to expand the categories of economic analysis so that we would be able to count the value-adding processes of not only in primary production (agriculture and mining), secondary production (industry) and tertiary production (services), but the production of the urban itself, including real-estate but also the intangible urban resources (commons, networks). While this proposition can be debated, the centrality of human agency is clear. Space plays a key role in human agency, and the complex

socio-spatial hybrids warrant better understanding.

UN Habitat III accepted in October 2016 the 'New Urban Agenda'. The long document develops several distinctly urban themes, such as the importance of public space and participatory 'bottom-up' practices (UN 2016). Principle 100 states (excerpt):

> We will support the provision of well-designed networks of safe, inclusive for all inhabitants, accessible, green, and quality public spaces and streets, free from crime and violence, including sexual harassment and gender-based violence, considering the human scale and measures that allow for the best possible commercial use of street-level floors...

The principle ends with 'health and well-being'. What is important is the Agenda's constant recognition of the whole urban society, including informal markets, bottom-up initiatives and every urban dweller, not only formal citizens.

Only after a paradigmatic change in defining urbanism, the many and pressing issues of ecological survival, role of digitalization, communities without propinquity, public service provision, urban sustainability, densification, regenerative urbanism and many more, can be properly addressed. It will not be top-down, neither bottom-up. 21st century urbanism will require a hybrid or 'multi-planar' understanding. The future urban agenda will be built around innovation, resource-efficiency and resilience, understood as city's ability to renew itself, find new practices and create new hybrid socio-spatial solutions. In setting the agenda, many of the themes of the rich urban discourse from post-war to postmodern are clearly relevant and worth a revisit and reconsideration. In this work, Baltic and European cultural heritage will continue to provide valuable cases and models.

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ENDNOTES

1. See www.notbored.org/space.html for a discussion on this quote from *The Production of Space*.
2. Personal communication with Alan Prohm, the Head of Humboldt Forum's Digital Communication.

DENNIS RODWELL

The Values of Heritage: A New Paradigm for the 21st Century

Abstract

The traditional 20th century approach to architectural heritage focused on attributed cultural values. In the Postwar era, these were predicated on the hypothesis that only selected, designated examples of our built heritage would survive the drive to adapt and modernise our homes, towns and cities. This assumption conflicts with today's agendas of sustainable development and climate change, which embrace wider societal, cultural and environmental issues and recognise additional, complementary values: including community, resource, and usefulness.

Awareness-raising is a critical challenge for the preservation and maintenance of Postwar to Postmodern built cultural heritage in the 21st century. This paper explores the importance of promoting a holistic understanding of the concept of heritage, the range of values which support the protection and conservation of our 20th century built heritage over and above a narrow focus on often non-consensual cultural ones, and the role of this heritage as a driver for sustainable urban development in the 21st century.

The 20th century paradigm

The history of built cultural heritage conservation, from its earliest beginnings through the 20th century, has presupposed the survival of selected individual monuments and buildings, sites and areas identified by experts for reductionist cultural reasons (Jokilehto, 1999; Glendinning, 2013), alongside what has been described as the "fetishism for making lists" (Askew, 2010, p.32). Notwithstanding the broadening range of this heritage, from ancient ruins through rural and urban ensembles, domestic vernacular, industrial relics and historic districts to buildings of the Modern Movement, the commitment to selectivity allied to the primacy of cultural values has not been seriously challenged in academic or practical terms. The result is marginal: in Scotland, for example, with a population of 5.25 million and over 2.5 million buildings, fewer than 300 from the Postwar period are currently listed for protection (out of a total of 48 000 listings) (Rodwell, 2013).

In multiple respects, the Second World War constituted a turning point in Europe. With its emergence in the Interwar period, the Modern Movement had already anticipated the disassembling of cities and their re-ordering in conformity with a simplistic compartmentalisation of human activities – chiefly categorised as work, residence and leisure.

Le Corbusier's provocative 1925 *Plan Voisin* for the reconstruction of central districts of Paris, for example, retaining only a handful of highly selected monuments, epitomised this (Le Corbusier, 1947). Whereas this vision for Paris was opposed and dismissed at the time, the underlying concept was adopted as the model for the post-1945 re-ordering and reconstruction of cities across Europe (Johnson-Marshall, 1966), where the devastation wrought by wartime aerial bombardment was acknowledged as a "blessing in disguise" (Duwel and Gutschow, 2013). Lewis Mumford (1895–1990), influential commentator on the history of cities, civilisation and urbanism (Mumford, 1963; Critchley, 2004), anticipated, when addressing a European audience in 1942, "replacing an outworn civilization […] for a new set of purposes and a radically different mode of life". He continued: "There is a sense in which the demolition that is taking place through the war has not yet gone far enough. Though many of the past structures are still serviceable, and some of them truly venerable, the bulk of our building

FIGURE 1. DUBLIN, IRELAND. In the 1960s, when solicited by the state owned Electricity Supply Board for his support for the demolition of sixteen Georgian townhouses in Fitzwilliam Street, the noted architectural historian Sir John Summerson (1904–92) – an authority on the Georgian period but an equivocal champion of the conservation movement – described them as "merely one damned house after another" (cited in McDonald, 1985, p.20). In a bizarre twist of fate that is symptomatic of changing fashions and the volatility of attributed cultural values, the replacement building, shown here, is currently destined to be demolished and replaced by a replica of the Georgian terrace that preceded it. Photo: Dennis Rodwell.

no longer corresponds to the needs and *possibilities* [author's italics] of human life. We must therefore continue to do, in a more deliberate and rational fashion, what the bombs have done in brutal hit-or-miss, if we are to […] produce the proper means of living" (Mumford, 1946, p.131).

Mumford's limited perception of *possibilities* evidenced a mental straitjacket that was typical at the time and continues to exert a major influence politically, professionally and in the public mind. The architect Didier Repellin's articulation, for example, that working with a historic building requires ten times more creativity than building a new one on a greenfield site,[1] has only partially insinuated itself into an architectural profession whose leading members prioritise new construction over the retention of existing structures, largely irrespective of their age, cultural significance, or adaptive capabilities. Indicative of the Postwar ethos is a statement that appears in the 1965 *Liverpool City Centre Plan*: "The essence of Liverpool's problems today stem from the fact that the essential fabric of the City dates from a hundred years ago" (City Centre Planning Group, 1965, p.55): a liability, not an asset; a disposable, limited-life commodity in the Postwar consumer economy.

Whereas one could argue that the Modern Movement substantively contributed to this ethos, the challenges facing awareness of the Postwar to Postmodern built heritage (as indeed of the Prewar Modern Movement) are neither new nor exclusive to the late 20th century. Reductionist cultural attributions are essentially *constructs* (Rodwell, 2015), values that are subject to divergent and at times contradictory interpretations by heritage experts and their peers; supposedly intrinsic to the objects themselves but relative in time and space and essentially extrinsic (Labadi, 2013); and overlaid with diverse and variable symbolic and political meanings. Much of this discourse inhibits constructive conversations about functional continuity and adaptive reuse today.

In the British Isles, for example, the architectural period that is amongst the most highly valued

FIGURE 2. LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM (top left). Also in the 1960s, the Midland Grand Hotel (1868–73; architect, Sir George Gilbert Scott) that fronts St Pancras Station was threatened with destruction and narrowly escaped this fate. Now fully restored and refunctioned, a statue on the upper concourse commemorates the instrumental role of Sir John Betjeman (1906–1984; poet and founder of the Victorian Society) in the campaign to save the building from demolition. Photo: Dennis Rodwell.

FIGURE 3 & 4. KAUNAS, LITHUANIA (top right and above). Termed "Europe's Secret Modernist Capital City" for its unrivalled assemblage of buildings from the Interwar years (here, the Central Post Office; 1930–31; architect Feliksas Vizbaras), during which period Kaunas was the capital of the first independent Republic of Lithuania (1918–40), this vital component of Europe's built cultural heritage is only now emerging from decades of deprecation for an assortment of historical and symbolic reasons. Photos: Dennis Rodwell.

today – the neo-classical Georgian period (1714–1830), exemplified in the urban transformations of Bath and Edinburgh (inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1987 and 1995 respectively), Dublin and London – faced continuing threats of demolition and redevelopment through until the 1970s (Figure 1). The built heritage of the subsequent Victorian period (1837–1901) suffered equal prejudice before returning to favour in the 1990s (Figure 2).

In Lithuania, the remarkable Interwar heritage of today's second city of Kaunas was not lauded until the present decade (Balčytis, 2013) (Figure 3 & 4), despite being the European equivalent of Asmara, the Eritrean capital and "Africa's Secret Modernist City" (Denison et al, 2003).

Importantly, reductionist cultural attributions are often independent of the broader range of heritage values that determine perceptions in today's host communities, where academically articulated characteristics focused on the architecture may well carry little weight. As Felicity Goodey has stated: "The unlisted buildings enshrine the human stories, the memories of the community. They are the real heritage. It is they that determine the sense of identity, of place, and of belonging. These are the places where the historic environment is at the heart of sustainable communities" (cited in Rodwell, 2014, p.14).

21st century agendas

The commodification of history as *heritage* that is selected for survival, whether as examples of a particular period, style, typology, association, constructional technique, or other, remains in a time warp from the third quarter of the twentieth century and is inconsistent with late-twentieth through twenty-first century broad societal and environmental agendas, including the United Nations 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, the New Urban Agenda, and anthropogenic global warming ('climate change').

As Jukka Jokilehto wrote in 1999: "During the twentieth century […] the increase in scale and the recognition of diversity in cultures and physical conditions have led to a new situation, where the meaning of cultural heritage itself, and the policies for its safeguard have required reassessment. […] Against this new background, one can well ask if the conservation movement, as it evolved from the eighteenth century, cannot be considered as concluded, and whether modern conservation should not be redefined in reference to the environmental sustainability of social and economic development within the overall cultural and ecological situation on earth" (Jokilehto, 1999, p.19). This theme was taken up by Anne Parmly Toxey in 2011, writing that preservation needs a fundamental rethink, extracting it from a fetish with abstracting and preserving selected monuments, allying it with broader agendas of environmentalism, sustainability and creative continuity, and revaluing the landscape at large for its intrinsic worth and usefulness as well as its cultural meaning (Toxey, 2011).

Urban Splash, the pioneering United Kingdom heritage rescue and development company founded in 1993, which has taken a special interest in post-war social housing, has expressed incredulity that so much of it continues to be demolished without evaluating the options. Synthesising the reflections of Jokilehto, Repellin and Toxey, Jonathan Falkingham (co-founder of Urban Splash) has written (Urban Splash, 2011): "I hope that one thing we have demonstrated […] is that it is all too easy to give up on old buildings – and that if we apply some creativity and lateral thought we can reinvent and repurpose them for another generation to enjoy. I also believe that in this age of sustainability, before coming to convenient conclusions about demolition, our first obligation is to give serious thought to reuse – this may take a bit more time and effort, but continually knocking down our heritage (in all its forms) is quite simply unsustainable" (Figure 5). Writing further: "It's often the same people who are worrying about plastic bags who are happy to tear down perfectly good buildings." A current major project by Urban Splash is the phased regeneration and substantive remodelling of Park Hill, Sheffield, England, a thousand-unit medium to high rise Postwar social housing development; completed in 1961 and listed in 1998, it is claimed to be Europe's largest listed building. Urban Splash's ethos conforms to the increasingly acknowledged truism that the most sustainable building is the one that has already been built.

To take this discourse forward, we need to look beyond the constraints that currently condition attitudes to the protection and management of our built cultural heritage, withdraw from narratives which invite non-recognition outside the heritage

FIGURE 5. GLASGOW, SCOTLAND. Programmes of demolition of 1960s and '70s residential tower blocks in the city began in the early 1990s. At the time of their erection, 1964–69, the eight blocks of the steel frame construction Red Road flats were reputed as the tallest buildings in Europe (two slabs of twenty-eight storeys, four point blocks and two tower blocks of thirty-one storeys; designed 1962; Sam Bunton & Associates, Architects). Designed for a population of 4 700, the lack of communal facilities contributed to a number of problems on the estate. Options for regeneration were not considered. One slab block was demolished in 2012 and one point block in 2013. This photograph shows the remaining six blocks being prepared for demolition in late 2015. Photo: Dennis Rodwell.

community, and embrace the opportunities that are implicit across the spectrum of twenty-first century agendas. Awareness-raising of late 20th century heritage which relies on specialist interpretations of a delimited set of the cultural values, ones that can be difficult if not confrontational to communicate, is a challenge that is often as fraught as it is unnecessary. The history of the peacetime destruction of Europe's built architectural and urban heritage throughout the twentieth century is the history of missed opportunities to identify and articulate values beyond ones esteemed by a minuscule number of enthusiasts and professionals. This is aggravated by abstruse doctrinal arguments, including obsessions with material authenticity (a concept that is often both misunderstood and misused), which render conservation and adaptive reuse abnormal and unnecessarily expensive.

Towards a new paradigm

Sustainability is defined in ecology as the capacity of systems to endure and remain diverse and productive over time. It signifies durability, is dynamic and not static, and presupposes resilience and adaptability to change. The agenda of sustainable development was initially articulated in the 1987 *Brundtland Report*, and whereas it has been criticised in many quarters for its emphasis on economic growth, an oft-overlooked passage reads: "We see the possibility for a new era of economic growth, one that *must* [author's italics] be based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.1).

This environmental resource base has two components: renewable and non-renewable, of which the latter divides into the unexploited and the exploited. The environmental capital that has already been

FIGURE 6. GLASGOW, SCOTLAND. Mass housing in the Anderston Cross Comprehensive Development Area: phase 1, built 1965–67 using the Bison precast concrete panel system. Planned as part of a 1960s' regeneration of the area to replace traditional stone-built tenements, this development has itself been largely remodelled and rebuilt as part of an ongoing regeneration programme, in which none of the four values of community, resource, usefulness and cultural was taken into account. This photograph was taken in 1970. Photo: Dennis Rodwell.

invested in our existing buildings and urban infrastructures – their embodied materials and energy – provides an important indicator for the vital contribution that our built heritage has to play in today's global agendas beyond a reductionist focus on architectural or historic interest. In a Europe-wide context, the importance of conserving this resource is underlined by the estimation that 80 per cent of the buildings that will exist in the year 2050 have already been built. This figure varies by country, increasing for example to 87 per cent relative to the housing stock in the United Kingdom (Boardman, 2007, p.16). In order, therefore, to enhance and accelerate awareness of our more recent built heritage, it is not merely advisable but essential to embrace and subsume values that do not currently form part of the mainstream theory and practice of selective protection and specialist conservation.

An inclusive spectrum of values can be defined in a number of ways (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015 and 2016). For example, short-listed as:

- Community – incorporating sense of place, belonging and wellbeing.
- Resource – including material, encompassing environmental capital.
- Usefulness – including continuity and creative reuse.
- Cultural – in the broadest sense: incorporating the memory of a community as a whole as well as its constituent parts; and including all features and aspects that are recognised and appreciated by citizens – not just specialists who are often outsiders.

In this, cultural heritage is recognised as an ingredient in a medley of values, for which the protection and conservation of the built heritage needs to embrace a far broader spectrum of stakeholders than is currently represented by the heritage community: to assume a mainstream rather than peripheral and politically expendable role, one that performs vital societal and environmental roles additional to a closely defined cultural one (Figure 6).

Conclusion

The challenge of awareness that this conference has sought to address is not specific to Postwar to Postmodern built cultural heritage. It is a challenge that has faced all advocates of heritage protection and conservation since at least the major socio-economic mutations prompted by the Industrial Revolution and the associated onset of rapid urbanisation. The dynamics of fashion have played an important part in this challenge, and today's challenge of raising awareness of our recent heritage is no different from parallel challenges in the past. The critical difference today is the opportunity to reinforce the delimited cultural aspect by allying it to the core agendas of our time: the exhaustion of non-renewable material and energy resources; the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions and anthropogenic global warming; and sustainable development. Although the same words are used, *protection* and *conservation* when employed by the heritage community do not have the same meanings as those that are understood in a global environmental sense. This non-coincidence places the built heritage community at a severe disadvantage. Vaunting cultural heritage as a contributory value, an ingredient in a medley of values whose whole is greater than the sum of its parts, offers the key to the successful awareness-raising of the multiple values of our late 20th century built cultural heritage. It places our built inheritance, wherever and of whatever era, at the forefront of the drive for sustainable development in this twenty-first century.

Postscript

"The preservation movement has one great curiosity. There is never any retrospective controversy or regret. Preservationists are the only people in the world who are invariably confirmed in their wisdom after the fact" (Galbraith, 1980, p.57).

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ENDNOTES

1. Didier Repellin, Architecte en chef des monuments historiques, Lyon, France, speaking at the international conference *Façadisme et Identité Urbaine*, Paris, January 1999.

PER STRÖMBERG

Creative Destruction or Destructive Creativity? Negotiating the Heritage of the Cold War in the Experience Economy

Introduction

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union completely changed the military-political situation in the Nordic countries. New precision bombing technology and the movement from invasion defence to input defence in countries like Sweden resulted in many of the subterranean modern fortresses of the Cold War no longer having any use. Despite the rapid geopolitical changes in Northern Europe during the recent years, there is still a current problem of what to do with the superfluous military establishments of the Cold War: let them fall into decay, preserve or reuse them – and for what purpose?

The article examines the cultural as well as spatial foundation of a new genre of heritage in Sweden and in its neighbouring states – the cultural heritage of the Cold War – whose value is negotiated by various stakeholders through a range of processes: emotional, social and cultural processes as well as legal and economic ones. Similar to the built heritage of industrial society, the derelict bunkers of the Cold War have become a cultural playground for tourism and creative industries. For instance in Stockholm, a commando bunker has been reused for museum exhibitions and fashion shows. Further north, a subterranean bunker has been used as a scenography for airsoft games. Does the above concern "creative destruction" in Joseph Schumpeter's sense, that is, new industries that flourish on the basis of the old? Alternatively, is it an example of sheer "destructive creativity" in the name of the experience economy?

The heritage of the Cold War

The end of the Cold War caused a fundamental revision of Swedish foreign and military defence policy. The consolidation of new national states, democratization processes, national identity crises, and regional and ethnic conflicts all characterized the political situation in Europe. The military threat that had existed during the Cold War was no longer a reality.

As a result, the Swedish armed forces began an intensive conversion process (and for many employees, a painful one), known as the LEMO process. The number of units was more than halved, while international operations became increasingly important. All the other European countries were involved in similar transition processes. In former European communist countries, a two-part process was carried out: the creation of national armies with new agendas, and the reduction in size while phasing out nuclear capacity.

There have been limited ambitions to preserve the post-military landscape or to make use of the deserted military bases of the Red Army. It is generally considered a "negative heritage" in view of its negative connotations, which evoke the repression, militarism and environmental destruction of the former Soviet domination. In the Baltic States, there are few examples of preservation actions that focus on the Cold War heritage. The military structures have either been destroyed, deserted or reused for other purposes.

In contrast, the heritage process has been less problematic for the West European countries, which were either members of NATO or neutral. The Cold War heritage is also a heritage of alliances. Therefore, the international connection is as important as the national one. The conversion process had a major impact on the fixed fortifications along the extended coastline: coastal artillery, including subterranean bomb shelters, artillery and other weapon systems, lodging barracks, service

The post-industrial society	The post-military society
1) Political-economical changes: de-industrialisation A straightforward decline in the output of manufactured goods or in employment in the manufacturing sector; a shift from manufacturing to service sectors. New strategic demands of mobility and flexibility (for companies).	**1) Political-economical changes: de-militarisation** End of war preparation in large scale; reduction of nation's army, weapons, and military vehicles to an agreed minimum of weapons and troop forces; professionalization and end of conscription. New strategic demands of mobility and flexibility (for Defence).
2) Globalisation: economic & geographic expansion Industrial outsourcing and move to low-wage countries; expansion of a global market; multinational companies.	**2) Globalisation: economic & geographic expansion** Global warfare; move from invasion defence to an internationally engaged input defence; enterprises of national rebuilding after conflicts.
3a) General technological development Better industrial production and process methods.	**3a) General technological development** Better industrial production and process methods; development of weapons with more fire power and more precision.
3b) Digitalisation: the digital revolution Digital technology replaces human labour.	**3b) Digitalisation: the digital revolution** Digital technology replaces soldiers; development of digital precision weapons, remote-controlled weapons, drones; development of a "digital fortress", a defence against cyber-attacks.
4) Heritagisation The appearance of mental distance and alienation; creation of a new cultural heritage, followed by aestheticization and valorisation processes; appearance of "vacant spaces".	

THE SIMILARITIES between the post-industrial and post-military societies.

structures, training establishments, and coastal reconnaissance stations. Cocroft (2003, p. 3) suggests a broad definition of Cold War "monuments" which is useful for this article, that is, "structures built, or adapted, to carry out nuclear war between the end of the Second World War and 1989".

The built heritage of the Cold War is also a heritage of secrecy, invisibility and silence. Structures built in great secrecy during the Cold War, mostly invisible to citizens, were then dissolved into oblivion. Moreover, it is a heritage of reassurance – or oppression – depending on whose viewpoint you take.

Heritagisation of post-societies

The heritage of the Cold War is one born out of crisis. It is a reflection of structural change in society, like its analogous twin-heritage of the industrial society. Daniel Bell (1973, p. 14) coined the notion of post-industrial society in order to describe economic changes from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy, a diffusion of national and global capital, and mass privatization. There are remarkably similar circumstances behind the development of the post-industrial society and that of the *post-military society* (see table): (1) political-economical changes; (2) globalisation; (3a) general technological development; (3b) digitalisation; and (4) heritagisation.

The post-military society is an equivalent notion coined by Martin Shaw (1991, pp. 184–185) arguing that post-militarism, much like post-industrialism and post-modernism, is a defining characteristic of the end of the 20th century, i.e. a structural transition from the Cold War era. Nevertheless, just as post-industrialism does not abolish industry, or post-modernism modernity, so, too, post-militarism, while it transforms the military and milita-

SAAB EVENT AT AEROSEUM staged by AS Systems GmbH.

rism, does not remove them from central positions in the social structure, Shaw argues.

The making of the Cold War-heritage is also very similar to the making of the industrial heritage in view of the heritage process. In contrast, the Cold War heritage in Sweden has emerged through a more centralized process than the industrial one, principally because the military structures are state property. In this process, the Swedish National Property Board (SFV) as well as the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ) have played essential roles in defining which military structures should be preserved for the future. The basis for valuation generally applied by heritage institutions was pragmatically elaborated by SFV: the criteria of quality and costs were balanced in order to sort out objects in good condition with educational and touristic potential.

Furthermore, networks of local driving forces and retired officers have been important for the heritage process as well, by essentially putting pressure on the heritage institutions and politicians with the goal of defining 'their' former work place or local heritage as worthy of preservation. Often, the potential of becoming a tourist attraction is used as a key argument by stakeholders (Strömberg 2010).

The making of the Cold War heritage is derived through a range of processes which imply a shift of *function* (spatially, legally and socially), a shift of *representation* (culturally and emotionally), and finally, a shift of *management* (administratively and economically). With the industrial heritage process in mind, the making of the Cold War heritage depends on an analogous 'authorized heritage discourse', to employ the notion of Laurajane Smith (2006, pp. 12–13, 29). This discourse constitutes a common two-step-change in different pace and internal order.

First, from military building to heritage, which is a conversion process which implies practices of *identification* and *selection* (investigations by cultural heritage institutions and researchers); *declaration* (up-grading decision-making by the authorities); *salvation* (emotional preservation actions by private initiatives and driving forces); *depiction* (nostalgic and popularized presentations by artists, authors and film-directors), and finally *preservation* (protection managed by heritage institutions). These practices characterize what has been called 'heritagisation' which refers to "the process by which objects and places are transformed from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition" (Walsh 1992, cited in Harrison 2013, p. 69).

Second, from heritage to attractions and educational devices, which involves *valorisation* (implied by planners, museums and tourism entrepreneurs); *education* (uses of heritage for the potential of learning); and finally, *sensation* and *socialization* (appropriative activities by visitors on the site) (Strömberg 2010, p. 660).

Valorisation as symptom of creative destruction

Focusing on the second step in this process, cultural heritage was previously not viewed as being a decisive factor for economic development. However, during recent decades, there has been an instrumental and, to some degree, a neoliberal shift in memory politics from conservation and national manifestation to usage of heritage for economic and educational purposes. In view of the new approach, culture and heritage are actively used as a resource for various purposes in the present (Aronsson, 2004). Cultural heritage has become increasingly available as a strategic resource for regional development and raw material for destination development.

The experience-based aviation centre *Aeroseum* is a good example of how the heritage of the Cold War is redefined in view of the neoliberal discourse of experience economy. Aeroseum was originally a subterranean air-dock at Säve, close to Gothenburg. Here, visitors are able to explore old aircrafts and helicopters, both virtually and in reality. The air-dock was constructed during the Cold War to protect the Swedish Air Force against nuclear attacks. In addition to guided tours and other activities, Aeroseum offers a unique venue for conferences and corporate events. The somewhat spectacular environment has also been used for television and commercials. The launch of the new Saab 9-3 was held at Aeroseum in 2007, a suitable site for the Saab Company in view of its background in aircraft construction. Meanwhile, the public broadcaster in Sweden used the airbase as a setting for the concert of the week in 2010.

Another example of adaptive reuse is *Bergrummet*, located in the centre of Stockholm. This is a former subterranean headquarters of the Swedish Navy that was taken out of military service at the end of the Cold War. It has now been made available by the National Property Board as an exhibition space. In 2013, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities developed an exhibition concept suitable for the Chinese Terracotta figures, which were temporarily displayed in this cavernous interior. According to the former head of the museum, the underground environment was particularly suited to enhance the experience of looking at archaeological objects, especially when they derive from a period of history when the Chinese burial customs changed to rock tombs (Strömberg, 2013). Furthermore, the bunker was reused as a stage for a runway show during Stockholm Fashion week in 2015.

By experimenting with their spatial, imaginative and historical potential, new activities have occurred in the wake of demilitarisation while serving as a funky stage and a metaphor for other ventures and businesses. Military bases have gone from being a part of a national defence economy to being involved in the experience economy. This corresponds with the theories of the economist Joseph Schumpeter who introduced the term 'creative destruction' to explain how declining industries and businesses are torn down and replaced by those that are more viable: in this case, tourism and the creative industries.

In conclusion, there are several potential benefits in reusing the residual materiality of war and its constant preparations. Firstly, they can make room for new activities and new businesses that might generate new development in areas of economic decline. Alternatively, they can function as symbols of economic regeneration. Adaptive reuse may also imply certain forms of preservation: new activities may actually prevent the built heritage from falling into decay.

THE CHINESE TERRACOTTA ARMY exhibition at Bergrummet by Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

Destructive creativity?

What happens when post-military heritage becomes a 'funky' stage for potentially more controversial narratives? In 2007, the event company *Berget Event* arranged the fifth in a series of airsoft games in the Swedish subterranean fortress of Hemsön, dating from the Cold War. The event – one of the world's biggest airsoft games – attracted over a thousand participants. The plot was based on a counterfactual scenario with a hypothesis of what would have happened if the Cold War had not ended. Berget Event's games may be described as a live role-play with elements of military simulation, an enhanced participatory extension of the dramatized narratives, which have become an increasingly popular way of communicating and experiencing history. Calling it a mix of "scouting, role-playing, and military service", the event company made an agreement with the National Property Board to rent parts of the fortress as a realistic scenographic backdrop to support the game's narrative (Strömberg, 2013).

Airsoft games are provocative, not least because of the realism and their emotional closeness to contemporary conflicts. This gives rise to a number of ethical issues that problematize the boundary between perceived reality and the fiction being acted out. The airsoft game at Hemsö fortress is an example of a radical approach to built heritage, which too challenges institutional ways of considering heritage.

Similarly, in Nemenčinė, on the outskirts of Vilnius, there is another radical example. A former subterranean television station from the Soviet era has evolved into a peculiar tourist attraction: *Soviet Bunker – The Underground Museum of Socialism*. Here, you can experience Soviet-style repres-

DRAMATIZED SOVIET REPRESSION combined with dinner at Soviet Bunker – The Underground Museum of Socialism.

sion during dramatized guided tours, with dinner included. You are drilled to stand in line, to do push-ups and get insulted by people playing KGB officers. As a souvenir, you receive a gift from the Soviet era and a certificate for completed basic disciplinary training. Although the bunker was never used by the KGB, it is a story of Soviet tyranny that unfolds, a fictional version of a narrative of oppression that verges on entertainment. Similar attractions are *Grūto parkas* in Lithuania, *The Secret Soviet Bunker* in Ligatne, Latvia, and *Bunker -42* in Moscow.

A condition of this radical approach to the heritagisation process is the *mental distance* to the former activities. Similar to the dirty industrial heritage depicted by Robert Willim (2008, pp. 123–124), the traces of the military past are now looked upon with distance and nostalgia. These processes imply a type of *cultural sorting* that selects and extracts positive aspects out of context. Thus, uses of history and adaptive reuse entail complications and gives rise to a range of ethical questions. First, the radical reuse of buildings as makeovers and promiscuous re-appropriations might physically damage or trivialize the heritage to the point it can lose its context and authority as a historical site. Second, there might also be emotional drawbacks when military sites are reused in such contexts. Third, there might be problems of falsification, as in the Lithuanian case when the attraction has nothing to do with the original use, namely the former television station, not the headquarters of KGB.

Finding a sense of balance

Are the entrepreneurs going too far in search of spectacular experiences and profit? Or is it a matter

of moral panic when roleplaying no longer is about neo-medievalism with crossbows, but threatening realism in Soviet uniforms? Perhaps the Lithuanian example primarily reflects the way people in this region process their history of occupation: to attempt to render the infected memories of Soviet era harmless and financially profitable simply by mocking and satirizing their unpleasantness? Another critical question is how economically successful and viable creative industries and heritage tourism really are.

Ethnographer Birgitta Svensson identifies four different values that come into play within the heritage process: symbolic values; values of economic growth; experience values; and values of human dignity. She asks if they really are associable, and responds in the affirmative. However, she argues that we must consider each of the values rather than just one of them. Above all, she writes, we should care more about quality – the focus and content – rather than quantity when combining the different values (Svensson, 2005, p. 164).

Svensson's response to her own question is to the point. In the same way as sustainability demands a pragmatic balance between environmental, economic and socio-cultural issues in order to be successful, likewise I believe that adaptive reuse and uses of heritage demands a sense of balance. In other words, finding equilibrium between commercialization and cultural integrity; taking into account experiential as well as historical values; depicting the extraordinary while not forgetting the everyday perspective; balancing conceptual refinement with genuine simplicity; exploring imagination with restrained creativity and balancing spectacularity with moderation.

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ANDRZEJ SIWEK

Protection of the Architectural Heritage of the Post-war Poland – Current Status and Future Prospects

Chronological framework of the subject

The term "post-war architecture" appears to be unambiguous. It applies to the achievements of architects from the end of World War II in 1945 nearly until today. However, this "nearly" contains a trap. When we talk about the protection of heritage, it is not easy to answer the question "what is already historical heritage and what is an element of contemporary times". Historical heritage is linked to the past, it needs protection. The heritage of contemporary times is still being created. Setting a precise chronological boundary for the responsibility for architectural conservation is one of the main topic currently discussed in Poland. The discussion is even more difficult because in Polish perspective after World War II we observe a great dynamics of events and extreme polarization of historical assessments. Therefore, historical caesura of the year 1989 plays an important role here. Before 1989, it is a history of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) which such characteristic features as connections with the so called "Socialist Bloc". After 1989, democracy and sovereignty are emphasized. Two different logics of the state, two eras in political history. Thus, there is a tendency in the discussion about the protection of cultural heritage to narrow the term "post-war" to the period of the Polish People's Republic and to search for different wording for the period after 1989. However, life requires widen perspective. For instance, a fierce discussion about the future and possibility to protect so called "Solpol" in Wrocław, a building from the early nineties of the twentieth century (1992–1993), is still taking place.

The final verdict has not been reached yet. The fight for chronological boundaries is still on… So the story about the post-war architecture starts in the obvious point, in 1945, and where it should lead is still open question.

Legal ways to protect post-war architectural heritage

The most important is Act on Monuments Protection and Care. This is a public law document of 2003 which contains the definition of a "monument". Pursuant of the law:

> a monument (is) – an immovable or movable property, a part or collection thereof, made by a man or connected with his activity, which constitutes a testimony of a bygone era or event, which should be preserved for the social interest due to its historical, artistic or scientific value. (Act on Monuments Protection, 2003, Art. 3 p. 1).

As one can see, there is no explicit time framework. It should be a testimony of a bygone era! At the same time it should represent values, which determine that the protection can be provided in public interest. The reference to earlier consideration of time framework leads to the conclusion that at least for the architecture dated back before 1989 there are no legal barriers for incorporating them into a conservation policy. The period of the Polish People's Republic is undoubtedly a closed and bygone historical era. However, for many reasons, administrative practice shows that protection of works from the second half of the 20th century is usually established in exceptional cases. The distance of official conservators of monuments toward the post-war architecture made the community of architects and urbanists undertake an initiative of a new form of protection. The Act on Spatial Planning and Development of 27 March 2003 introduced a

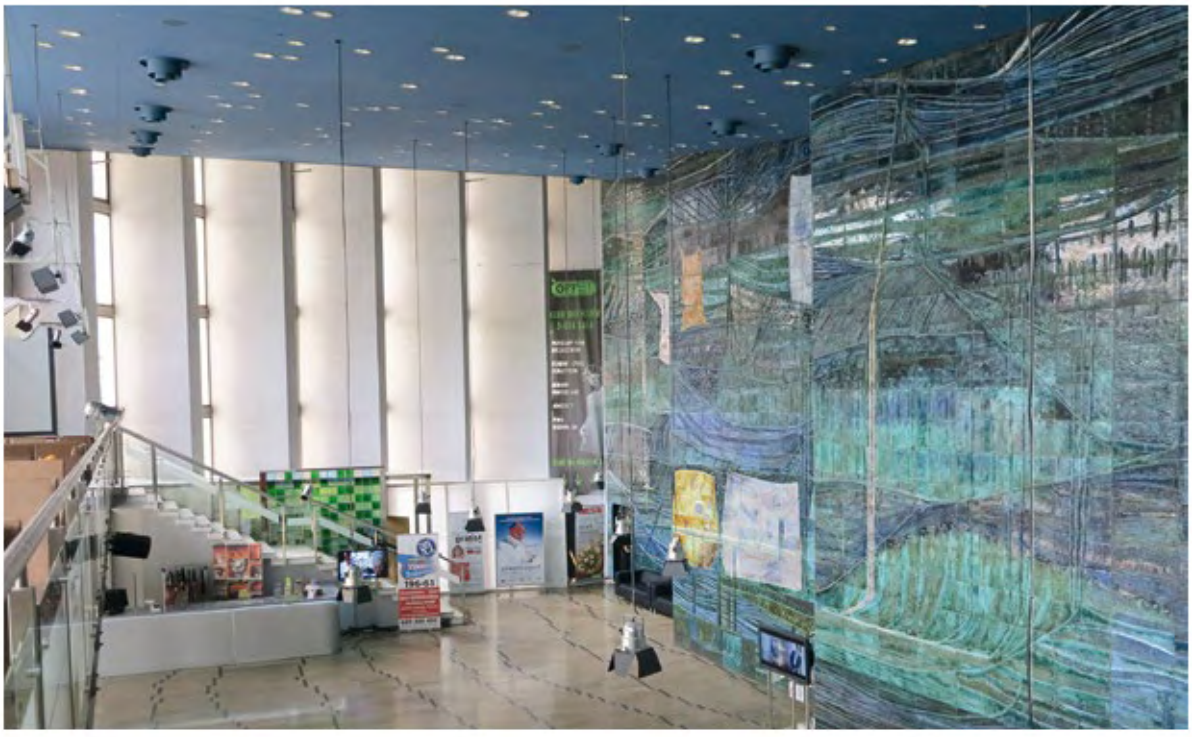
WROCŁAW, "SOLPOL", design: W . Jarząbek, 1992–1993. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

new term of "contemporary cultural property". The statutory definition says that this is:

> cultural property, other than historical monuments, which includes memorials and statues, places of remembrance, buildings, their interiors and details, building complexes, urban and landscape planning schemes, being a recognized output of the contemporary generations, if they are characterized by a high artistic or historical value (Act on Spatial Planning, 2003, Art. 2 p. 10).

Property as defined in the above provision should be protected by operation of law in the new local spatial development plans. However, a lot of values of such objects are not captured by these plans due to their level of generality. Although the provision did not fulfil the hopes resting on it, it is worth remembering about it. It is a signal of the attempts to find a formula for protecting the newest architecture which caused a broad debate in the environment about the criteria for selecting objects that should be protected (Atlas dóbr kultury, 2009, pp. 12–28).

Summing up, among different possible forms of legal protection of the post-war architecture in Poland, the protection resulting from the Act on Monuments Protection is effective and feasible (Siwek, 2011, pp. 5–10). This is a new challenge for conservators' offices.



ZAKOPANE, TATRZAŃSKI INSTYTUT HYDROLOGICZNO – METEOROLOGICZNY (Tatra Institute of Hydrology – Meteorology), design: J. Dajewski, 1967. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

KRAKÓW, KIJÓW CINEMA, design: W. Cęckiewicz, 1967, ceramic decorations K. Zgud – Strachocka. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

Resources of the post-war architecture

The process of providing protection to selected examples of the post-war architecture is slow, which is caused by a barrier consisting in still insufficient scientific recognition and description of such resources. Of course, there is a rich literature, but it is still a long way to the critical study of the resources, especially on regional levels (Szafer, 1987, A Land Still Undiscovered?, 2014–2015, pp. 10–21). To put it simply, we can say that the first years after World War II in Poland were mainly focused on restoration, continuation of pre-war patterns and methods as well as few individual innovative projects. The fifties, being a period of reception of socialist realism. The sixties, was a moment of short political thaw resulted in inspirations derived from international modernism.

The seventies and eighties reflected the local version of socialist modernism. In each of these periods, there are both average works and works important for artistic reasons. The process of scientific recognition takes time; it develops in an academic rhythm. Decisions of conservators often need to be taken under the pressure of threats, quickly. That is why the current resources of the post-war architecture protected in Poland seem to be inconsistent. They are not based on any planned activity, but they result from incidental reactions to certain needs. Because of diversity of resources, it is proposed to rationalize activities, and the suggestion appears to categorize resources in order to simplify decisions regarding conservation. (The concept included in the unpublished report on the works of the team for the assessment of cultural values of contemporary architecture, National Heritage Board of Poland 2013). It is claimed that post-war works qualified for protection should be exceptional in a certain category. Authenticity and integrity of a work should be an additional, but necessary, condition. The following categories predestining for protection are proposed:

1. Works of exceptional artistic qualities, characterized by a unique, creative approach to architecture in the context of artistic or doctrinal assumptions, for example in the scope of:
– clear attempt to realize the assumptions of artistic avant-garde of a given period (e.g. the Church in Rudy-Rysie dated 1968)
– creative interpretation of the features of regionalism (e.g. hut of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (Dom Turysty PTTK) in Zakopane);
– reception of the European/global artistic movements (e.g. buildings is Krakow inspired by the works of Le Corbusier);
– domination of artistic decoration over an architectural form which creates a separate value (e.g. the standard pavilion of Czartak restaurant (near Wadowice) or Kijów Cinema in Kraków with rich ceramic decoration);
– relation with landscape which is conscious and rises the whole value of a project (e.g. the mountain hostel in the Five Ponds Valley in the Tatra Mountains) ;

2. Works constituting reference objects for important phenomena in the Polish architecture, for example in the scope of:
– pioneer application of new construction systems (e.g. line-base house (Trzonolinowiec) in Wrocław);
– being a representative for a "series" of repetitive buildings, such as the "Millennium Memorial School" (type of a building of an elementary school introduced in the sixties on the occasion of the millennial anniversary of Poland).

3. Works with special meaning for the history of conservation and restoration of Poland after the World War II, such as the Royal Castle or the Old Town in Warsaw.

Meanwhile, the more and more established concept is that older monuments can be either remarkable or ordinary because we find a historical value in them anyway, but potential monuments of the second half of the 20th century have to be remarkable in its scale of reference. Averageness and ordinariness is not perceived as a value aspiring to protection because of the number of the post-war works.

Between affirmation and rejection

As for the post-war architecture, when the proposal of its protection arises, we often encounter negative reactions. It is caused by political resentments. We can mention the example of a prominent politician who claimed in many speeches that the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw "had to be

WARSZAWA, PALACE OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE, design: L. Rudniew, 1952–1955. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

KRAKÓW, ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE OF THE STEELWORKS in Nowa Hut, design: J. Ingarden, 1950–1955. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

KRAKÓW, HOTEL CRACOVIA, design: W. Cęckiewicz, 1967. Photo: Andrzej Siwek.

destroyed". This attitude results from the belief that works of socialist realism are evidence of external intervention in the country. Despite such associations, the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw was put under conservation protection in 2007 as a work of clear style form, belonging to the bygone era and constituting a significant historical document. (Register of Monuments of the Mazovia Province [Rejestr Zabytków Województwa Mazowieckiego] No. A- 735 decision 103/107 of 2 February 2007).

Different historical and political circumstances determined that another far younger building of a modest architectural form was granted protection. In 1999, Gate No. 2 of the Gdańsk Shipyard was entered into the Register of Monuments of the Pomerania Province. In 2014, the gate was marked with the European Heritage Label. This is a way to protect the memory of the events of August 1980, which started political changes in Poland. Of course, political discussion is not the only trend in the debate about the protection of the post-war architecture. Other aspects taken into consideration include: integral compositional, formal, architectural and urbanistic values. For that reason, the protection was granted to for example the urban layout of Nowa Huta in Krakow, which is a complex of buildings representing the concept of an ideal city. The new town built from the scratch on the suburbia of Krakow was to be a background for the steel corporation and simultaneously an area where the new socialist society would be formed. The design dates back to 1949, the spatial concept is a work of Tadeusz Ptaszycki, and the realization of urbanistic assumptions continued to the seventies of the 20th century. The social experiment brought unexpected effects because the residents of Nowa Huta were active participants of social protests leading to political transformation. In the architectural dimension, this is a valuable urban unit recording changes of styles throughout consecutive decades of the 20th century. It is worth mentioning that the initiative to protect the unit was undertaken by the city authorities. It was expressed by establishing "culture park" – a specific form of protection of monuments dedicated to the protection of cultural landscapes (Myczkowski, 2016). Here we touch upon a serious phenomenon. The protection of the post-war architecture is more and more frequently forced by social activity, rather than initiated by conservators' offices. The office building called "Biprostal" in Krakow can be a good example. It was built in 1964 as a fifteen-floor cuboid with one of the façades entirely decorated with ceramic mosaic. In 2011, the owner planned to thoroughly rearrange the façade of the building. The campaign in social media and press made the owner decide to order expensive conservation works and maintain the decoration of the façade. (Laskowski, 2012). Similar situations are encountered all over the country. The effectiveness of social interventions can be different, but nobody should disregard them. They are often initiated by young people, for whom the political context of a given object is less important than its form and aesthetic values. To give more examples from Krakow, it is worth mentioning such campaign related to the buildings of the Administrative Centre of the Steelworks (1950–1955, Janusz Ingarden) or Hotel "Cracovia" (1960–1965, Witold Cęckiewicz).

The example of a former Hotel "Cracovia" perfectly depicts difficulties encountered by the proponents of protection. The building became a property of a company which plans to replace it with a new investment. Enthusiasts of modernist architecture are protesting against the demolition with the use of legal ways. The Official Conservator of Monuments needs to make a choice: either acknowledge architectural, historical and artistic qualities of the building and provide it with legal protection or recognize an economic situation of the owner. Once a luxurious hotel, from the current perspective it does not fulfil basic norms of usage, and its structure makes any adaptation or changes impossible. The choice means either resignation from the protection of values that we see in this architecture or creation of an expensive to maintain and non-functional document of the era. Any decisions have not been taken yet (September 2016).

To sum up, we can say that the protection of the post-war architecture in Poland is between historical and political ambivalence, enthusiasm of next generations discovering universal values in modernism, slow reactions of conservators' offices and cruel economic calculations. However, one needs to remember that the time when works of modernism were lost unnoticed has passed. Currently, no matter what the final result is, every time broad debates in mass media take place.

Conclusions

Talking about the current status of the protection of the post-war architecture in Poland one needs to say that these are just early beginnings. In a limited number of individual cases it is difficult to identify common motives. However, one can be optimistic about the protection of the post-war architecture in Poland. The research is being developed, the said architecture is becoming a fashionable subject of many papers. Its faith is lively commented on in social media. The distance between generations is rising, disputes are fading, buildings are going through the test of time. The legal system for the protection of architectural heritage does not have formal barriers. There are institutional bad habits and distrust to the new topic that have to be overcome as well as the need to develop a method of evaluation. The method which will enable to select the best projects from the era. At the same time, eliminating repetitive, trivial and marginal projects. In addition to the above-mentioned discussion about the time boundaries of the responsibility for architectural conservation, the discussion about the selection criteria of the post-war architecture for conservation protection constitutes the most important trend in doctrinal thought of the contemporary conservation (Szmygin, 2016). Simultaneously, it is still expected that the long-term program of protection of such architecture will be developed.

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Session III:
Management of the Postwar and Postmodern Built Cultural Heritage

SUSAN MACDONALD

Moving on: approaches and frameworks for conserving the heritage of the postwar era and beyond

Introduction

The current framework for heritage management, including the role of government, was established in many parts of the world, largely in the second half of the twentieth century in response to rapid reconstruction in the post-war era and influenced by emerging international thinking. However, in the last decade or so in many parts of the world, direct government support for heritage conservation has decreased and the shifting role of government in planning, development and heritage management means that the responsibility for conservation is now more often more evenly shared across the government, private, and third sectors.

These shifts coincided with recognition of the cultural significance of places from the postwar era. The protection and conservation of places from modern and postwar era has on occasions tested the well-established approaches to conservation for a number of reasons and debate about the applicability and validity of such approaches has been ongoing since the late 1980s. With considerable professional interest and an admirable body of conservation knowledge developed over years of practice, when reflecting on all that has been achieved, it would be easy to surmise that modern heritage is well loved, cared for, and conserved. However, many important twentieth-century places remain unprotected and threatened. There is still little research addressing common technical problems that impedes successful repair or comprehensive attempts to capture oral histories and safeguard the records from the creators of these places. Clearly we have not yet achieved widespread recognition and support for the conservation of the recent past, nor a shared vision, approach and methodology for doing so.

What are the implications for these conditions for the heritage of the post-war era and beyond? Does the current framework still deliver acceptable outcomes given the reduction in government intervention, or does it need to be rethought? What role can the private and non-government sectors play and are there opportunities for the sectors to work better together to protect and conserve this heritage? Are there useful models that can be adapted to the specific local circumstances and that may have broad relevance? Important places from all decades of the twentieth century as still regularly threatened with demolition, or inappropriately developed and it is timely to reflect on this and identify which actions is needed and who should be involved. This paper attempts to put all these interrelated issues on the table, in order to provoke more detailed discussion on the critical issues, concluding with some suggestions on potential approaches.

The framework for conserving cultural heritage

Conservation as international activity

The prescribed protection and conservation of cultural heritage has been ongoing in many places around the world for centuries. However, heritage conservation as an international activity, with shared approaches gained momentum in the aftermath of WWII. The creation of ICOMOS and the publication of the Venice Charter in 1964, were significant milestones along with the ratification of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, creating a formal international framework for the recognition and conservation of heritage places (ICOMOS, 1964 UNESCO, 1972). The rapid regeneration and development that occurred in many parts of the world in

the post-war era resulted in widespread destruction of cultural heritage places, catalyzing new planning and heritage legislation. The framework subsequently created to support heritage protection and management prevalent in many parts of the world is largely a product of the latter half of the twentieth century.

In Europe, North America and many other countries the framework for heritage protection and management recognized that good conservation outcomes were dependent on a number of areas of government intervention including funding, legislation, policy and access to guidance and training, based on the recognition that heritage is a public good.

Shifting concepts of heritage conservation in late twentieth century

Early conservation legislation was largely limited to monumental buildings, archaeological sites and the core of historic towns and cities, with an emphasis on conserving built fabric. Over the last few decades of the twentieth century the concept of heritage gradually expanded beyond these typologies to include industrial heritage, cultural landscapes, and vernacular places.

The criteria for identifying and assessing heritage places developed around the world also expanded in the latter half of the twentieth century, beyond the monumental, artistic and historic to include social value, spiritual value and began to embrace non-western concepts of authenticity. There was also better recognition that many places play host to a multitude of values both intangible and tangible. This also expanded the typologies of heritage places worthy of recognition and protection.

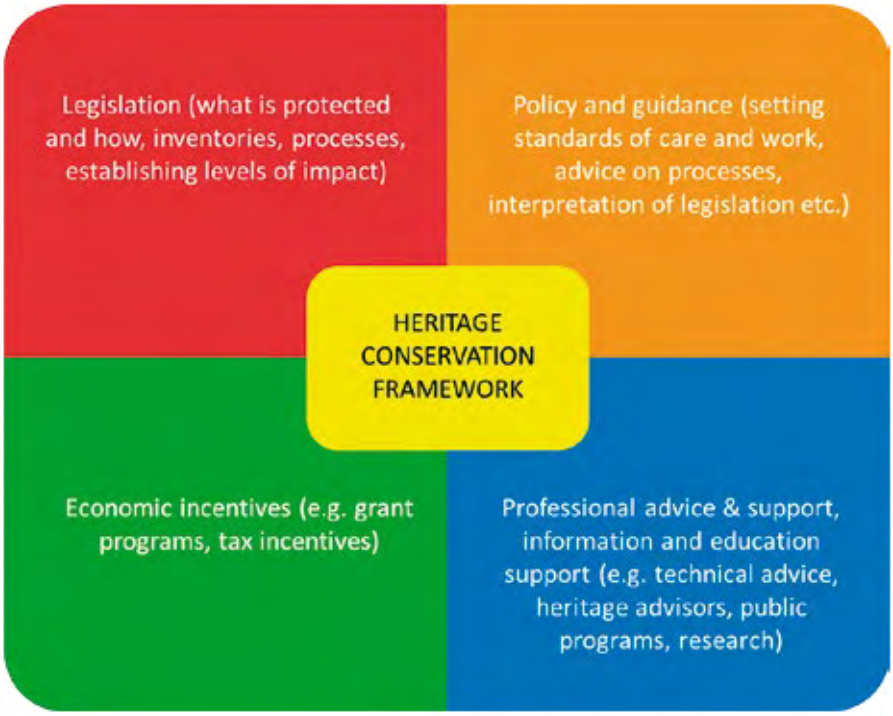
The evolving framework included greater recognition for the value of places from the recent past. Reflection on human achievements and an interest in conserving places that represent these, typically occurs at roughly at the 50-year mark. The Victorian Society in England for example was formed in 1958, the Twentieth Century Society (formerly the Thirties Society) in 1979, and many countries use a 30 or 50-year time span before a place can be legally protected. The time lag between a building's creation and its protection and conservation has never been as compressed as for the heritage of the post-modern era. Walter Gropius's Bauhaus was forty years old when it was listed in 1964; the City of Brasilia, designed in 1956, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987. Attempts to inscribe the Sydney Opera House began a mere 11 years after its completion in 1973. Despite early efforts to protect and conserve the most iconic places of the modern era it was not until early 1990s that conserving modern heritage emerged as a distinct area of practice. That decade witnessed intense activity by a growing group of practitioners to address the conservation of twentieth-century heritage and a number of government, nongovernment and non-profit organizations began to act.

As the types of heritage places being protected and needing conservation have expanded, so too has the range of approaches to their care. Recognition of the need to sustain all the values of the place beyond the monumental and aesthetic, shifted the conservation paradigm from preservation to conservation, the term conservation used here to describe a range of actions from preservation to adaptation. This recognizes that in order to sustain the majority of protected places, they need a viable use. Heritage places are owned and managed by governments at every level, non-profit institutions, and a large number are in private hands. Today conservation is often framed as the appropriate management of change and there has been much discussion as heritage as a driver for regeneration and sustainable development. This repositioning of heritage has sought to shake off negative perceptions about heritage protection preventing growth, development and change, today powerful economic drivers that are core to many governments' policies.

Typical components of the heritage system

The current government system of heritage management operating in many countries is based on balancing the carrots and the sticks, the premise being that legislation on its own is not as effective as when there are mechanisms in place to encourage and support owners to invest in the care of heritage places. The components of government heritage systems common to many countries includes a combination of the following:

- Legislation to protect heritage places and identify the role of government in its administration, and inventories of protected heritage places,
- Policy and guidance that serves to set standards for conservation and appropriate levels of impact and change,



TYPICAL COMPONENTS of the government heritage system.
Illustration: Susan Macdonald, The J. Paul Getty Trust.

- Information and support to owners of heritage places including professional advice from skilled staff, technical information and support,
- Research to strategically address knowledge gaps, and
- Incentives to help fill what is sometimes called the heritage deficit – acknowledging that heritage is a public good and helping owners share the financial responsibility for its care.

Government heritage systems and actions are a response to community interest in and advocacy for its heritage this is especially true for the heritage of the modern era and beyond. A large number of special interest groups, including professional organizations from allied fields such as architecture, have stimulated public interest and pressured governments to identify, protect and conserve heritage places from the modern era. Advocacy organizations such as the Twentieth Century Society in the UK, the Art Deco Society, Docomomo and ICOMOS have been instrumental in the conservation of the recent past and have undertaken significant work to identify heritage places, develop policies and address a number of the challenges identified for modern heritage. Typically, governments play catch up – after spending number of years reacting to threats of demolition and the community's demands for action. For example, the Union Internationale des Architectes (UIA) and Docomomo and their national groups have been preparing inventories of modern architecture for decades, in many instances considerably in advance of the government bodies responsible for heritage in their respective countries.

Challenges to conserving postwar heritage and beyond

The main difficulties in conserving modern and post-war heritage have been much discussed over the last twenty years as conserving modern heritage had become a distinct area of practice, at times challenging the well-established conservation approaches. The most commonly cited and interrelated challenges include the following:

- Lack of recognition and protection;
- Material and technical challenges and life span (durability, lack of knowledge and experience on material conservation, repair versus replacement);
- Quantity and scale;

- Social and functional obsolescence and challenges of adaptability, sustainability; and
- Lack of a shared and well understood methodological approach.

Post-war heritage presents a further challenge:
- Reduction of government services, ownership and asset management.
- Some decades on there has been much progress in addressing a number of the above challenges, but they remain relevant for post-war heritage and some will equally be relevant for the heritage of the post-modern era.

Protecting the yet to be loved; lack of recognition and protection

There are still outstanding issues surrounding the identification, protection and interpretation of the recent past and action is still needed to grow appreciation and support for its protection and contextualize it within the annals of history. Whilst many countries have inventoried their post-war heritage they are rarely comprehensive or systematic and there is still much work to be done. In some parts of the world there remains nervousness about protecting anything but the icons of the modern era; 'there is so much of it, we don't like it and it's too hard to deal with' are common criticisms. In many areas post-war structures dominate the urban landscape and for older generations their realization not necessarily a positive memory. These places are yet to go through the Darwinian natural selection process where the survivors will automatically be appreciated as heritage places, raising questions about what to protect and how to establish comparative levels of significance within the existing frameworks used in the heritage identification and assessment process.

Material and technical challenges and life span

The technical challenges posed by conserving twentieth-century places are undoubtedly where the most difficult philosophical and practical challenges arise. Expanding the repertoire of knowledge to encompass modern construction systems and materials is clearly needed. The move from craft to industrialized based construction introduced many new materials, component-based systems, used traditional materials in different ways, abandoned traditional detailing and often claimed buildings were maintenance free. In the fiscally austere post-war era, limited budgets and shortages of materials such as steel and timber, together with the deskilling of the building industry meant that building quality was sometimes compromised. All these factors have resulted in a building stock with a reduced lifecycle, shorter cycles of repair and higher rates of functional and material obsolescence; problems have been discussed in the past at length.

Over the last decades there has been limited advancement in developing new and adapting existing repair methods to conservation needs. There is no infrastructure for modern repair as exists for traditional conservation, partly due to the vast number of materials and systems used and partly due to the fact that the knowledge is still in its infancy. Research is needed to develop technical solutions to dealing with some of the most common and enduring problems such as the repair of exposed concrete, cladding systems, and plastics. More information is needed on how modern materials deteriorate and how to repair them that builds on the body of literature from the 1990s. Guidance on diagnosing problems and systematically working through the repair options as practiced in traditional conservation and communicating this methodology to new audiences would also advance the field, as would case studies illustrating how others have balanced philosophical decisions.

Issues relating to materiality have occupied much of the discussion with regard to conserving modern heritage. Ultimately conservation is case specific and different practitioners will make different decisions. Current limitations on technical knowledge and available repair methods mean that the ability to adopt traditional conservation principles may be challenging. Where significance is at the core of decision-making, balancing design and material matters becomes a rational process, with room for individual interpretations. In some instances, the materiality of the place may be less important than its social, use, or planning values or its historic associations and meanings. Where architectural and material values is less important, more physical change may able to be accommodated.

Adaptation and sustainability

Recent discussions have shifted focus from the materiality dilemma to the issue of obsolescence,

reuse and sustainability. Early conservation efforts dealt with the most iconic sites, demanding stringent application of conservation principles, thus questions related to material authenticity received the most attention. Now we are dealing with places where their survival is more often reliant on the ability to accommodate change for new purposes, and adaptive reuse is preeminent. Conservation, for the bulk of the world's protected places is about managing change in ways that retains significance, be they industrial sites, cultural landscapes or postwar buildings.

The explosion of building types over the twentieth century to provide for new ways of living and working and the centrality of functionalism within the modernist ideology are often cited as problems specific to twentieth-century heritage (Macdonald 1997, 38). However, it is debatable whether functionality and therefore adaptability are any more problematic for modern buildings than those of any other era. There is a large body of information on successful adaptive reuse of historic buildings that is also relevant for modern buildings. Access to successful case studies that exemplify some of the specific issues faced by modern buildings has been identified as a much needed addition to the literature (Normandin and Macdonald, 2013) There are also increasing numbers of good examples of work to buildings accommodating new green buildings imperatives balanced with cultural heritage conservation.

Lack of consensus on a shared approach and methodology for conservation

The challenges discussed above all trigger questions about whether conserving modern heritage should follow existing approaches or, if conserving the legacy of the modern era demands a new paradigm. Much eloquent and thoughtful discussion has been devoted to this topic and whilst it is always useful to reflect on what we are doing and how, the discussion has become somewhat repetitious.

After the initial flurry of contention about this in the early 1990s some consensus was achieved, largely that the existing philosophical approaches as expressed in the conservation charters, were broadly applicable to the conservation of the recent past; still there were some specific technical challenges that necessitated judicious, case-by-case consideration. The aim for some working in this area was to mainstream modern conservation, to reduce the controversy, identify a common methodology and embed it within the continuum of conservation culture. It was recognized that some of the issues had been tackled when conserving industrial heritage sites, cultural landscapes, and on sites of predominantly social significance. But the debate regularly reappears for reasons discussed below.

Modern architecture has attracted a new generation of practitioners to its conservation. The swelling of the ranks of those practicing in this area with architects less familiar with conservation theory, methodology and practice, but who bring a deep understanding of modernist theory, continually fuels the debate and the calls for specific doctrinal texts to guide modern heritage's conservation. Those more conversant with conservation practice have argued that existing conservation principles work and that it is counter-productive to identify modern heritage as different and define a separate set of principles. The injection of new voices into the sometimes insular conservation fraternity has served to catalyze re-evaluation of some of the existing manifestos and tools, highlighting areas of confusion or where conservation has not been well integrated into general planning, development and architectural practice. The confluence of these sectors of practice provides opportunities to integrate conservation into architectural practice more broadly reinforcing the fact that conservation is a creative process where design skills are as important as technical knowledge.

The architects of the postwar era, whose work we are now conserving, have also played an important role in the conservation process, first by advocating for the protection of their own buildings, second in bequeathals of their houses, and third by providing access to the living memory about design, construction and the materiality of their buildings. This has sometimes meant that conservation has privileged architectural or design significance. Some architects faced with the conservation of their own building seek to improve them; some will want to evolve them, introducing new architectural ideas that they have developed over time. Whilst it's important to engage with the creators where possible; it is also important to be able to place their advice in a framework or context for making conservation decisions and to recognise the differing perspectives between creator and conservator.

Arguments about the distinct nature of modern/postwar heritage have in some instances led to a softening of the application of some of the most fundamental principles of conservation – conserve as found, do as little as necessary and only as much as possible. Have we been making excuses about what can or cannot be achieved, as we have not been willing or able to tackle the impediments to achieving good conservation? Will future generations look back and criticize us for giving up to easily, for not being conservative enough, or the reverse, of being too precious? Only time will tell. But new knowledge will inevitably change what is possible. Better information about how materials deteriorate and potential repair will shift opinion. What seems too difficult or expensive now may become cheaper, easier and more widespread. New non-destructive diagnostic tools, the wider application and development of methods such as cathodic protection as a repair and preventative approach to steel frame and concrete buildings, will continue to reduce the impact of repair on historic fabric. Future technologies and repair methods and materials will inevitably make some of our actions seem heavy handed in the same way our generation has critiqued conservation work from previous eras. Pushing the boundaries, undertaking research, brokering new approaches and question the status quo is important.

The changing role of government and implications for post-war heritage and beyond

Many parts of the world have experienced a decline in government support and resourcing for heritage conservation over the last few decades, gradually whittling away at three of the complimentary components of the system, reducing the government role largely to the sticks – the regulatory process. This trend has coincided with the recognition that post-war heritage is important and the momentum that started to build in the 1990s to conserve it through government leadership stalled through the 2000s. In the push to 'cut red tape', legislation has been simplified, sometimes weakened. Direct funding of heritage conservation or grants have been reduced. In many countries heritage management has been delegated to local governments, often without additional resources; many struggle to fulfill their obligations.

There are specific implications for recent heritage as a result of this decline in support. Reluctance to expand inventories to include post-war places, reduced policy work, standard setting, reduced technical advisory services and less provision of guidance materials are also all observable trends in many nations' government heritage services. These are important components of the heritage system, especially for new and emerging areas of practice such as recent heritage. It is difficult for the private and non-government sectors to address strategic needs for research to solve problems and create guidance and information for owners. These activities ultimately shape policy and support the legislation. Conserving postwar heritage has some distinct challenges as discussed; strategic effort is needed to undertake research, provide guidance and set standards for conservation. Inevitably the shortcomings of the current scenario results in pressure to reduce the level of legislation to 'ease the burden' on owners, therefore a reluctance to protect them and the erosion of the level of care a conservation of heritage places. During English Heritage's initial post-war listing work in the 1990s, owners were concerned about the limited information on how to conserve the places proposed for protection what would be expected of them in terms of standards of conservation. English Heritage's investment in providing technical advice, undertaking research and providing technical advice was an integral part of the post-war heritage listing program, helped build confidence and reduced resistance to listing by owners. With fewer resources and less proactive work it will be interesting if governments continue to push the boundaries toward emerging areas of heritage such as post-modern and beyond or will they be increasingly unwilling to protect them as development and commercial imperatives continue to gain momentum.

As the number and type of heritage places has grown, government resources have not kept pace, adding further pressure on already stretched resources. The non-government sector has made significant efforts to fill this void over the last 20 years. International and local advocacy groups have played an important role, but ultimately government leadership is needed to demonstrate commitment to conserving a nation's heritage and to continue to recognize the next era of heritage places.

SIRIUS APARTMENTS, designed by Theo Gofens and completed in 1979, Sydney, Australia. Photo: Glen Harper.

The decline in government ownership of a significant stock of heritage buildings also has repercussions for heritage management in a number of ways. The body of knowledge and experience that builds up over the years by managers of these assets has real benefits in conservation terms, particularly when government has been purposefully leading by example. For the heritage of the post-war era there is an added dimension. The post-war era in many parts of the world was characterized by significant government investment in infrastructure, health, education and public housing. A huge number of these government, post-war buildings, are now recognized as culturally significant, however the ethos of social welfare provision has changed and there is no longer the commitment to the delivery of public services or facilities. Governments are often reluctant to protect places they are anxious to dispose of; the private sector is often unwilling to invest in former government properties without reasonable financial returns. With a need to increase the density of urban areas, public space is often seen as

a commercial opportunity and accordingly we are seeing the loss of important post-war landscapes and planned public spaces.

Government ownership and management often has historic and social significance in its own right. Privatization and the often resulting gentrification of former public housing and other social services can have a negative impact of the heritage significance of the place, and the communities that inhabited or used them. The largely single use and single ownership circumstances of public buildings and areas results makes management and conservation simpler. It is almost impossible to achieve the same level of unified management by the private sector, particularly when there is not strong policy in place and resources to ensure standards of conservation are met.

The brutalist, Park Hill estate in Sheffield, England provides an example. The public housing complex of some 2300 apartments, shops and pubs was completed by 1966. Designed by Ivor Smith and Jack Lynne and inspired by Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, it was listed in 1998 following calls for its demolition. Initially well received by residents, poor management and maintenance eventually led to its controversial, recent redevelopment, targeted at Sheffield's growing creative class. Public perceptions of the complex at the time of listing ranged from eyesore and social experiment gone wrong, to valued heritage item. The public-private-partnership redevelopment, involved extensive changes to the fabric and essentially reduced the building to its structural shell and reimagined it as an exciting high-rise modern complex. Whilst the urban revitalization project has brought new life and a new generation of appreciative residents to sustain it, it has also been criticized as representing 'nothing less than the ruin of the ideals upon which the welfare state is based, signaling the abandonment of the socially progressive vision that lay behind the design of the original estate' (Dobraszczyk, 2015).

In Sydney, Australia the state government recently declined to follow the recommendations of its appointed expert body, the NSW Heritage Council, to list the brutalist Sirius apartment block. Designed by Theo Gofens and completed in 1979; this social housing complex occupies prime real estate. The government plans to sell the property and claims it would lose significant revenue should it be listed. The controversy demonstrates the shift in government commitment to public housing as well as a gap between public support for buildings of this era and government's recognition of its value. If governments are unwilling to conserve their buildings it is difficult for heritage agencies to demand the conservation of non-government assets.

Responding to the current context and needs

Where do all of the factors discussed position us in the evolution of conservation theory and practice, its relevance to emerging heritage typologies from the postwar and post-modern eras and the current framework that supports this work? How can we effectively navigate and respond to the current terrain to secure the recognition, protection and conservation of the next era of heritage places and the inevitable challenges they will raise? Is there potential to shape the shifting framework for heritage conservation so that it meets some of the challenges of conserving the heritage of the more recent past. Ultimately a more porous model is needed, with more flexible roles between government and non-government stakeholders, more cooperation, to be more strategic and targeted and to have some level of consensus about how to approach conservation.

The need for a shared approach: values based conservation

The importance of a shared view to approaching the conservation of modern heritage, is highlighted when dealing with the post-war ear and beyond. Lack of understanding about the approach to the identification of 20th century heritage and the absence of thematic frameworks for its assessment, means many important buildings remain unprotected.

Shared understanding of approach also brings consistency in decision-making. Agreeing on the approach and securing its legislation, with clear policies and consistent application is ever important in securing conservation outcomes. Lack of shared vision between planners, assessors, and conservators and architects results in conflict, confusion and ultimately poor support across the sectors. Whilst we continue to promulgate the differences between modern heritage and that of the more distance past we reduce certainty and consistency in practice.

The values based approach to conservation provides the framework conservation internationally and is now standard practice in most places. Many countries have specific principles enshrined in legislation or other means in day-to-day practice. The simple and basic concept of values based conservation is that by understanding what is important about a place and the degrees of significance you can make rational decisions about how to conserve it.

The *Madrid Document: Approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth-Century Architectural Heritage* (ICOMOS ISC20, 2014) arose out of the need to demonstrate how the fundamentals of conservation practice could apply to modern heritage. This widely embraced text has been translated into more than six languages. The Madrid Document provides a basis for identification via significance assessment and steps through the usual process of conservation, and has helped to reach new audiences. For those places or practitioners unfamiliar with the values based approach, or have legislation, which does not yet recognize younger heritage places, it is an important tool for advocating for modern heritage.

Most would argue that post-war heritage is now part of the continuum of history and deserves recognition, and protection and celebration. It is now time to recognize its conservation is part of the continuum of evolving conservation thought, which should be integrated into practice.

Stakeholder roles and responsibilities for conserving postwar heritage and beyond

Assuming that government role in heritage conservation is unlikely to be increased and may continue to decrease, there is a need to either reconsider the framework for heritage conservation or at least reappraisal the roles and responsibilities of the various players. Community and advocacy groups will continue to demanding action to conserve post-war heritage and will inevitably need to be the protagonists for the next generation of heritage places. Professionally based conservation organizations such as Docomomo, ICOMOS and non-profits have also long played an active role but will be increasingly called on to fill the policy, guidance and information gap. The education sector also needs to step up and address the need to include conserving the heritage of the recent past in their curricula. Over the last decade the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) has recognized its shifting role as an actor in the delivery of cultural heritage, and this influenced the approach when establishing its Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative. Efforts are increasingly targeted at developing policy type guidance, more fundamental level research and training to fill the gap in governments' heritage services.

Where government is unable to deliver the various components of the system they still play an important leadership role. To be successful in meeting conservation needs, governments could provide high level strategic frameworks across the various areas of need, to ensure efforts are better coordinated, directed and prioritized and to forge stronger partnerships with the other sectors who can help play an increasingly important role in advancing the conservation of emerging areas of conservation. There are good models for government and the NGO and educational sectors working together to leverage experience, knowledge and skills and fill resource gaps. Some thoughts where this may be beneficial are discussed below. Training and education is another important area in its own right, but beyond the scope of this paper.

Advocacy

Effective advocacy is critical to for emerging areas of heritage. Governments need good, professional advocacy organizations and in the past have often supported their efforts. There is greater potential for advocacy groups to reach wide and diverse audiences facilitated by social media. Many countries are increasingly host to multicultural societies, where identity is less related to long-term relationships with place and this affects how people value their heritage. Bringing new audiences to heritage is essential, recognizing a broader range of values and understanding the impact of this on conservation is where advocacy groups can play an active role.

Inventories

Inventories are at the core of heritage management. Given we do not yet have comprehensive inventories for the heritage of the postwar era let alone beyond that, and governments are finding it difficult to continue to evolve their inventories, we need to better engage the non-government sector in identifying places of importance in a way that is rigorous, meets the established standards for heritage inventories in the 21st century and makes

RESPONDING TO THE CURRENT SITUATION – government role within a network of NGO, other government, professional and private sector organisations, sometimes as leader, sometimes facilitator and sometimes as participant.
Illustration: Susan Macdonald, The J. Paul Getty Trust.

efficient and effective use of good inventory systems for storing and sustaining data.

There are models from countries who have leveraged their resources from passionate and dedicated advocacy and professional groups to populate their inventories and protect new heritage areas. For example, TICCIH has been undertaking thematic histories of a range of industrial heritage typologies, identified internationally as priority areas. Docomomo has been preparing inventories of heritage places for decades and there are opportunities for universities and others to play an active role too. The ICOMOS ISC20 initiated the creation of a historic thematic framework for the twentieth century, now being developed by the GCI, which will greatly assist in the assessment process at the international and national levels and help advance badly needed studies about modern heritage to improve its understanding and protection. (Macdonald and Ostergren 2011).

In order to best coordinate and secure the valuable work undertaken across sectors on inventories some standardization of information is important and utilizing common open source software systems is a way to achieve this efficiently. Otherwise the information is unlikely to meet agreed inventory standards and the transfer of data will be too onerous and the data too difficult to sustain. The Arches heritage management system (www.arches.org) developed by the GCI and World Monuments Fund is an open-source inventory and management system specifically for heritage that meets international inventory and data standards and is the type of system that can provide for this cooperative approach to inventory work.

Research

Whilst there are more students than ever before undertaking research on the heritage of the recent past, it could be much better targeted and coordinated to meet the needs of the field. Government could ably assist the field by identifying and prioritizing research needs for universities and others involved in research. Research frameworks ensure that efforts are effectively targeted to needs and

provide opportunities for cross-sector involvement, leveraging research work further than is currently being achieved. Government networks such as the Monitoring Group on Cultural Heritage in the Baltic States may be well placed to develop regional frameworks.

Creating and dissemination of information and guidance documents

In the 1990s, professional, NGO and government heritage agencies in Europe and North America, organized conferences, workshops, and publications including information on specific technical issues that also contributed to practice internationally. However, of late there has been less of the necessary technical information produced, despite this being an area of identified need. Again there are useful models of NGO and professional organizations working together to leverage government efforts to produce necessary information. The Australian Institute of Architects for example successfully worked with the state heritage agency to produce policy documents relating to adaptive reuse and infill design, which was an excellent way to develop a shared vision across the government legislative agency and their key stakeholder (Heritage Council of NSW, 2005 and 2008).

Conclusions

Heritage conservation has always been a community led activity. For the heritage of the post-war and modern era there has been a great groundswell of professional and community groups involved, catalyzed by the architectural community. For the emerging heritage of the post-modern era this may equally be the case.

Assuming government heritage agencies may continue to struggle to meet the demands of the current framework, it is important to identify and exploit the opportunities that the other sectors offer. Perhaps this is a new era for heritage, where it is better supported, more participatory and better understood. For government heritage agencies they can continue to provide important leadership by focusing even more strategically, locating themselves within a network of private, non-government actors each with more clearly defined roles. Government is needed to connect and inform all the players, and facilitate more cooperative working to reach shared objectives. Ultimately the aim is a high quality environment, where the cherished places from the past co-exist with the heritage of the future – the challenge is how the different actors can work together to achieve this.

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TORBEN KIEPKE & KATJA HASCHE

Between Rejection and Adaption. Listing buildings of the period 1950–1990

In recent years quite a lot has been published on late modern architecture, and a number of buildings have been listed as cultural monuments. But which ones are listed, and is this selection sufficient? The process of listing modern heritage is the subject of the research project WDWM (Which Monuments, Which Modernity?) at the Bauhaus University in Weimar, Germany.[1] The research project evaluates different strategies for listing buildings built between 1950 and 1990 as cultural heritage. According to our title, there are great differences regarding the legal consequences of tentative lists, inventories or protections in the European countries. One main problem of listing buildings from the latter part of the 20th century is the large stock of buildings. Another challenge is the fact that redevelopment and reconstruction as well as rapidly growing demands of energy efficiency are threatening these buildings with demolition or modification before the society is even aware of their cultural value.

While some European countries already have implemented appropriate heritage lists for buildings of the period from 1950–1990, others are just beginning to turn their attention to this recent building stock. In some countries a minimum age for listing buildings complicates this process, but in most countries the evaluation of buildings as cultural heritage starts after 30 years. With this distance of one generation a larger objectivity can be obtained. On the other hand, even this time span, in many cases, is too long to keep the buildings in their original states. It is remarkable that most of the heritage agencies assure that existing evaluation criteria are sufficient for the protection of buildings from the latter part of the 20th century, but in fact, very few buildings are protected. The reason for this paradox is founded in different forms of rejection as well as insufficient financial and personnel resources. In some cases non-government institutions and private initiatives are initiating or supporting the listing process.

The differences regarding the protection of buildings within Europe are readily visible in the region of the Baltic Sea States. In countries like Finland, progress is being made in research and information in the direction of "Welfare Architecture". In other states, strict regulations regarding the minimum age, as well as social or political objections prevent the listing of younger buildings. Precisely in these countries, including Latvia, Poland and also Germany, where buildings of the 1960s and '70s are often only sporadically being inventoried, at the same time, we see the formation of action groups, citizen's initiatives or researchers concerning themselves with the furthering of these preservation goals, through whose activities and networks, public awareness is awakened; in more than a few cases, their work builds the framework for the work of the heritage agencies.

The differences concerning the listing process are also visible in the searching for the right expression for architecture of these years. Presently in Europe, there is no standard term for the architecture of the 1960s and '70s, which often leads to misunderstandings. In surveys conducted as part of our research project WDWM (Which Monuments, Which Modernity?) in 2014, comparing the status of documentation among various countries in Europe, the seemingly neutral label, "architecture of the 1960s and '70s" was often replaced by terms, which were more commonly understood in those

DIFFERENT TERMS of modernity.
Illustration: Julia Vetter & Torben Kiepke.

specific regions. From this accrued a sort of "name mapping", showing differences within Europe, also remarkable in the Baltic Sea region.

In the western part, the term "postwar architecture" is commonly used in many countries. Additionally, in Germany, there are other names, which attempt to capture this late modern building stock through a geographical-historical precision, as in the term "Ost-Moderne" (East-Modern), in the region of the former socialist GDR, or "Ruhr-Moderne" in North Rhine-Westphalia in the western part of Germany.[2] The name "Soviet Modernism" or "Soz Modernism", widely used in former Eastern Block Countries, is not transferable to the remaining western European States.[3] To add to this list there are additional terms, primarily used in the North European Baltic Sea region which characterize the usage, like "Built-Welfare" in Finland, or "Welfare Architecture", which focus on the social aspects of the architecture of the prosperous years in which they were built.

On the eastern side, the considered time frame (1960s/70s) is seen as the now completed historical epoch of a "Soviet Modernism", which terminology primarily deals with the political dimension of the architecture of those years, and which explains why the built results (in the Moscow-driven form of prefabricated slab housing estates and large-scale structures) in the now sovereign states so strongly resemble each other, as seen in the examples of Halle-Neustadt, Germany and Lazdynai, Vilnius, Lithuania.

This generalizing point of view, in many formerly Soviet-influenced countries is however being replaced by a much more differentiated one, clearly pointing out, that there were also regionally specific, and otherwise locally significant buildings erected in those years. The term "Soviet Modernism", at a glance, may well describe a system of collectivization and typing of building processes and forms, but, through the current studies of late modern building stock in many former Soviet sphere countries, obtains a new attribute of regional distinction, as "regional shade of Soviet Modernism".[4]

Remarkable is, that it took more than 20 years until, for example in Latvia, that a young generation of architects, historians and trustees at the Venice Biennale of Architecture in 2014 asked, if a Postwar-Modern architecture exists in their country, showing not only Soviet, but also regional spe-

HOUSING PROJECTS OF THE LATE 1960S:
Halle-Neustadt (Germany), left;
Lazdynai, Vilnius (Lithuania), below.
Photos: Torben Kiepke.

cifics.[5] In light of the possible loss of numerous buildings of this period, the (until recently) purely politically categorized Soviet Modern Architecture is now being increasingly described according to creative and social criteria, which, in an advancing process of inventorying building stock, is being convincingly presented, and the public response is also quite positive, when one examines the entries in the social networks. This is an attempt to see modern architecture no longer purely chronologically, or in the limited terms of a political period, but to examine spatial, artistic and societal issues as well, in order to meaningfully expand the terminology.

The terminology collected here for Late Modern Architecture of the 1960s and '70s well depicts the complexity and variety of the architecture of the Baltic Sea region, describing the political, social and regional circumstances of that time, but also reflecting this time of regarding the buildings anew. The terms used today in all European countries progressively technically attempt to characterize these buildings as accurately as possible, however, some of the terms are themselves negatively charged, as is clear to see in the example of the Soviet legacy in the former Eastern Block countries.

The effort to find an adequate terminology for buildings of the post-war era is part of a process of objectification and evaluation of this built legacy, which in various regions in Europe (as well as in the Baltic Sea region), will yield varying results. The classification of the urban planning and architectural output of the time frame discussed here (1960s and '70s) is not finished, as the historiography of this era is still in full operation. The different terms for the modernism of the 1960s and 1970s are expressing the desire to acquire adequate access to the architecture and urban planning of this time. The opposing terms mirror the complex conditions under which the buildings came into being, such as public housing programs, cold war and reconstruction.[6]

Selection and placement; antiquities and monuments offices and agencies

As in many other European countries, the discussion about the built heritage of the early post war period in Germany began in the 1980s. In the former GDR post war buildings were often listed as protected monuments more immediately, but due to different criteria. The discussion about buildings of the 1960s and 1970s started in the year 2000. Today, the number of protected buildings from the period 1950–1990 in Germany is different depending on federal state. As the listing process in Germany is the task of each federal state, there is the challenge to value the buildings in a certain geographic area while ranking them in the national context at the same time. In the last decades there have been some systematical geographical or typological focused listing projects. One pioneer is Baden-Württemberg, with several projects in the district of Stuttgart. One main project was a cooperation with the University Stuttgart for listing housing estates of the 1960s and 1970s. The study was carried out from 2009 until 2011 and published in an exemplary manner, as it not only shows the different estates, but also the process of listing.[7] There is no systematical listing for late modern buildings, but singular protections. One exceptional example of a systematical approach is a study for housing estates from the 1940s and 1950s, which was carried out by the Danish Agency for Culture between 2013 and 2016. This project identified 60 interesting estates, out of which the 21 most outstanding estates were selected (see one example fig. 4). The aim was not to protect all these estates, but first to draw attention to the values of these estates, and second to give guidance concerning renovation work. This attempt resulted in two publications.[8] A similar approach can be found In Finland, where the National Board of Antiquities carried out several systematical studies for late modern buildings. This project, called "Built Welfare Project", differentiated the buildings by typology.[9] There are completed and published studies for buildings of national health care services, recreational environments (see fig. 5), campuses and evangelical-lutheran funeral chapels. The aim of these studies was to produce information by analyzing these buildings and to raise awareness of this cultural heritage.

Public involvement and initiatives

Today, an isolated listing can hardly be achieved successfully anymore without public information and communication. Therefore, active partnerships between authorities and the interested public (universities as well as private people) are a prom-

ising way of co-working. In Germany there have been an increasing number of initiatives fighting for modern buildings in the last two decades. In 2005 there was an initiative against the demolition of the "Palast der Republik" in Berlin, which was not successful. The initiative "Mensadebatte", founded 2009 by students and employees of the Bauhaus University Weimar, succeeded in protecting this building, in the same year students fought successfully for the preservation of the protected "Beethovenhalle" in Bonn. In Sweden the National Heritage Board started research work concerning buildings from the period 1950–1970 during the 1990s, in cooperation with the County Administrative Boards. There are only few buildings protected from this period, but meanwhile the consciousness is quite high. In 1999–2001, the Swedish National Heritage Board was the leading head of the survey project "Metropolitan Architecture and Cultural Environment", that was carried out for buildings of the period 1945 until today and focused on the three biggest cities Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The aim of the project was to acquire knowledge of the modern built environment, and to develop new ways of improving it, and of cooperating with the citizens. The project acted on the insight that "since cities are a mix of people and buildings it becomes imperative to include the inhabitants in the process of planning their living environment".[10] In consequence, the acting group included national, regional and municipal organizations such as county and city museums, as well as universities and individuals.[11]

The previous examples show initiatives for single buildings, building types or limited regions. In Latvia on the other hand, until 2014 there was no significant advancement in assessing buildings built after 1945, in terms of their preservation value. There were very strong reservations regarding the architecture of the time of the Soviet occupation. Because of this, there were very few notable initiatives toward preservation of Late Modern buildings. This changed in 2014. In reference to the fact, that the history of Latvian modernism had neither been studied nor written, Latvia took part in the Venice Biennale of Architecture, with their contribution, "Un-written-how to write a research about post war modernist architecture in Latvia". With this exhibition, the question was provocatively put, why building stocks from after 1945 remained unnoticed in terms of architectural history and historic preservation, as is also seen in a number of publications.[12] The discourse initiated here became the first written building history of post war modernist architecture in Latvia, which, among other things, contains a collection of outstanding buildings. The initiative addressing the "unwritten building history" of modernism in Latvia would also be successful here: through the involvement of the trustees, a wider public was created, which soon was able to convince government institutions, as to the value of several structures. A forum arose, to discuss Latvian Post War Modernism, and place it in the context of the international building production of that era.

International Collaboration

In 1985 the Council of Europe complained: "Although we are now somewhat better informed about the forms and state of inventories of the artistic, architectural and cultural heritage, our research has revealed that they differ considerably in quality, substance and reliability from country to country. The terminology also lacks uniformity and concepts are often difficult to understand even within a single country, let alone across frontiers."[13] Today, after 30 years of further work, these differences in quality, substance and reliability of existing inventories still exist. Especially for buildings of the recent decades there is a great lack of systematical approach. As this architectural period was very strong influenced by international exchange, this context should be regarded while evaluating, selecting and protecting the buildings. The national monuments laws governing selection and preservation will continue to make comparison difficult. It is, however, preferable, that especially the methods of selection, and growing public involvement through initiatives and research groups, become a basis for the international exchange. To save the internationally influenced modern architecture, the European States need to show solidarity in preserving these buildings as common heritage. The Baltic Sea States Heritage Cooperation is an exemplary association of different countries. As Sweden, as the Chair of the Monitoring Group, is planning to do more research work for buildings 1970–2000 in the next years, the Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum 2016 could be the starting point for doing this work in international cooperation.

DRONNINGEGÅRDEN HOUSING (top left), Copenhagen/Denmark (1943–1958, Kay Fisker, C.F. Møller, Svenn Eske Kristensen). Photo: Helene Høyer Mikkelsen.

INITIATIVE CAFETERIA (top right), Weimar/Germany (1979–1982, Anita Bach). Photo: Gilbert Weise.

SWIMMING HALL (above), Kouvola/Finland (1964, Jorma Järvi). Photo: von Bonin, National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

ENDNOTES

1. http://welchedenkmale.info/welche-denkmale-welcher-moderne/info/english (15.07.2016).
2. The term “Ostmoderne” arose a few years after German reunification, and is used in literature since 2004, cp. Ulrich Hartung, Andreas Butter (ed.): Ostmoderne – Architektur in Berlin 1945–1965, Berlin 2004; Mark Escherich (ed.): Denkmal Ost-Moderne und Denkmal Ost-Moderne II, Berlin 2012 and 2016; The term “Ruhrmoderne” appeared in 2015, through the founding of the public initiative group bearing that name, dedicated to the study and protection of the modern building stock in the Ruhr region; http://ruhrmoderne.com (15.07.2016).
3. Regarding ”Soviet Modernism”, there are already publications and exhibitions, such as ”Soviet Modernism 1955–1991. Unknown History” (7.11.2012–25.02.2013), curated by Katharina Ritter, Ekaterina Shapiro-Obermair and Alexandra Wachter. catalog from Park Books. An English language database “Soviet Modernism 1955–1991” on the Internet shows some 650 buildings and projects built in the 14 republics of that country http://wiki.azw.at/sovietmodernism_database/home.php?l=deu (15.07.2016).
4. Vgl. Vladimir Bologovsky, in: Unwritten, Katalog zur Ausstellung auf der Architektur Biennale Venedig 2014, p. 87–98.
5. The Exhibition concept of the team of curators asks the question, why the architectural history of post war modernism in Latvia has not yet been written, and studied the reasons for this. Not only experts, but also the general public was invited to participate, via social networks (https://www.facebook.com/unwrittenlv/info/?tab=page_info). The results were compiled in the catalog ”Unwritten – how to write a research about post-war architecture in Latvia” (https://issuu.com/nrja/docs/unwritten).
6. Ruben Arevshatyan coined the phrase ”conflicting modernities” in a lecture, to describe the different modernist styles of architecture in his native country, Armenia: CONFLICTING MODERNITIES: THE HIDDEN STORIES OF THE 20th CENTURY ARCHITECTURE IN ARMENIA, 11. November 2014, Architekturfakultät Zagreb.
7. Hopfner, Karin / Simon-Philipp, Christina / Wolf, Claus (Hrsg.): Größer, höher, dichter. Wohnen in Siedlungen der 1960er und 1970er Jahre in der Region Stuttgart, Stuttgart 2012.
8. Dansk Bygningsarv (Red.), Bygningskultur og bevaringsværdier. 1940’ernes og 1950’ernes murede boligbebyggelser, Tarm 2015.
9. http://www.nba.fi/en/cultural_environment/built_heritage/built_welfare_project (11.07.2016).
10. Swedish National Heritage Board, Urban News, Stockholm 2010, p. 27.
11. Swedish National Heritage Board, Urban News, Stockholm 2010, p. 27.
12. The catalog of the exhibition is also available online, at http://issuu.com/nrja/docs/unwritten (10.7.2016); The catalog essay contains the suggestion to the National Heritage Board, to list a predetermined number of buildings as cultural heritage monuments: “We continue to lose them through various strategies of absorption – rebuilding or demolishing. If we continue this way and at the current rate, we will not leave future generations the opportunity to see and evaluate the design and buildings of this period. Taking into account that both the local and international community and architectural professionals are interested in the Latvian post-war modernist architecture, we asked the State Inspection for Heritage Protection to include these building in the list of protected cultural heritage monuments.” p. 277.
13. Council of Europe, Architectural Heritage, Reports and Studies 2. Inventories of the artistic, architectural and cultural heritage in European countries. Strasbourg, 1985, p.3.

KARIN HERMERÉN

What about the art? Challenges of Authenticity and Preservation of Art Related to Buildings and Architecture

Abstract

Public art is a significant part of Sweden's modern built environment and constitutes an important cultural heritage, in terms of both history in general and art history. Tens of thousands of works of art commissioned by various parties form part of environments which, in various ways, bear witness to the ideas and tendencies that shaped Sweden's development into a democratic welfare society.

The current lack of knowledge about this art within conservation practice, and the lack of methodological knowledge of the values it represents, entails serious risks to its conservation, not least in view of ongoing social changes and construction projects. These risks may involve change or demolition of the artworks. How an object or a work of art is regarded and valued is crucial to the preservation strategy and the protection options from a legislative point of view. The underlying values in the decision-making process concerning preservation must therefore be clarified and made explicit to enable assessment, prioritisation and management. The discussion in this paper focuses on challenges, methods and strategies that can be implemented in conservation practice concerning building-related art, in order to improve, if possible, the management and long-term conservation of this heritage of the recent past.

Introduction

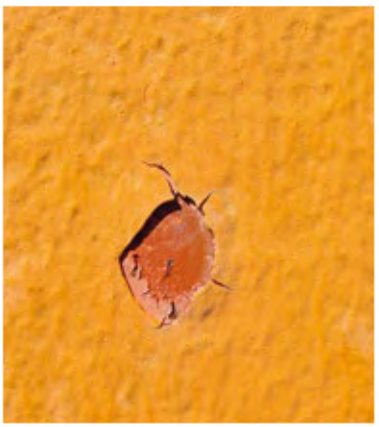
Since the early 20th century, Sweden has seen extensive social investment in building-related art, including works by a great many prominent Swedish and international artists. These artworks constitute important source material, not only from an art history perspective, but also in historical, social and economic terms. The current lack of knowledge and information about these building-related artworks, and the lack of methodological knowledge of the values they embody, seriously jeopardises the long-term conservation of the works, regardless of whether they were publicly or privately commissioned, and regardless of their setting. The consequent lack of management and of opportunities for the public sector to support conservation is placing many such works at risk of damage or destruction.

Unlike buildings, for instance, public art lacks effective legal safeguards and financial incentives for its management and conservation. This is increasingly apparent as the artworks age and their need for maintenance increases. Arguably there should be shared public responsibility for art purchased with public funds. It belongs to us all and should be protected and cared for as part of a common cultural heritage that is worth preserving.

Building-Related Public Art In Sweden

Historical Background: Early 20th Century

In early 20th-century Sweden, building-related art – art created specifically for a particular location inside or adjacent to a building or other structure – was commissioned through initiatives by private and voluntary sectors. In 1937, the commissioning of building-related art became official public policy through the so-called one-per-cent rule, whereby one per cent of central government's costs for construction projects had to be allocated to artistic features. A majority of Sweden's local and regional authorities subsequently introduced a "one-per-cent rule", and as a result there are now tens of thousands of artworks in public buildings and spaces across the country.



HYLLNING TILL IVAR LO-JOHANSSON/Tribute to Ivar Lo-Johansson (1971), painted concrete, by Atti Johansson, at Gudlav Bilderskolan, Sollefteå, architect Jan Thurfjell Arkitektkontor AB. Photo: Karin Hermerén.

FLAKING PAINT, with the original paint layer clearly visible. Details. Photos: Karin Hermerén.

Ideological Background: The Postwar Years

Support for public art was consistent with the social democratic concept of the welfare state in Sweden. The initiative created the economic conditions for promoting cultural and social values in shared public spaces by means of artistic features. Work opportunities would be created for artists, both in decorating public buildings and in creating independent artworks. Good art would be made accessible to everyone. Exhibitions toured the country, like the one organised by Nationalmuseum in partnership with various popular movements (*God konst … 1945*), and original prints were sold at reasonable prices through Konstfrämjandet, an organisation founded in 1947.

Expansion: The 1960s and 70s

With the rapid expansion of the Swedish public sector in the late sixties and early seventies, increasing numbers of artworks were needed for all the new public buildings. New government agencies were created with offices throughout Sweden. The first national targets for cultural policy were adopted in 1974, which led to a closer working relationship between central and regional government, and to the expansion of regional cultural institutions. At this time, responsibility for public art was shared among central, regional and local government, and local authorities were given primary responsibility for the outdoor environment (1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga 1974).

Local government expanded. Recreation centres were built, and most of Sweden's indoor swimming pools date from this time. Libraries, arts centres, cinemas and art galleries were built. Legislation was passed to improve the physical working environment (Arbetsmiljölag 1977:1160). Major public art projects were undertaken in all these venues, as well as by crown corporations like the Swedish Post Office and state-owned manufacturing and engineering businesses. There were also major art initiatives in the private sector.

In the context of housing policy, too, the public sector invested in art. Between 1965 and 1975 a million homes were built under the so-called Million Homes Programme. These new neighbourhoods needed public art, which, it was hoped, would inspire residents to creative life patterns and personal creativity. A special programme of grants and loans for artistic projects in residential areas had been introduced in 1962 to supplement government funding. The loan amount was equivalent to about one per cent of the construction costs. Public and private property developers were eligible to apply for these loans in addition to government loans for residential construction. As the pace of construction slowed, funding arrangements were reviewed, and from 1985 onwards it was instead possible to obtain a government grant for up to 40 per cent of the costs of an art project. The remainder could be made up by a loan on the same terms as the residential construction loan.

Late 20th and Early 21st Century

The 1990s brought far-reaching changes in public property management. Government-owned properties were hived off into arm's-length property management companies. Legally speaking, building-related art belongs to the property for which it was created (Jordabalk 1970:994), but many artworks consequently passed into new ownership. Although these artworks had been commissioned with public funds, the new owners often lacked the necessary expertise, supervision and financial resources to look after and preserve them in the long term.

In the late nineties, the role of the state in commissioning art changed after the Swedish parliament by decision emphasised government's responsibility to promote positive social values through good architectural and artistic design of public spaces, regardless of ownership (*Ingen regel …* 2013, p. 42). Statens konstråd (Public Art Agency Sweden) was put in charge of funding public art in residential areas. The agency's remit is to pursue public art projects in partnership with local and regional government and private property developers. These projects have taken various forms and involved a variety of partners. From 2015 to 2018, Statens konstråd is collaborating with local organisations and civil society on artistic enhancements to residential neighbourhoods built under the Million Homes Programme, as these neighbourhoods undergo large-scale renovations (Proposition 2014/15:1, p. 35–36). Thus the state's commitment to a good living environment for all citizens continues, albeit in a somewhat different form from the original 1937 programme.

Problems and Challenges

Management and Preservation

So how does society treat building-related artworks? How are they managed by their owners? Previous studies (Hermerén & Orrje 2014) painted a somewhat grim picture of the management situation. The ownership, management and oversight structures are often complex, to the detriment of conservation. In a national context, there is an absence of knowledge regarding the number, identity and location of public artworks. Many property owners are unaware as to the relevant laws, regulations and conservation-related considerations. In addition, the legal safeguards for such art are weak, and oversight and management tools are non-existent. The study showed that there is frequently a lack of knowledge regarding what needs to be done, and how, and sometimes even a lack of awareness that art is present in the building. Often, emergency action is taken after damage has already occurred, rather than long-term preventive measures. Individual staff members often have detailed knowledge of artworks, but there is rarely any record of this. The financial capacity of property owners to manage public art also varies widely. When ownership or management changes, the risks to artworks increase. Building-related art can be adversely affected by operational changes and the need for renovation of the surroundings every 20–30 years. Another risk factor may be a lack of understanding of (contemporary) art on the part of property owners, managers, supervisory bodies and "users" close to the artwork. The study showed that contact between individual property owners or managers and conservation authorities may be the critical factor when it comes to long-term preservation, but that such contact is generally rare.

Although building-related artworks are widespread in Sweden, they do not fall within the purview of the heritage conservation authorities. What is more, there are extensive regional differences in attitudes to public art within the conservation sector and its regulatory authorities. Artworks are seldom mentioned in connection with the processes governing planning, building and environmental protection at local level. When the surroundings change – through renovation, remodelling or new construction, for instance – how the artworks are treated is currently a matter of chance. As debates in the media concerning the demolition or modification of properties containing building-related art show, there is a great and growing need for knowledge and evaluation methods.

Methods and Strategies

Evaluation

What we consider worth preserving, *how* we evaluate it, and from *whose* perspective are all factors that can lead to different decisions concerning preservation and the relevant conservation options (Hermerén 2014, p. 96–97). These decisions affect whether and how building-related art is to be preserved, what methods and materials are to be used, which artefacts are to remain intact for future generations, and in what condition. The choices and the decisions made revolve around various values concerning authenticity, history, etc. It is important to highlight these choices, especially if decisions have to be made on which artefacts have priority, or if the consequences may restrict future choices and interpretive possibilities.

How should building-related art be evaluated? What values make an artwork worthy of preservation – in relation to other cultural artefacts and artworks? What are the important factors: creator, location, materials, history, adjoining building, setting or activity? What do changes in the surroundings, for instance, mean for the evaluation of the artwork? Do such changes have implications for how the work is preserved?

Swedish conservation legislation emphasizes "cultural heritage assets" as being especially deserving of preservation, especially if they are "particularly noteworthy". The definition of these assets is the subject of constant discussion in the Swedish cultural heritage sector (e.g. Unnerbäck 2002, Schwanborg 2002, Fredengren, Jensen & Wall 2012, Génetay & Lindberg 2014). The Cultural Heritage Act (Kulturmiljölag 1988:950) governs inspections, and it is possible to obtain assistance with additional conservation-related costs – including for art and furnishings in the case of historic churches. Building-related art is not yet covered by this legislation, although in recent years the cultural heritage sector has started paying attention to 20th-century public art. This is timely, since change can happen quickly when buildings, spaces and environments are renovated or demolished.

If building-related art is instead evaluated as part of the built environment, it falls under the scope of the Planning and Building Act, which allows local authorities to incorporate safeguards in development plans for historical, cultural heritage, environmental or artistic reasons (Plan- och bygglag 2010:900). However, previous studies have shown that only in exceptional cases building-related art is considered on the basis of the building or setting in which it is located, perhaps because this is a new field within conservation (Hermerén & Orrje 2014).

From an art history perspective, too, there are difficulties. There is little in the way of academic art criticism on the subject of public art, and there are no venues equivalent to museums where the works can be considered in a wider context. If building-related art is to be considered "art" in legal terms, it ends up divorced from its setting, with the Copyright Act as its sole safeguard (Lag [1960:729] om upphovsrätt till litterära och konstnärliga verk). The Act applies for only 70 years after the artist's death, and in the event of infringement of artistic reputation or individuality, the matter has to be pursued by the artist or a close associate. In the context of art and copyright, the concept of "distinctiveness" is often mentioned as a criterion, as a measure of quality and originality.

Legislation is an expression of *what* society considers worth preserving and may also express *how* the assets are to be managed. In practice at present, management may be more akin to maintenance (e.g. repainting) than to the application of conservation principles in respect of materials and methods. In management terms, the artworks, like buildings, are complex structures requiring the involvement of multiple skillsets and organisations. Conserving a metal sculpture, for instance, may involve a crane operator, a metal conservator, a bricklayer, a project manager, a plumber and a blacksmith (Lindbom & Hermerén 2014, p. 14). Shortcomings from a conservation perspective also emerge when an artwork has to be removed because of changes. Current practice (in a best-case scenario) is to document the work in photographs before dismantling, but this tells us nothing about, for example, painting technique, layer sequence or pigment choice. What does the location tell us? What does the work say about the artist?

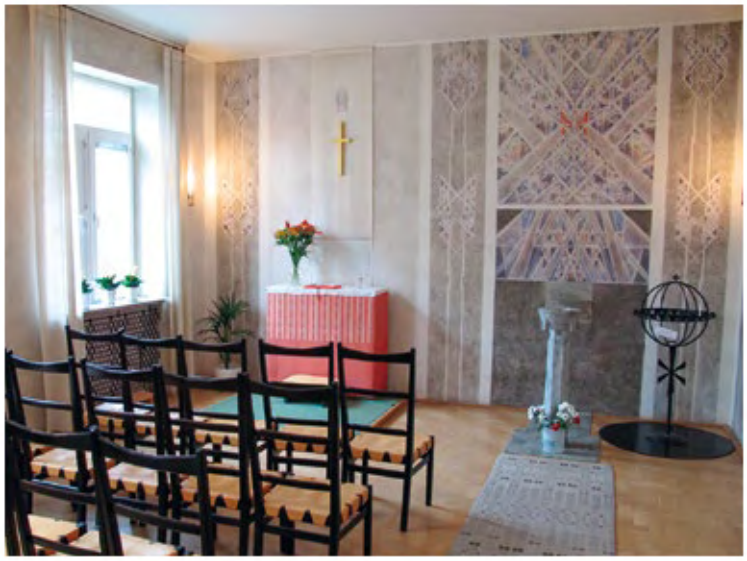
MARMORINSTARSIA/INTARSIA OF MARBLES (1955) by Endre Nemes, at Högsbo medborgarhus, Axel Dahlströms torg, Gothenburg, architects Sven Brolid och Jan Wallinder. Photo: Karin Hermerén.

The lower part of the artwork is changed. The original stairs have been replaced by a slope to facilitate access, the groundcover has been changed and a bench is placed in front of it. The Planning and Building Act (PBL) regulates building permit procedures and should have been used when permit was given for rebuilding of the space. The law protects buildings with historical, environmental or artistic values. The artwork is also protected under the Copyright Act, which prescribes that "a work may not be changed in a manner … prejudicial to the … artistic reputation or ... individuality…" (Chapt 1, Article 3).

Authenticity

Authenticity may be relevant to the conservation process, if by authentic we mean that something is what it claims to be, and if we believe that authenticity is an important factor in how the work is viewed. We then make assumptions regarding the identity of the work and the artist's original intention, and assume these are worth preserving.

What is considered "authentic" in building-related art from a cultural heritage perspective has yet to be defined. An artwork may change. The



LJUSBRYTNING/Breaking of light (1940), interior, mixed materials, by Alf Munthe, at Karolinska sjukhuset, Solna, architect Carl Westman. Photos: Karin Hermerén.

GRÄNSBILD MELLAN MÖRKT OCH LJUST/ Limit between dark and light (1975), textile, by Lenke Rothman, at Ljusets kapell, Eslövs krematorium, Eslöv, architect Birger Larsson.

Placement is important. An art object placed in a church or a chapel is protected by the Heritage Conservation Act, which protects both historic buildings and churches. There is an established inspection procedure offering some financial support and also, in the case of historic churches, for conservation of movable art or furnishings. If the same object were placed elsewhere, it would stand without all this.

material may darken or fade, recent conservation efforts or maintenance may have an effect, or damage may have occurred. Locations alter: buildings are demolished, vegetation grows taller, activities change. The location the artwork was once designed for may have vanished. Changes in these parameters may affect analysis, interpretation and evaluation – and preservation.

Access to knowledge is crucial to decision making, as is the ability to distinguish between what we know and what we think we know. New knowledge may come to light, and what we believed to be true may turn out to be false – or a misconception. New methods affect our ability to ask and answer questions. Values and assessments are not static either, but change over time (Hermerén 2016, p. 9).

Priorities

A sound basis of knowledge regarding initial parameters and changes is therefore essential to decisions on the management of building-related art. Which artworks should be preserved? What is it important to preserve: the location, the setting or the work itself? What courses of action does our knowledge lead to? There are often several options. Should all damage be repaired? What purpose does preservation serve? *What* is to be preserved: original material, method used, work process, tool marks? How are the artworks to be preserved in the long term? What interventions do we need to consider? Decision making involves prioritisation: comparing different types of artefact and different values. How do we compare value? Does the fresco dating back thousands of years have the same value as a modern artwork – or political art? Does an artwork have the same value in a church as in an urban space? Is it even possible to compare artefacts in this way? It is sometimes said that art has eternal value. Are there eternal values, or are values always contemporary? Perhaps artefacts can be said to have (a) a historically defined value and (b) a relative value at any given time, where the only value that diminishes is the novelty value. The important point here is to distinguish between different types of value (artistic, aesthetic, historical, social, sentimental, etc.). How changeable or eternal each is may depend on the value in question.

Who makes the selections and sets the priorities for preservation? Who has the final say in the decision-making process? Whose values will prevail? What people decide to do also depends on the courses of action open to them, how these are described, and the information available on the consequences of their choices. Different stakeholders regard artworks in different ways. This is often evident in connection with public art, where the organisation commissioning the art and the users of the building or other facility may hold opposing views on the artwork and its value. It is therefore important to make clear who the stakeholders are, and to record and clarify what they wish to accomplish and avoid, in both the short and the long term – in other words, what their values are.

It is also important to make clear which decisions are taken by individuals and which by groups. Who decides this, and how are the representatives chosen? What mandate do they have? What constitutes the "best interests" of the artwork, the owners, or national and international cultural heritage? And how are those interests best accommodated?

Conclusion

The values we attach to an artefact affect the decisions we make regarding its management – and may change if our knowledge and assessments change. Evaluation criteria sometimes pull us in different directions, and depending on the issue, we may have different ideas on how the criteria should be ranked. Our knowledge base, in which we try to distinguish what we know for certain from what is uncertain and the gaps in what we know, is not the sole basis for defining our approach to managing building-related art. We also need clearly formulated value premises. In addition, the objectives associated with preserving the art need to be clearly laid out. Where are we headed, and what do we wish to avoid? Who are "we"? Whose objectives are these? Any obstacles between the status quo and the objective(s) should be tackled using a variety of strategies – and the criteria for comparing strategies have yet to be analysed.

There are major challenges involved in preserving building-related art and in devising methods for conservation, investigation, evaluation and documentation. These challenges also present opportunities to manage systematically a new field of conservation for future generations. The issues to be addressed include the attitude of the cultural heritage sector to artistic values, how artistic features in various settings can be evaluated by the conser-

vation authorities, and how the care requirements of the Planning and Building Act can be applied to public art. The key factors in the decision-making and selection process with regard to preservation should also be analysed, as should the scope for institutional collaboration intended to equip us with greater knowledge of modern society's cultural heritage.

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CISSELA GÉNETAY & ULF LINDBERG

A contemporary approach to assessment and prioritisation of cultural heritage

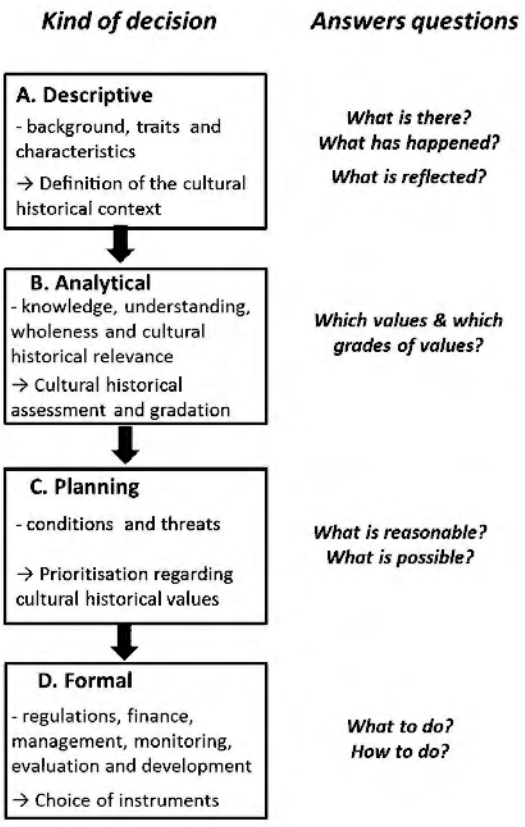
In the spring of 2015 the Swedish National Heritage Board launched the *Platform for Cultural Historical Assessment and Prioritisation*, a policy document describing a fundamental approach to handling issues of assessment and prioritisation regarding cultural heritage.[1] The platform is a result of the Swedish National Heritage Board's developing project during the years 2011–2014. Some important point of departures were set out when the project started; the platform should focus on describing the process of assessment and prioritisation with emphasis on clarity, traceability and flexibility and advocate decision-making founded on both theory and practice. Since the questions concerning assessment and prioritisation of cultural heritage are of great interest among practitioners, policy-makers and academics, the project included a lot of people in various ways, as well inside as outside the Swedish National Heritage Board. That way of working gave a very important in-put and was crucial for the result.

The approach described in the platform is thought to be a point of departure when assessing and prioritising all kinds of cultural heritage, from objects, remains, constructions and buildings to more complex environments and landscapes – and their tangible and intangible content. The platform is *not* a universal model or checklist that can be used to answer specific questions in a certain situation. For these cases specific methods can be developed that proceed from the approach described in the platform (see for example Mebus 2014[2]).

The platform explains the meaning of and the difference between value and the process of assessment. It also distinguishes between different aspects of assessment, which emanate from different fields of expertise. Furthermore, a reflected and structured working process is advocated, which raises awareness of the different steps and different kinds of decisions within the process of assessment and prioritisation, as well as the different factors that might, directly or indirectly, have influence on the work. The platform investigates commonly established concepts within the cultural heritage management and defines some of the most central concepts.

Aspects of assessment

The platform describes five fields of expertise or aspects of assessment that are frequently used in the cultural heritage management. These aspects are often confused or mixed up under various subcategories with the suffix *-value* and more or less ambiguous content referring to information, experience, attraction or rareness. The platform, however, recommends separate assessments and arguments founded in respective field of expertise, for which it takes different kinds of relevant competence – within as well as outside the field of cultural heritage management. Although the fields of expertise can be seen as partly overlapping they are mainly independent and can represent different kinds of interests and arguments. The *cultural historical* aspects designate how different traits or characteristics in an object – a construction, a building, a complex environment or a landscape – reflect and can be seen as expressions of the different developments, events, contexts, periods of time, activities and viewpoints behind its origin and shaping. The *aesthetical* aspects are about figuration and execution, shape, colour, function but also conditions regarding light, sound and smell. *Social* aspects concern people's individual and collective experiences of, relations to and desires for



THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF DECISIONS related to the work of assessment and prioritisation, sorted as four steps in a chronological process.

places and objects (not necessarily concerning cultural heritage factors). *Ecological* aspects refer to the biological content and ecological function. Aspects regarding *economy* are founded on the economic importance for businesses, properties, society and environment.

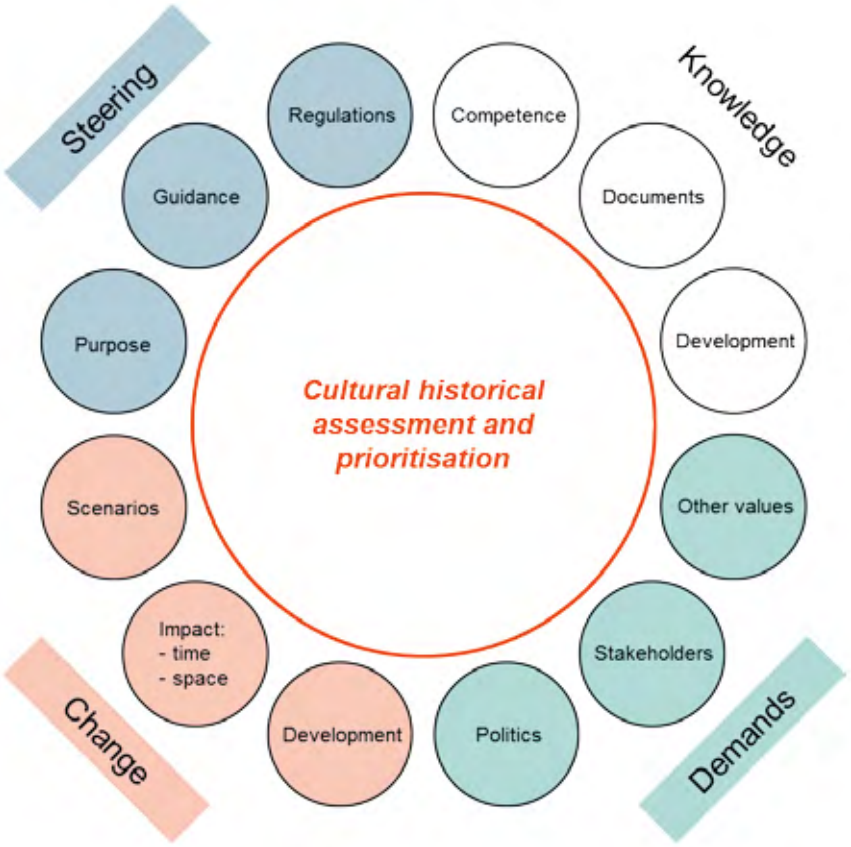
Process and influence factors

The different kinds of decisions related to the work of assessment and prioritisation are in the platform sorted out and grouped into four separate steps that can be considered as a chronological "ideal image" of the process of cultural historical assessment and prioritisation. The *descriptive* step gathers decisions regarding survey, demarcation and definition of the cultural historical context of, for example, an object, a construction, a building, a complex environment or a landscape. The *analytical* step comprises assessment and grading of cultural historical values. The *planning* step contains prioritisations and considerations on the basis of what is reasonable and possible. The *formal* step involves decisions about protection, conservation, finance, dissemination, monitoring, evaluation and development of the different values assessed to the object, construction, building, environment or landscape.

The platform also describes different types of *influence factors* which are compiled and divided into four separate thematic categories. *Steering* consists of, among other things, political objectives, regulations, organisation, the role of the customer, the purpose of the mission and its demarcation and resources. *Knowledge* concerns, for example, available competence, existent knowledge-base and its flaws. *Demands* illustrate claims and requests from public as well as private stakeholders and parties concerned. *Change* tackles conscious and unintended, fulfilled, on-going and forthcoming, changes of, for example, an object, a construction, a building, a complex environment or a landscape. It is important to be aware of and as far as possible account for what factors that can, in different ways and in different grades influence, and be influenced by, the work with assessment and prioritisation of cultural historical objects, remains, constructions, buildings, complex environments or landscapes. Thus, it becomes easier to detect if, for example, an argument is founded on economic basis and avoid that to influence the assessment and grading of cultural historical values.

Concepts and meaning

The platform investigates thoroughly several concepts that are used within the cultural heritage management. Their background, meaning and use in legislation and its preparatory work is illustrated. The diverse and changed meaning of these concepts in publications and practice is also problematized. In order to increase the clarity and therefore the understanding of the arguments for cultural heritage clear definitions for the most important concepts within the cultural heritage management have been developed. *Cultural heritage* concerns all kinds of, tangible and intangible, expressions (traces, remains, objects, constructions, places, systems, structures, activities, traditions, terminology, knowledge etc.) of human influence. *Cultural*



A MIND MAP illustrating the different kinds of influence factors.

historical value concerns the possibilities (ascribed to cultural heritage) to obtain and communicate knowledge and understanding of different events, developments and contexts – and thereby human living conditions throughout all times, including the present. *Cultural value* concerns a combination of assessments on the basis of cultural historical, social and aesthetical aspects.

Aspects of assessment regarding buildings and built environments from the post-war era and late 20th century – some examples from Swedish practice

To enable fair considerations of prevalent interests and values in the buildings and built environments from the post-war era and late 20th century, it's necessary to distinguish between the different aspects of assessment that have been recorded for previously in this article. These aspects derive from academic disciplines such as cultural history, sociology, aesthetics, ecology and economy. The different aspects of assessment commonly represent different views and/or claims on the same features within a specific environment, building or object. Here are some examples from Scandinavian city planning, where the process of assessment and prioritisation has been ambiguous or controversial.

Brädstapeln, Stockholm, built 1972–77

The complex *Brädstapeln* is situated in central Stockholm and was commissioned in the mid-1970th by a large insurance company to cover their needs for one entire office for its 2000 employees. The architects were Anders Tengbom and Stefan Salomon. The Stockholm City Museum has assessed the complex and considers it to have very high cultural historical values. That decision is founded on professional judgement that emanates from profound cultural historical knowledge. That kind of expertise is necessary for these assessments and more knowledge is needed than just the direct experience a visit to the place can give. The Museum is a unit within the municipality of Stockholm, and it is also appointed as the consultation body regarding these kinds of assessments.

The complex consists of three contrasting buildings with different size, height and character. The materials chosen and the execution reflect a high

THE COMPLEX BRÄDSTAPELN.
Photo: Cissela Génetay,
Swedish National Heritage Board, CC BY.

ambition in the architects' work. The buildings are gathered around and thus connected by a public park which was designed by the Stockholm city gardener Holger Blom. Several works of art are integrated into the buildings and the park. The construction plan of the interior reflects the ideology of the mid-1970th regarding large scale solutions for offices and the hexagonal form was seen as the ideal shape for that purpose. It is the holistic approach concerning the composition of the whole complex that shows the 1970th thoughts on working environment on one-hand, but on the other it also shows how a large company wanted to manifest itself in the city and build nearby other official buildings of high quality.[3]

What happened with this assessment? Changes were proposed for this complex – changes that meant tearing down the lowest of the buildings and replacing it with a much taller building – which the Museum declined. The role of the Museum and the assessment was then questioned by one of the leading politicians, who were also responsible for the city planning. She argued that the assessments performed by the Museum had degraded and no longer had any importance and that the municipality in the future would not pay any attention to them.[4] That kind of remark is but a mere opinion expressed by someone without any cultural historical knowledge and it is crucial to meet such views with expertise and well sorted arguments that actually explain what the different characters stand for and how significant they are. Finally, the proposed changes were not realised, but now other plans of

THE COMPLEX PLANKAN.
Photo: Cissela Génetay,
Swedish National Heritage Board, CC BY.

changing the complex have emerged. So the story goes on…[5]

Plankan, Stockholm, built 1964–68

The complex *Plankan* is also situated in central Stockholm and it was commissioned by the municipality of Stockholm in the mid-1960th for housing purposes. Architect was Lars Bryde. The Stockholm City Museum has assessed the complex and considers it to have high cultural historical values.[6]

It consists of large-scale buildings surrounding a vast and open semi-public yard (designed by Holger Blom as in the complex *Brädstapeln*) with many plantations, bushes and trees, and small areas for play and recreation that together make a contrast towards the buildings. It is a well-executed wholeness and typical example of public housing areas of the 1960th, representing the ideology of that time. Also for this complex some radical changes were proposed – a large round building (five stories and standing on six meter high pillars, containing about 100 apartments) should be constructed in the yard.

The inhabitants of the complex were strongly against the proposal since the new building would have an enormous impact on their living environment. The proposal went through a long juridical process in the Land and Environment Court of Appeal and finally it was decided that the building could be erected since the assessment of the City Historical Museum concluded that the cultural historical values were high, but not very high.

This is an example of how the arguments regarding cultural historical values are interpreted in negotiations and who finally makes the considerations (in this case, the court).

Regjeringskvartalet (the Government quarter), Oslo, built 1906–2012

Regjeringskvartalet covers an area in central Oslo, comprising several buildings successively erected for the offices of the Norwegian government from 1906–2012. Some of Norway's leading architects and artists have been involved in the creation process. Very high cultural historical values have been assessed to *Regjeringskvartalet*, which is also concluded in the government's conservation plan from the spring of 2011.[7] The motives for the assessment are the environment's strong representation and legible reflection of the development of the governance of modern Norway. The buildings and outdoor areas reflect the societal and architectonic ideals as well as the shifting conditions for planning and regulation during different time periods. The conservation plan states to preserve the interiors and exteriors of six buildings as well as parts of the surrounding ground areas. The purpose is to protect the architecture, material use and details of the individual objects and at the same time the qualities of the built environment as a whole.

On 22 July 2011 a car bomb exploded in front of "The Cabinet Building" (a.k.a.The Highrise), killing eight people and injuring over 200 as well as causing severe damage to some of the buildings. The attack has dramatically changed the situation regarding the future management and development of Regjeringskvartalet. The conservation plan has been revised[8] and a new planning program has been adopted[9]. The complexity of the situation makes it very difficult to separate the arguments of the debate and to identify the influence factors behind the decisions made in the process. This was well concluded by the Norwegian journalist Magne Lerø; "Eventually we get a debate about taste and preference, about urban development, aesthetics, buildings worthy of conservation, areal claims, architectural perspectives and what is the best way to take care of the memory of the 22 July terror. It becomes a mixed bag of reasons and emotions".[10]

Conclusion

These examples from Scandinavian practice illustrates the importance, but also the difficulties, of "keeping a clean process" i.e. to identify and account for existing influence factors, to separate and respectfully weigh between different aspects of assessment, to acknowledge competences and differ between profession and opinion. It is necessary for societal democracy and sustainability to avoid arbitrary and short sighted decisions. This is especially evident in times when community planning becomes less regulated by politics and more ruled by market interests.

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RIITTA SALASTIE

Policy making – Preservation Methodologies for the Modern Built Cultural Heritage in Helsinki

Introduction

The theme of this paper is policy making for the modern built cultural heritage in Helsinki. In the past years a number of approaches and practices have been developed in the context of urban conservation in Helsinki. One of the key motors has been the rise of Modern in the focus of urban conservation. Aside protective town plans these policies involve proactive inventories and in-depth preservation surveys, new type of assessment and evaluation methodologies as well as tailored repair guidelines especially for the built cultural heritage of the post-war period.

When compared to other European capitals with their medieval city centres, Helsinki is a relatively young city, where the share of historical buildings is exceptionally low: less than one percent of buildings are built before the 20th century. In other words, most of the buildings are built in the last century. So when we are discussing the policy making in Helsinki, we are speaking very much of the preservation of the modern heritage.

PUU-KÄPYLÄ, illustration for the restoration of overgrown courtyards. Landscape architect office Loci /Helsinki City Planning Department.

Modern heritage is an integral part of Helsinki's urban identity not only through the legacy of Alvar Aalto's works, but also through the works of many less known but talented planners and architects. One example of this is the many fine post-war suburban housing areas outside the historical city centre of Helsinki.

From Monuments to Everyday Heritage

The first larger area to be protected was Puu-Käpylä, a wooden housing area from 1920s that the City of Helsinki initially wanted to demolish, but which was protected in 1974 after a heated preservation fight. This fight itself marked the beginning of urban preservation in Helsinki as it is practiced today. The town plan is still surprisingly up to date with protected courtyards, wooden buildings and even protected interiors. The buildings and large common courtyards were for the first time renovated in 1970s. Today a second generation repair and restoration process in the municipally owned housing companies is taking place. The relevancy of 1970s renovation and discussion on appropriate conservation methods are now topical in a situation where we find courtyards with overgrown trees and the original 1920s layout of gardens degrading.

Since the protection of Puu-Käpylä, the focus of urban preservation has been not only in individual buildings but also in the preservation of larger areas and environments, in other words, in the built cultural heritage as a whole. Today aside historical monuments, ordinary buildings as well as their vernacular urban settings are being preserved as examples of the development of society and the historical layers of the city. Single-family housing areas from the post-war reconstruction period as well city's industrial heritage are now sites for preservation, in very much the same way as monuments were in the previous periods. Interiors, roof landscapes and modern school buildings have become objects of cultural historical assessment and protection. Aside repair and restoration, conversion and infill building are indispensable part of the urban preservation today.

In the Finnish planning system the major legal protection tool are the land use plans. The urban preservation, as integral part of the town planning processes, takes place through rounds of public consultation and in cooperation with the City Museum and other municipal authorities. The

MAUNULA WITH SAHANMÄKI – one of the post-war urban settlements now preserved through a protective town plan. Maanmittauslaitos / Helsinki City Planning Department.

number of protected buildings has doubled compared to the beginning of 1990s, due to the active urban preservation policies and the increasing awareness among the public. Today there are over 4 000 buildings and 2 000 cultural historical sites in Helsinki that are protected by land use plans. The volume of preservation is increasing every year. With the increasing number of protected heritage also the concept and content of urban conservation has radically changed.

The Rise of Modern in the Focus of Urban Preservation

Since 1990s the focus of policy making has moved from the oldest, historical building stock to a more recent, Modern heritage. Modern represents a growing area of protection, which substantially increases the potential number of protected buildings and sites. Practically every town plan nowadays involves some degree of historic preservation and a remarkable number of this is modern her-

itage. With this process also the understanding for what is worth to be protected and the methods of protection has grown. The protection rules are often minute, extend from landscape and town planning entities to details and describe the aim of protection in a very tangible way.

A kind of watershed in the policy making was the Helsinki Master Plan 2002, where a large number of suburban settlements from 1940s to 1970s were identified and their cultural historical significance recognized. Among them were four DOCOMOMO-areas: Pihlajamäki, a mass housing area from 1960s; the Helsinki Olympic Village from 1930s; Sahanmäki from 1950s and Taka-Töölö from 1930–1950s. Among these, the Olympic Village, Sahanmäki and Pihlajamäki have today an up to date protective town plans – Pihlajamäki being the first mass-housing area from 1960s and a radically new type of urban heritage that has achieved official preservation status so far.

Today the policy making in Helsinki can be divided into three major areas that support each other:

- PROACTIVE IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT OF TANGIBLE CHARACTERISTIC SAND CULTURAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: inventories, in depth preservation surveys, evaluation and assessment.
- KNOWLEDGE, KNOW HOW: repair guidelines.
- LEGAL PRTOTECTION: Master and detail plans, special building conservation laws (marginal).

In this paper Pihlajamäki is discussed as an example of the evaluation and protection processes for the newer layers of modern heritage. In Helsinki Pihlajamäki has been a pioneering pilot project both as to the methods of assessment as well as the pioneering quality of its preservation. The project has been presented in the *Finnish Architecture 0607*-exhibition organized by the Museum of Finnish Architecture (*www.MFA.fi*). In the end this paper discusses the role of in-depth preservation surveys and repair guidelines. They illustrate new approaches that have been developed especially for the preservation of the suburban post-war heritage. Through them the emphasis of urban preservation has moved from abstract town scape values to the preservation of tangible attributes and characteristics. Aside protecting and keeping essential values, repair guidelines guide the necessary technical improvements such as renewal of infrastructure.

Contradictions and Paradoxes of Modern Preservation

The preservation process of Pihlajamäki's 1960's mass housing area illustrates contradictions and paradoxes when trying to preserve this radically new type of urban heritage. The protective town plan together with repair guidelines was approved by the Helsinki City Planning Committee in 2006. The cultural historical significance of the area had, however, been proactively recognized already ten years earlier, when the area was chosen in the national DOCOMOMO-register in the early 1990s.

In Pihlajamäki the historicity or authenticity could not be used as the starting point for renovation and conservation in the same way as in urban sites of earlier periods. When the preservation process began, 70% of the facades had already lost their authenticity through later, often unskilfully made repairs such as new aluminium windows or additional insulation layers or renderings on the reinforced concrete slab facades. The first repairs to facades were made already soon after the construction period was finished. The repairs have meant radical changes to facades, loss of their minimalistic 1960s architecture and their cultural historical value.

The documentation material gathered during the inventory and planning process was extensive and offers interesting material for discussion also in the context of this conference. Many of the principles that are recommended in the *Madrid Document* (2012) had to be solved and tested in a pioneering way. The preservation survey (Salastie et al. 2002), that preceded the protection plan, took more than five years to accomplish and was compiled as an interdisciplinary survey by a wide range of professionals such as experts in architecture and landscape architecture history including the analysis of the original 1960s town plans, municipal green area plans and the study of fore builds and parallels, in Finland and abroad. As one of the key documents became the *Landscape Survey* (Sinkkilä, Timonen 2002), which raised *the integration with the landscape* as one of the essential values. Accordingly, the original landscape vision of Pihlajamäki – the 1960s forest city ideology – was adapted as the starting point and guiding principle for the preservation plan and aside buildings, the surrounding landscape,

THE LARGE SCALE SCULPTURAL form of Pihlajamäki was intended to be seen from the air. The planner, architect Lauri Silvennoinen had worked as fighting pilot during the war. Helsinki City Planning Department.

THE MINIMALISTIC 1960S ARCHITECTURE is lost through later repairs. Sari Saresto, Helsinki City Museum.

the woods, rocks and forested areas, were preserved as important features of 1960s built cultural heritage.

One of the biggest challenges was the technical deterioration of the reinforced concrete slab facades which can be repaired only by rebuilding or adding an extra layer on them. The problem in the repair of concrete slabs was thus not so much the lack of professional experience or know how in their repair, but the sheer fact that it was technically impossible to conserve or repair them in any traditional sense. As a result of the evaluation process the emphasis of preservation was laid in the restoration of *the original design idea* rather than preserving original material or concrete panels themselves.

The repair guidelines (Salastie, Tainio 2007) that were made in connection with the protective town plan had to be compiled on case by case basis, depending on different wall-panel types and their repair histories. This work itself took one year to accomplish. Even though Pihlajamäki was originally built using industrial building methods, there was no single repair method appropriate for the entire area - a paradox in itself. The colour guideline (Salastie 2007), which was compiled for the HAKA sub-area, is based on the original Kolorit-colour cards from 1960s which were found during the inventory process from architect Sulo Savolainen (b. 1933), one of the original designers of the area. He is still living in the area in the experimental terrace house designed by him. Along with the iconic black and white Pihlajamäki depicted in the photos from the building time, another image now emerged in which colour plays an important role enabling the restoration of original 1960s colour scheme even up to the kitchen cabinets. Since the protective town plan has come into effect some of the original colours have also been restored with good success for instance in some HAKA towers.

Both traditional and new approaches were necessary to protect the relevant values of Pihlajamäki. This was due to the industrial building methods (slab walls) as well as the urban concept of the modern heritage itself. Aside mere conservation, the protection of Pihlajamäki has been a revitalizing process, an effort to bring back essential values: the protective town plan contains infill building in some critical spots such as shopping centre and one empty spot that has been unfinished since the construction period.

Preserving Intangible Values through Tangible Characteristics

The destruction of the architectural quality due to over-repair or alterations in original details and materials, such as installation of new "care-free" aluminium windows, is often even a bigger threat to the built heritage than over-eager demolition was fifty years ago. Renewal of water pipe and electricity lines together with the new energy efficiency and barrier free environment -standards are topical issues that often lead to unwanted changes and interventions. The modern heritage with its few but delicate details is especially vulnerable to such changes. The insensitive change of even one detail can destroy the architectural integrity of the whole neighbourhood. An important role in the proactive identification and protection of the heritage play today in-depth preservation surveys that Helsinki City Planning Department together with other municipal authorities has developed and initiated especially for post-war urban settlements. Initially combined with repair guidelines these surveys provide not only a tailored, in-depth analysis of intangible and tangible characteristics of each settlement, but through guidelines necessary repairs and technical improvements can be met in terms of the context of preservation. This means: they are linked to both methods of evaluation and methods of repair, renewal and conservation.

In Helsinki such guidelines and in-depth surveys cover already from 12 to 13 post-war neighbourhoods. In some cases we speak already of second or even third generation preservation surveys. Although lacking legal status theses surveys are one example of good policy making practices. Their aim is not only to raise awareness of the values and characteristics of the built cultural heritage, but also, to give tangible tools how to protect what is essential and worth to be preserved. The emphasis in the guidelines is in the cautious intervention (In Finnish: varovainen korjaaminen). This means: avoidance of unnecessary demolishing or destruction of original building parts, application of traditional repair techniques and respect for original materials and details. Aside buildings, the analysis of landscape and green courtyards is an important part of these surveys. Typical themes for courtyard analysis are, for example, surface and plant materials, landscaping and design principles, courtyard furniture, lightning and other relevant issues. This way guidelines function not only as a reference point for renovation but also as a kind of design manual.

At the present moment the city planning paradigms are in a radical process of change. The new *Helsinki Master Plan 2050* approved this autumn aims – among other things – at a radical densification of suburban settlements. The forest city ideology is questioned again and seen as outdated – if not a totally negative concept, at least anti-urban. The idea of demolishing has become a positive concept and absorbed as part of city planning toolkit with densities that are even fourfold compared to what originally was built. The idea of urban streets

COVER PAGE, the Helsinki Olympic Village Repair Guidelines (2015).

and dense urban blocks is being brought to areas whose planning was based on completely different ideologies.

Conclusion

This paper discusses policies that the City of Helsinki has initiated especially in relation to the conservation of the post-war Modern heritage. As the paper shows, there are now a large number of in-depth surveys and repair guidelines and the cultural historical significance of many post-war urban settlements have been recognized. Some of the key settlements in the history of Finnish Modern housing architecture have also got an official preservation status through protective town plans. The process has meant a *re-evaluation* of some of the key values of the modern post-war heritage: the integration of the buildings with the landscape and the re-evaluation of the Finnish forest city ideology. It remains to be seen how the shift of paradigm brought with the new Master Plan will affect on these policies.

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Outside the conference programme

NILS MEYER

Architecture of the 1960s and 1970s on Kiel University Campus – Heritage Value and Assessment

In 2008, significant parts of the campus of Kiel's Christian Albrecht University (CAU) dating from the period after 1945 were listed as historic monuments and placed under protection. Their listing provoked major protests from politicians, the university's administration and parts of the student body and led to a wide-ranging debate known as the 'Kiel Heritage Conflict'. So as to place the discussion on a factual basis and provide a systematic set of guidelines for future architectural interventions, the listed university buildings were thoroughly documented and their value assessed in 2009–2010.[1] The purpose of these efforts was to sort out as well as simplify the treatment of this extensive and heterogeneous group of buildings in accordance with accepted preservation principles; the principal instrument for achieving this goal was a preservation action plan.

CAU NEW CAMPUS. Bird's eye view (from left to right): university library (background), lecture theatre (foreground), shop area (background) university church (background), student house and studio stage. Photo: Nils Meyer.

The 'Kielische University' was founded in 1665 by Duke Christian Albrecht of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1641–1695). Known as the 'Christiana Albertina', it was housed in the Heilig-Geist-Hospital, a former Franciscan monastery in a city centre location.

Schleswig-Holstein's annexation by Prussia in 1864, though reducing the duchy to a Prussian province, reinvigorated the University and led to its structural expansion. Most significant was the construction of the university building in the park of Kiel Palace, built between 1873 and 1876 to the designs of Berlin architects Martin Gropius (1824–1880) and Heino Schmieden (1835–1913).

During the Second World War, the university buildings sustained heavy damage between 1942 and 1944, resulting in the evacuation of the Institutes. By the end of the Second World War, the university had lost 60% of its building stock, among these the main building, the ruins of which were blown up in 1954, its rubble not being cleared until 1956.

Despite these losses, Kiel was able to maintain its tradition as a university city. In August 1945, Schleswig-Holstein's British military governor ordered buildings of the Third Reich's arms firm Electroacustic K.G., known as ELAC, located north of the city centre, to be re-purposed for the Christian-Albrechts-University, a deadline for the reopening of the entire university being set for November 1945. In the ensuing years, the ELAC buildings were refurbished, modified and extended for use by the university.

The first expansion plans, drawn up by the Regional Office for Construction in 1949, envisaged both development potential for the ELAC site, as well as a southerly expansion of the university beyond Olshausenstrasse. A perpetuation of the architectural style of the ELAC site was foreseen both in terms of the buildings themselves and their relationship with their urban surroundings.

While the ELAC site was to be further expanded to include institutes, other plans were drawn up for the new development land – above all to provide student accommodation, apartments for teaching staff as well as a shopping area along the West Ring. In doing so, the aim was to create a closed university area along the lines of an Anglo-Saxon university campus. But there were as yet no signs within this first master plan of the guiding principles of a modern, urban development with an open, green layout.

In 1956, with the submission of a further study plan, the New Forum did show the first signs of becoming an 'open' campus site. 'Modern' buildings were now envisaged, such as a high-rise administration building, with a lecture theatre and student house as well as institutes, while eschewing residential buildings altogether. Planners largely gave up the urban relationship to the ELAC site, efforts being made instead to develop a modern architectural language. Not until 28 May 1956 did the university agree on a ten-year plan for the expansion of the university[2], which precluded a return to the centre of Kiel. At the same time, it was decided to construct a new main lecture hall to replace the old one.

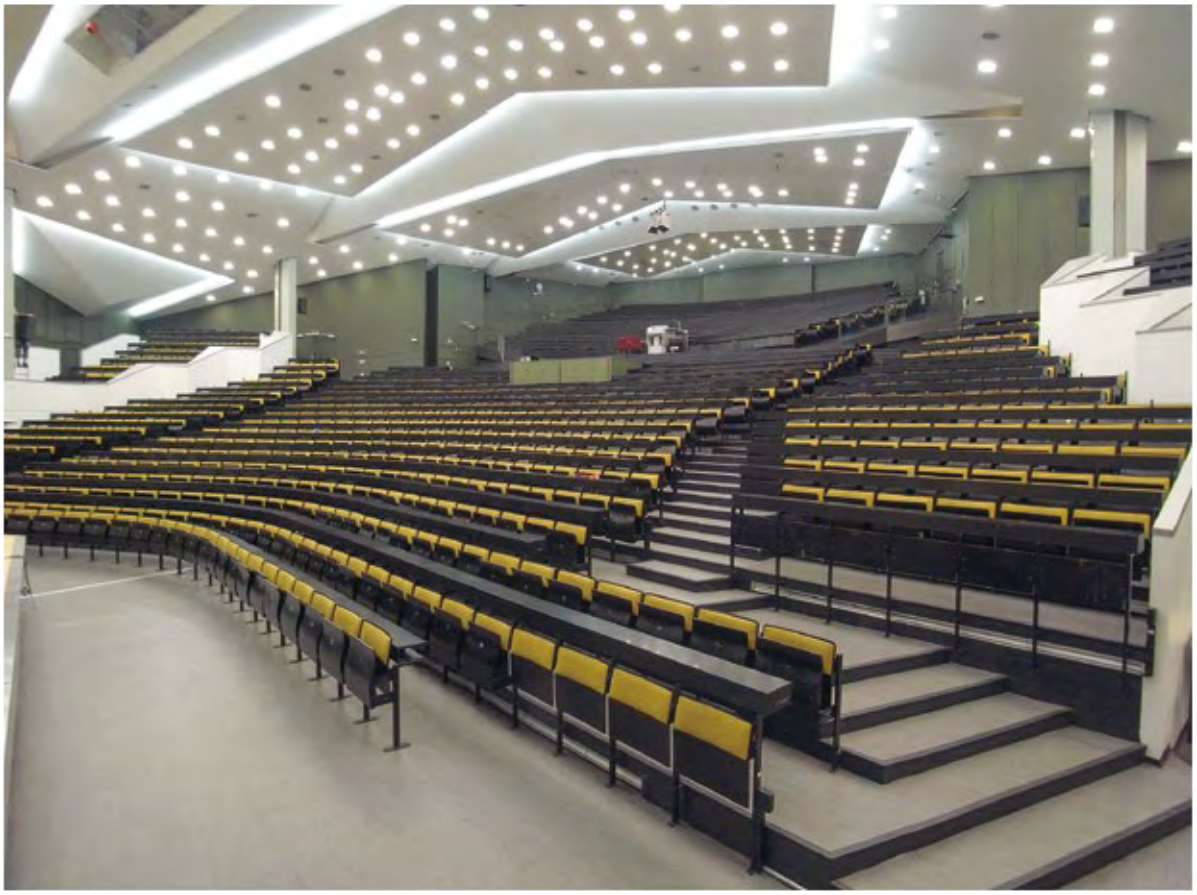
The student house with its standalone studio stage by Friedrich Wilhelm Kramer was built between 1963 and 1966 on the southern edge of the Forum. This was followed in 1965 by the completion of the university church[3] on the south-east corner of the site to a design by the Egon-Eiermann students Weidling, Weidling and Kettner. The university library, built between 1960 and 1966 by Günther Schween, completes the eastern side of the University Forum. Serving as the architectural and functional heart of the ensemble, the main lecture hall was built between 1965 and 1969 as the final building to the designs of Wilhelm Neveling, with a shopping area added in 1972. As a building ensemble directly bordering the University Forum to the south-east, the so-called 'village green[4] buildings provide their own urban signature. The serially built institute buildings with their individual lecture buildings were designed, planned and built by the Kiel State Building Authority II in cooperation with the architects Ernst Stoffers and Otto Schnittger.

The striking, towering university high-rise building both defines and borders the university's New Forum and stands as a self-confident architectural statement vis-à-vis the post-war rebuilding of the new Kiel University. Planned by Ellen Krotz, it was erected between 1959 and 1964. The nearby, low-rise lecture building is a cohesive structure imbued with both transparency and restraint.

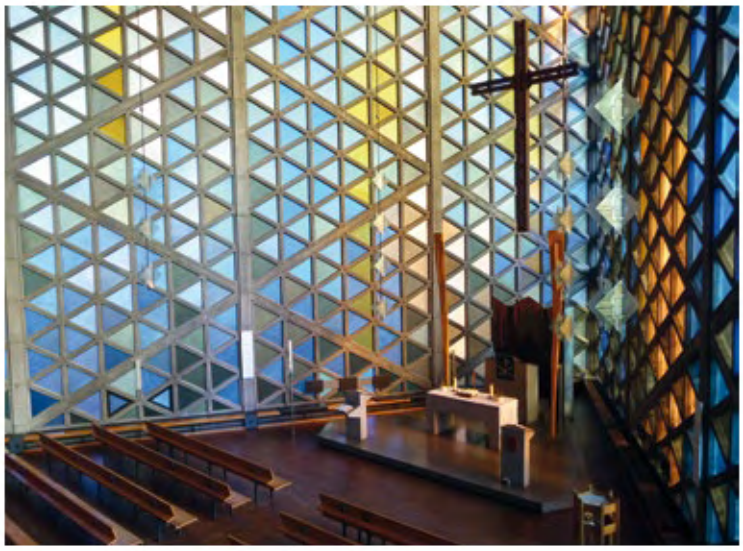
The Kiel student house[5,] with its adjacent studio stage built between 1963 and 1966 to plans by Friedrich Wilhelm Kraemer, is one of the New

CAU NEW CAMPUS. High-rise administration building, with lecture theatre. Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein.

CAU LECTURE THEATRE, large lecture theatre. Photo: T. Kiepke.



Forum's central buildings. With its visible ferro-concrete construction, this two-storey structure is built on a rectangular ground plan. The canteen lies at the core of one part of the building, with its attached atrium courtyard bordered by three wings. The set-back lower level, predominantly behind free-standing concrete studding, gives the building's block-like upper level an impression of floating lightness and elegance. The organic design of the atrium by Wolfgang Roedenbeck creates a terrace-like open space and publicly accessible 'courtyard landscape', containing geometrically arranged benches, stepped plant beds and a large fountain. The studio stage, with its monolithic hexagonal structure, stands like a sculpture on the campus. To a large degree it has remained unchanged, still maintaining its interior fittings.



CAU NEW CAMPUS. University church. Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Schleswig-Holstein (top left) and Nils Meyer (top right).
CAU SPORTS FORUM. Indoor swimming pool. Photo Nils Meyer.

The construction of the student house was accorded the highest urgency, so much so that Schleswig-Holstein's state government, together with the student union, set up a design competition with a prize. A prize was also offered for the design of the main lecture hall. In the end, the jury decided to split the first and second prizes equally, awarding them to the architects Neveling and Kraemer.

As a stand-alone building, Kiel University's main lecture hall[6] makes a striking urban statement in its central location within the new University Forum. With the towering high-rise slab serving as a backdrop to the west, and framed to the south and east by the restrained and widely-spaced blocks of the student house and library, the main lecture hall, with its hexagonal, sculptural structure opens onto Olshausenstrasse. The low-rise shopping area along the West Ring was built as a perimeter to protect against road noise, while nonetheless ensuring the creation of vistas and passageways into the University Forum. The lecture hall's hexagonal ferro-concrete skeleton, with its suspended concrete slab frontage, which contrasts with the triangular expanses of glass, the set-back glazed ground floor and similarly triangular roof surfaces, creates a distinct sculptural effect. Neveling's design draws on the geometric triangular and hexagonal forms. He consciously incorporates this motif throughout the building: from the ground plan down to the tiniest detail of the façades and roof. Wilhelm Neveling was influenced among others by the architecture of Hans Scharoun and his Berlin Philharmonic building.

With the construction of the university library[7] from 1960–66, a further important functional building was added to the ensemble. In an urban design sense, the library represents the Forum's completion to the west, creating a spatial counterpart to the vertical dominance of the high-rise university building. Designed by the Hamburg architect Günther Schween, the building is a low-rise building of three-storeys on a rectangular ground plan with a fully-glazed, set-back ground floor. Its compact, cubic form is softened by two inner courtyards. The building is lent its creative appeal through the nuanced interplay of flat concrete block cladding and glazed zones. Inside, the upper floor is dominated by the imposing former catalogue and reading room, with its suspended galleries and generously proportioned stairway.

Planned and built between 1966 and 1976 by the Hamburg architects von Gerkan, Marg and Nickels, the sports forum is among the most important of the post-war university buildings. Not until 1965 the new design for Kiel University's sports centre could be implemented, although demands had already been made as early as the 1950s for the construction of a building to replace the Physical Education Institute, which had been destroyed in 1944. The sports forum was built on a 40 hectare parcel of land earmarked for the university's expansion, a site lying to the west of the campus and to the north of Olshausenstrasse.

The architectural value of the ensemble, and of the individual buildings comprising the New University Campus, lies in particular in their modern appearance, typical of their time. Apart from their large expanses of glass, the façades are constructed principally of concrete, shaped into the most diverse forms. Many of the ground floor areas give the impression of being optically transparent and open, thanks to the elevation of the upper floors and the incorporation of large, cut-out openings. Of particular value is the modern concept of 'flowing' space, which can be seen in the interplay between interior and exterior, as well as in the spacious interiors themselves, which effortlessly flow into each other, occasionally over several storeys. Among these special interiors are the catalogue and reading room of the old university library, the foyer and the interactions of the main lecture hall, the access space for the small lecture theatre, the foyer of the university high-rise building, the church interior as well as the stage and auditorium room of the studio stage with its lower foyer. Also included in the list are the lecture theatres located in the main lecture hall and small lecture theatre.

The construction of the buildings of the New Campus, as well as the arrangement of their rooms and interior design, have a clarity typical of their time, using a reduced palette of materials which are nonetheless of high quality. When each individual architectural expression and function is considered in the context of the whole, a series of identical or similar design elements of architectural value can invariably be found within the building ensemble.

Today, the individually conceived, often very large buildings of the campus state can be found in various states of originality. While the student house and the university library have been subject

to major modifications, thereby compromising their original design concept, other buildings such as the main lecture hall or the small lecture theatre building have survived relatively unscathed. Even in these buildings though, the high quality of the original structures are now under threat above all through poor planning and uncoordinated maintenance, renovation and reconstruction measures.

Therefore, the above mentioned target plan comprises a uniform and structured collection of recommendations, illustrations, plans and information. This work serves both as basic information and as a foundation for further studies regarding the monuments' evaluation and can be put to use as a coordinated instruction manual for subsequent dealings with the State Office for the Preservation of Monuments.

ENDNOTES

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4. Jaeger, Rudolf: Die Angerbauten. In: Christiana Albertina. Kieler Universitätszeitschrift I (1966), p.1–11.
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7. Krotz, Ellen: Universitätsbibliothek Kiel. In: Die Bauverwaltung 5 (1967), p.220–223. See also: LASH, Abt. 47, No. 2842.

HANNU MATIKKA, CHAIR

Working Group Coastal Heritage

In a time of increasing tension between East and West in Europe it is more important than ever to communicate and promote the cultural and historical ties between the Nordic countries and the countries of the Baltic Sea Region.

In June 2016 a historic ship called Gamle Oksoy started her voyage and travelling exhibition from Bergen, Norway, to visit ports and meet the public in eight countries around the Baltic Sea. Onboard there were exhibitions and film screenings focusing on maritime heritage and coastal culture of the Region. The initiative behind the voyage came from the Working Group on Coastal Heritage within the Baltic Sea Cultural Heritage Cooperation.

The most important goal of the voyage was to inspire the development of partnership between museums, cultural heritage institutions and NGOs in the participating countries, and to show the historical relations between the people of the region. Thousands of guests visited Gamle Oksoy during her voyage.

A movie, The Baltic – a sea of connections, was made out of the voyage, and the film had its premiere at the 6th Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum in Kiel in September 2016. In addition all WG members produced a selection of short films, the idea of which is to tell stories about the most important, acute or otherwise interesting topics picked up by the WG members themselves. All films are available on the service www.coastlight.net and also on Baltic Region Heritage Committee's (BRHC) website.

In addition to the films and the voyage the WG produced Baltic Seascapes – booklet. The idea of the booklet is to promote Baltic Sea Region maritime heritage and coastal culture. All members of the WG contributed to the content of the booklet either by writing the texts or sourcing suitable illustrations and photographs for the publication. The WG hopes that those familiarized themselves with the booklet will understand the concept of Seascape differently and will get a broader understanding of maritime and coastal heritage across the Baltic Sea Region. The Baltic Seascapes – booklet can be downloaded from the BRHC's website.

The Voyage was financially supported by the Arts Council Norway, and The Nordic Cultural Found granted aid for the production of the booklet.

MS GAMLE OKSOY. Photo: Jan Robert Jore (CC-BY-ND).

SALLAMARIA TIKKANEN, CHAIR

Working Group Underwater Cultural Heritage

The theme of the Forum, From Postwar to Postmodern – 20th Century Built Cultural Heritage, was challenging but also inspiring for the members of the underwater cultural heritage working group. The simple reason for this is that our common daily work concerns mainly older shipwrecks located under water. But how can the theme be applied to the underwater cultural heritage? We wanted to raise questions and points of views, to activate visitor's own thinking and to lure citizens to find more information. The main questions without precise answers were:

- How can the theme Postwar and Postmodern be applied on the underwater cultural heritage?
- How is modern underwater heritage protected legally?
- How can memories of war and modern maritime disasters be handled respectfully?
- What is the legacy of modern underwater heritage?
- Are there values and symbols?
- Did ships have a role in creating modern western way of life?
- Are there common principles and challenges regarding preservation and maintenance of postwar underwater heritage?
- How much do we know of modern ship wrecks in the Baltic Sea?
- How can environmental hazards connected to the modern wrecks be solved?
- How can we raise awareness regarding modern underwater heritage?
- What is modern maritime and underwater landscape?

POSTER G. Peacetime maritime disaster: the case of the M/S Estonia. Photo in the poster: Maili Roio.

The ten posters were on display in the lobby of the Kiel University Audimax. The posters were designed and prepared by the National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk (Poland). The aim was that the audience of the Forum could learn that the maritime and underwater heritage is not always ancient. It can also derive from the 20th century and there are various interesting and challenging questions regarding how to handle it.

List of contributors

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Prof. Dr. Mart Kalm is an Estonian architecture historian and critic, since 2015 Rector of the Estonian Academy of Arts. He has authored several books, incl. Architect Alar Kotli (1994), Estonian Functionalism. A Guidebook (1998), Estonian 20th Century Architecture (2001), Pärnu City Architect Olev Siinmaa (2012) etc. He was the editor and one of the main authors for the History of Estonian Art. Vol. 5, 1900–1940 (2010). Kalm has co-chaired the Estonian Delegation at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2010–2013 and has been active member for DOCOMOMO.

David Chipperfield
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David Chipperfield established David Chipperfield Architects in 1985. The practice's offices in London, Berlin, Milan and Shanghai contribute to a diverse international body of work including cultural, residential, commercial, leisure and civic projects as well as masterplanning exercises. Ongoing current projects include the Nobel Center in Stockholm; a new building for the Kunsthaus Zurich in Switzerland; the restoration of Mie van der Rohe's Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin; and the James Simon Galerie, a new entrance building to Berlin's historic Museum Island.

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Peter Aronsson is professor in history and prorector at Linnaeus University. The role of historical narrative and consciousness to direct action has focused both on the role of historiography proper and the uses of the past in the historical culture at large. Recently he has co-ordinating several international projects exploring the uses of the past in National Museums and the general concept of history. See, www.eunamus.eu, www.histcon.se. His most recent publication is National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010. Mobilization and legitimacy, continuity and change. (Routledge, 2015).

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Marija Drėmaitė holds a PhD in History of Architecture (2006) and is an Associate professor at Vilnius University, Department of Theory of History and Cultural History. Her academic interest is focused on the 20th century architecture, socialist modernism, and industrial heritage. She is involved in DOCOMOMO Nordic-Baltic cooperation, where she investigates architecture of the Baltic States. In 2011 she received post-doctoral grant from the Lithuanian research council for the research "Heritage of Modernist Architecture in Lithuania" and co-authored a book "Architecture in Soviet Lithuania" (2012). In 2016 she published a book about industrial architecture in Interwar Lithuania (1918–1940).

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Siri Skjold Lexau is professor, Dr. Art. at the University of Bergen, Norway. Lexau is an art historian who has specialized in the history of 20th century

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Jānis Lejnieks, born in Riga, Latvia, graduate of Riga Technical University, Dr.arch., thesis "Functionalism and Neoecleciticism in Latvia in 20th century". From 1995–2007 Founding Director of Latvian Museum of Architecture, since 1995 Founding Editor in-Chief of bi-monthly magazine "Latvijas architektura", since 2011, Asoc. Prof. in RISEBA FAD. Forty years of experience in the field of urban planning and research of integration of cultural heritage in contemporary environment and publications on those themes. Books "Never built Riga", "Riga in images" a.o.

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Håkan Hökerberg has a PhD in Conservation from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Until recently, he was a research fellow at the Swedish Institute in Rome where he conducted the research project "A controversial heritage. Architecture and rhetoric in fascist Italy". He is still associated with the Swedish Institute in Rome, now editing a conference volume of the contributions to the international conference "Architecture as Propaganda in Twentieth-Century Totalitarian Regimes. History and Heritage" that was held at the Swedish Institute in 2015. He is also writing a popular book (in Swedish) on controversial heritage.

Wessel de Jonge
Wessel de Jonge Architecten BNA B.V., Netherlands
Wessel de Jonge graduated in architecture from TU Delft, the Netherlands. As a practicing architect, his portfolio includes the restorations of the Netherlands Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (G. Rietveld, 1953) and the former Sanatorium 'Zonnestraal' in Hilversum (Duiker & Bijvoet, 1926–31), as well as the rehabilitation of the Van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam (Brinkman & Van der Vlugt, 1926–30). He is partner in the design team for the restoration and adaptation of the 1938 Olympic Stadium in Helsinki. Since 2015 he is full professor in Heritage & Design at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at TU Delft.

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Panu Lehtovuori is the Professor of Planning Theory at the Tampere University of Technology, School of Architecture. Before the current position, he was the Professor of Urban Studies at the Estonian Academy of Arts in Tallinn. Lehtovuori's research interests focus on contemporary forms of public urban space, new urban design approaches and the resource efficiency of built environment. Lehtovuori is partner of Livady Architects, one of Finland's leading experts in heritage evaluation and conservation.

Dennis Rodwell, *UK*
Dennis Rodwell, architect-planner, works internationally in the field of cultural heritage and sustainable urban development, focused on the promotion and achievement of best practice in the management of the broadly defined historic environment. Previously a principal in private architectural practice, he has also served in local government posts as architect, conservation officer, urban designer, principal planner and project manager. He writes and publishes widely on the theme of conservation and sustainability in historic cities. Further information including a bibliography of publications may be found on: www.dennisrodwell.co.uk.

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Ph.D. Per Strömberg, art historian from Uppsala University, defended his thesis Tourist Environments in the Era of the Experience Economy in 2007 on the spatial conceptualization and symbiotic processes between consumption, business and aesthetics in today's tourism environments. Recently, he finalized his postdoctoral project on adapted reuse of buildings as a cultural innovation strategy in tourism, event and retailing. One example is "Funky Bunkers. The Post-Military Landscape as a Readymade Space and a Cultural Playground" (2013) published at Ashgate's architecture series. Since 2012, Strömberg works at University College of Southeast Norway as an Ass. Prof. in tourism management, but have also been associated with Uppsala University for the last two years by research.

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Andrzej Siwek has a Master degree in history and history of arts (Jagiellonian University, 1987, 1991) and a Ph.D. degree in architecture and urban science (Cracow University of Technology, 2014). In the period of 1992–2006 he was employed in Regional Conservation Officer's Office in Cracow. Since 1997 deputy Regional Conservation Officer in Cracow. Since 2006, he has been a manager in Regional Office of the National Heritage Board of Poland in Cracow. Lecturer at the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University. Specialist in the field of cultural heritage protection including historical landscapes and World Heritage sites in particular.

Cissela Génetay
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Cissela Génetay, adviser and landscape archaeologist at the Swedish National Heritage Board. She is currently working with the implementation of the Swedish National Heritage Board's Platform for Assessment and Prioritisation of Cultural Heritage (launched in April 2015) and is continuing developing methods for prioritisation (regarding criteria for estimating the sensitivity of cultural heritage in order to understand the impact of suggested changes). She is also working with the Swedish National Heritage Board's supervision of the practice of the archaeological heritage legislation.

Ulf Lindberg
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Ulf Lindberg, adviser at the Swedish National Heritage Board, has experience in a wide range of cultural heritage issues involving different aspects of the historic environment – mainly on the basis of heritage, environmental and planning regulations. This includes historic buildings and monuments as well as larger areas or landscapes. Among other matters, his work has concerned development, and evaluation of culture reserves and areas of national interest for their cultural heritage values. Lately he has participated in the development and implementation of the Swedish National Heritage Board's Platform for Assessment and Prioritisation of Cultural Heritage.

Riitta Salastie
City Planning Department, Finland
Riitta Salastie was until 2016 architect, city planner and expert for historic preservation in the City Planning Department of Helsinki where her focus has been in the preservation of postwar built heritage including policy making, assessment methodologies and preservation planning. Many of the projects have been pioneering pilot projects such as the preservation process of Pihlajamäki Docomomo-area, which is the first protected 1960s mass housing area in Helsinki. The theme of her doctoral thesis was urban preservation of Kyoto (2000). Voting expert member of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage. Docent of Oulu University in historic preservation.

Susan Macdonald
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Susan Macdonald trained as an architect and has an MA (Conservation Studies) University of York/ICCROM and has worked in Australia, England and the USA. Currently the Head of Buildings and Sites at the Getty Conservation Institute, she oversees some twenty-five international projects including the Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative. She is a former Secretary of Docomomo UK, member of the Docomomo ISC Technology and the ICOMOS ISC 20th century committee. She has authored and edited various books and papers on the conservation of modern heritage and prepared and provided advice on a number of world heritage nominations of modern sites.

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Katja Hasche is an architect. She studied architecture in Karlsruhe, Braunschweig (DE) and London (GB). After working as an architect in Germany and Switzerland, Katja Hasche completed 2005 her specialization on preservation of monuments at ETH Zurich. Afterwards she worked in Switzerland and Germany with the focus on analysing and inventorying post-war buildings. Since 2014 Katja Hasche is working on the research project WDWM (Welche Denkmale welcher Moderne? / Whose Heritage, which Modernism?) at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar (Germany). The subject of her research and dissertation is the listing process of post-war housing estates in Western Europe.

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Torben Kiepke studied architecture heritage/conservation in Berlin and Venice. From 2005–2012 he worked as a teacher at the Technical University of Dresden in the department of heritage and architectural design. Conclusion of his dissertation on the architectural redesign of facades in the 1920s in Berlin in 2013. Since 2014 Torben Kiepke is working on the research project WDWM (Welche Denkmale welcher Moderne? / Whose Heritage, which Modernism?) at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar (Germany) (together with Katja Hasche) on a comparison of methods of selection and listing of late modern architecture in Europe.

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Karin Hermerén, conservator NKF-S, B.A. and Ph.Lic. in Conservation, Ph.D. to be completed, B.A. in Art History. Hermerén has worked at the Swedish Public Art Agency on building-related public art as cultural heritage (expert advisor 2011–2013), the Swedish National Heritage Board (expert advisor/head of unit 2007–2009) and the Swedish National Maritime Museums (expert advisor 2008–2009). She was a conservator-restorer at the Museum of Helsingborg (1996–2013), an expert in provincial collection management (1999–2008) and has worked with several museum constructions, Kiruna's urban transformation and larger art collections. She writes, arranges courses, teaches and lectures on ethics, conservation, cultural heritage and public art. Hermerén is currently a PhD student in conservation, with management of public art as research area, and also runs a studio for painting conservation since 1991, Konserveringsateljé syd AB.

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The Baltic Region Heritage Committee

The regional heritage cooperation was initiated by the Ministers of Culture of the Baltic Sea States in 1997. Thereby the Baltic Region Heritage Committee (former named Monitoring Group of Culture Heritage in the Baltic Sea States) started its collaboration, streamlined by the Ministerial meetings.

The members of Baltic Region Heritage Committee (BRHC) represent the national agencies in charge of cultural heritage management. Since 2011, the BRHC acts as an Intergovernmental committee of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) contributing to its long-term priority on regional identity. The BRHC chairmanship normally follows the CBSS Presidencies by a troika model composed of in-coming, acting and senior Chairs.

Baltic Region Heritage Committee has three working-groups and is a member of the EUSBSR PA Culture Steering Group. In addition, it collaborates with other regional stakeholders, and follows work of relevant regional, European and international organizations and projects.

The Baltic Region Heritage Committee's website: www.baltic-heritage.eu

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The 6th Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum took place in Kiel 28–30 September 2016. The conference was arranged within the framework of the Baltic Region Heritage Committee. The conference addressed the historical legacy of postwar 20th century architecture in the context of the Baltic Sea Region and the different values that are ascribed to the architecture of this period through the end of the 20th century. It also raised awareness of the challenges involved in preserving and maintaining postwar 20th century architecture and cultural heritage. The lectures from the conference, presented in this report, underline the importance of closer cooperation in order to tackle the specific challenges of postwar 20th century built heritage.