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Introduction: Time and Spatial and Social Turns in Architectural Research

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During the past four decades, the connections and interaction between space and social relations have raised considerable critical interest in academia. Among other much discussed scholarly 'turns' in human sciences, the spatial turn has influenced the understanding of reality as constructed and determined by complex spatial relations. The spatial turn has introduced to scholarly discussions concepts and metaphors borrowed, for example, from geography[1], topography, and physics, and theoretical views developed in philosophy, cultural and urban geography, sociology, and anthropology. It has also participated in the blurring of disciplinary boundaries by increasing interest in the sociology of space in humanities and the spatiality of cultural practices in social sciences. Edward W. Soja has described the spatial turn as 'a response to a longstanding ontological and epistemological bias that privileges time over space in all the human sciences, including spatial disciplines like geography and architecture'.[2] In this view, Soja emphasizes temporality and spatiality as distinguished ontologies, of which the former has dominated scholarly discussions until the last decades of the 20th century. Simultaneously, the spatial turn in human sciences has led to a 'social turn' in disciplines that explore urban space, the built environment, and architecture. Due to the 'social turn', scholars in architectural history and theory have become increasingly interested in, for example, questions concerning class, power, gender, race, and ethnicity.[3]

Architecture and the built environment arise in the intersection of diverse cultural, social, societal, economic, and political relationships and their spatial dimensions. The spatial turn has brought these dimensions to the core of theoretical discussions on architecture. In architectural discourse, however, the concept of space as such did not have to be rediscovered; the idea of architectural creations as complex spatial constructs has been discussed in architectural theory since the end of the 19th century.[4] Nevertheless, the more multifaceted understanding of the intertwined nature of spatiality, social relations, power, and the built environment is more recent. The past four decades have seen in the research on architecture and the built environment a growing interest in the ideas of power and space as social products and particularly as producers of social reality. In these views, space is not only seen as a physical frame for human interaction but also as a performative catalyst of interaction and social relations. The idea of space as produced by interrelated social relations was introduced by Henry Lefebvre in his influential book *La production de l'espace*, published in 1974. In Lefebvre's theory, the physical environment is a complex junction of sensory, perceived, and materialized spaces intertwined with linguistic conceptualizations, symbolic representations,

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[1] According to Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift, the spatialized vocabulary of geography in other disciplines, such as cultural studies and more broadly in humanities, is often deployed in various theoretical discussions unrelated to or ignorant of geography as a discipline. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift, *Thinking Space* (London: Routledge, 2000), xi.

[2] Edward W. Soja, "Taking Space Personally", in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Santa Arias and Barbara Warf (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008), 11.

[3] Yael Allweil, "Beyond the Spatial Turn: Architectural History at the Intersection of the Social Sciences and Built Form", in *The Proceedings of Spaces of History / Histories of Space: Emerging Approaches to the Study of the Built Environment* (Berkeley: University of California, 2010), accessed October 5, 2017, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9rt7c05f.

[4] Eve Blau, "Introduction," in *Repenser les limites: l'architecture à travers l'espace, le temps et les disciplines*, ed. INHA (Paris: INHA, 2005), 2; Łukasz Stanek, "Architecture as Space, Again? Notes on the 'Spatial Turn'", *SpecialeZ* 4 (2012): 49.

and subjective experiences, beliefs, and uses of space.[5] Lefebvre has discussed these different aspects of space as perceived (*le perçu*), conceived (*le conçu*), and lived (*le vécu*).[6]

In addition to Henri Lefebvre's and Edward W. Soja's views, the spatial turn in humanities and social sciences has broadly utilized Michel Foucault's notions on the ambiguous and productive nature of space. Foucault's concept of heterotopia has been particularly important for descriptions of a space that takes place and exists in social relations.[7] The loose and open nature of Foucault's concept has generated a variety of interpretations and applications. Kevin Hetherington interprets the meaning of the concept as constructed through the juxtaposition of the specific materiality of a place, its social practices, and particular events. According to him, heterotopias are, thus, simultaneously place-bound, socially-bound, and time-bound.[8]

The spatial turn has an ambivalent relation to time and aspects of temporality. On the one hand, the emphasis on spatiality has been interpreted—as Soja does—as a response to the privileged position of time in scholarly discussions in human sciences. On the other hand, the aspects of time and space have often been discussed as inseparably intertwined, as Foucault's notion of heterotopia exemplifies. Indeed, recent study on space has commonly focused on the relations between time and space. Space has been perceived as a historical construction bound as much to its past as to its present time. To stress the temporality of space, Doreen Massey has used the concept of time-space: spaces are not static entities but continuous processes that are influenced by their past.[9] In architectural history and theory, the interdependence of time and space has been a topic of discussion since the beginning of the 20th century. As Eve Blau notes, the views emphasizing space as relational and contingent and as both subjectively and objectively constituted over time and, therefore, perceived as being in a perpetual state of 'becoming', have been foundational not only for the discipline of architectural history, but also for early 20th century theorizing of modern architecture.[10] Modern architectural space, city planning, and art have been approached in these discussions, for example, as dynamic 'space-time', a concept used by Sigfried Giedion already in the 1940s.[11]

Architecture binds together imaginings and reality, materiality and intangible values. As much as architecture is about the physical environment, it is also about conceptualizations, narrations, discourses, symbolism, experiences, emotions, and effects. It embraces private and public, subjective and communal dimensions. Architecture is an event, as Bernard Tschumi has stated.[12] But it is also a business[13] and a product, which like any other commodity in capitalism, promotes the expansion of profit, the increase of production, and consumption.[14] The sphere of architectural discussions has extended and become multifaceted and flexible. The borders between architecture and non-architecture have loosened, and the conceptual categories

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[5] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 38–41.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, translated by Jay Miskowiec, 5 (1984): 46–49.

[8] Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 2002), 8.

[9] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 177–180.

[10] Blau, "Introduction," 2.

[11] Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).

[12] Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

[13] Umberto Eco, "Mass Appeal in Architecture," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 187–193.

[14] Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes. Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), 4.

between architecture and various other phenomena, such as art[15] and brand[16], have become more elastic. This flexibility has also produced new ways of approaching architecture and conceptualizing phenomena related to it.[17]

The book at hand approaches architecture and the built environment from an interdisciplinary point of view, emphasized in its theoretical and empirical discussions on the dimensions of time, temporality, and transformation. Architecture is approached in the book in a broader social and societal framework than is often done in publications in the fields of art history, architectural history and theory, and cultural and urban studies. The book focuses on modern and contemporary architecture by bringing into the discussion the contradiction between the imaginings and reality of urban space and by exploring the material and conceptual borders of architecture. The fundamental questions penetrating the discussions of the book are: What is architecture? How do architectural ideas, ideals, and meanings emerge, develop, and transform? How is architecture manifested in relation to time, time-space, and the social dimensions it entails and produces? The book provides both multifaceted theoretical discussions on time and temporality in architecture and empirical case studies in which the explanatory power of these theories and conceptualizations are tested and explored.

Through divergent empirical cases, the book provides both local and global points of view on challenges of modern and contemporary architecture and the built environment as well as their relation to traditional architectural language. The geographical scope in the book includes several European cities (Tallinn in Estonia, Maribor in Slovenia, Marseille in France, and Turku in Finland) and regions (Transylvania in Romania), metropoles in the US (Detroit and New York) and China (Beijing), and African cities and towns (Cape Town in South Africa and Kampala and Jinja in Uganda). Moreover, the discussions in the book refer to architectural examples from several other cities around the globe. The focus in the empirical cases varies from skyscrapers to low-income housing, from public buildings to private apartments, from historical buildings to ongoing architectural projects, from secular to religious buildings, from protected built heritage to deteriorated and abandoned buildings, and from rural to urban space. Architecture in the case studies of the book has various aims: to create well-being, regenerate urban space, impress, control, commemorate, etc.

The book is composed of seven chapters that are organized into three thematic sections. The first section, 'Temporality and Changing Meanings of Urban Space', investigates the meanings of architecture in the intersection of political, economic, cultural, and social spheres. The section includes two chapters that discuss the transformation and meanings of urban space. Tuuli Lähdesmäki's chapter, entitled 'Temporal Architecture as a Means in Urban Regeneration', focuses on the ideas of temporality, movability, processuality, and transformation in contemporary architecture. These ideas contradict the Western architectural tradition, which has commonly embraced the ideas of durability and eternity, and has approached architectural constructions as materialized history and manifestations of the cultural ideas of past generations. However, all architectural creations have a certain life span, and in some cases the span is planned to be relatively short, and the durability of the creations is meant to be limited.

Lähdesmäki's chapter brings to the fore the close relation between architecture and economics in current cultural policy discourses and urban development and management talk.

[15] Miwon Kwon, "For Hamburg: Public Art and Urban Identities," in *Public Art is Everywhere*, ed. Christian Phillip Müller (Hamburg: Kunstverein Hamburg and Kulturbehörde Hamburg, 1997), 95–109; Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site Specificity and Locational Identity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

[16] For example, Klingmann, *Brandscapes*.

[17] One of the recent examples of creative conceptualizations of architecture and its relations to other spatial phenomena is Sylvia Lavin's concept of 'kissing', with which she describes the sensual charge and intimacy between architecture and new types of art, particularly multimedia installations that take place in and on the surfaces of buildings. Sylvia Lavin, *Kissing Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

During recent decades, decision-makers and urban planners have sought to advance the economic growth of Western cities by promoting diverse cultural projects and initiatives aiming to develop the city space. These projects and initiatives have commonly included construction of new buildings, squares, parks, and other urban public spaces and recreational areas with new urban fittings. Scholars have discussed and conceptualized these aims with the concepts of urban revitalization and urban regeneration.[18] The aims of urban revitalization and regeneration are also intertwined with attempts to produce experiences. Indeed, urban planners and marketing experts have increasingly focused on the development of experiences in cities in order to foster consumption.

Thus, the current aims of urban planning reflect the ideas connected to the concept of experience economy. The concept—introduced by Joseph B. Pine and James Gilmore already in 1989—suggests that production of economic values relies more and more on intangible factors and above all on creating experiences.[19] Over the past 20 years, designing and building new spaces for the consumption of experiences has become the basis of many urban regeneration programs. Urban planners have tried to create places that succeed as venues for diverse consumable and memorable events.[20] Architecture has a significant role in experience economy; it acts as a catalyst for new experiences and perceptions and functions as a physical frame for consumption.[21] Scholars have emphasized the close connections between architecture and economy by indicating how architecture is integral to branding and vice versa. 'Brandscapes', physical sites demarcated by brands, have become key elements that link together identity, culture, and place in contemporary cities.[22]

In her chapter, Lähdesmäki discusses how current attempts at urban revitalization and regeneration are promoted not only at the local level, but also at the European level by the European Union (EU). The EU's urban initiative, the European Capital of Culture, encourages European cities to promote cultural regeneration as a part of their development. The limited length of the designation (one year) has led the designated cities to implement and host various temporary architectural projects in which the city space is intervened through various tactics to reach diverse cultural, social, political, and economic goals. Lähdesmäki introduces four temporary architectural projects from four recent European Capitals of Culture; Tallinn, Turku, Maribor, and Marseille. The chosen cases indicate how the idea of temporality opens a variety of new possibilities for rethinking and practicing architecture.

Sanja Rodeš's chapter, entitled 'After the Event: Considering Media Images and Skyscraper Architecture at the Turn of the 21st Century', discusses an interactive relationship between architecture, image, and media. The chapter focuses on the events of 9/11 in New York and the impact of the destruction of the Twin Towers to the meanings and reception of two recent skyscraper projects. These projects are the new World Trade Center (WTC) in New York (2006–present), initially designed by architect Daniel Libeskind, and the China Central Television Headquarters in Beijing, China (opened in 2012), designed by the Office for Metropolitan Architecture led by architect Rem Koolhaas.

The 2001 terrorist attack gave the architecture and place of the Twin Towers a special symbolic and emotive meaning, which was reinforced by the ensuing global media spectacle. This symbolic and emotive meaning has been widely discussed—and at the same time

[18] Robert Beauregard and Briavel Holcomb, *Revitalizing Cities* (Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, 1981); Sean Zielenbach, *The Art of Revitalization. Improving Condition of Distressed Inner-City Neighborhoods* (London: Garland Publishing, 2000); Robert Cowan, *The Dictionary of Urbanism* (Tisbury: Streetwise Press, 2005).

[19] Joseph B. Pine and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1989).

[20] Greg Richards and Robert Palmer, *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation* (London: Routledge, 2010), 74.

[21] Klingmann, *Brandscapes*, 2.

[22] Ibid., 2–3, 83.

maintained and strengthened—in various disciplines in academia, such as media studies, visual culture studies, and architectural theory. Skyscrapers have commonly been interpreted as signs of an energetic economy.[23] They are also crucial elements in creating recognizable cityscapes and city brands. The Twin Towers were a significant part of the visual symbolism of the New York skyline, since they were the tallest buildings in the city. The iconic towers that embraced economic, political, and touristic meanings were reproduced and circulated in billions of images.

Rodeš approaches the new WTC project by utilizing the idea of 'limits'—boundaries that define architecture—to understand and explain the meanings that 9/11 created for the project. She also approaches 9/11 as an iconotype, an image that through repetition stands out in the image flow, halts the incessant circulation, and draws fixity to itself.[24] The idea of 9/11 as an iconotype reflects the role of images and visuality in contemporary culture. The intensified visual culture forms the prerequisite for the emergence of iconotypes. Moreover, Rodeš explains the relationship between 9/11 and the WTC architecture with the concept of iconomy, 'image economy'.[25] According to this point of view, the images of spectacular architecture, events, contemporary art, etc., gain exchange value in an economy due to the effects of mediatization and spectacularization. The destruction of the Twin Towers and the construction of the new WTC project have transformed the meanings of the site of the 9/11 attack. The site of destruction has been transformed into a site of reconstruction. The meanings of tourism and constant flows of people have been added to the site that was filled with the meanings of fear, anxiety, mourning, and trauma.

Besides iconomy, Rodeš utilized in her chapter the concept of translation, which relies on the existence of an iconomy and functions as a means to explore and explain image flows. Architecture is commonly 'translated' into images that are further translated into other architectural images. The circulation of architectural images simultaneously produces translations of architectural concepts and ideas. In her chapter, Rodeš explores how the 9/11 iconotype is translated into the architectural concept of the China Central Television Headquarters. Rem Koolhaas has himself correlated and compared this skyscraper with the Twin Towers. The chapter brings out how images of architecture and an urban environment are often used as a representational tool for communicating particular public messages.

Architecture is both about imaginings and reality. It brings to the fore certain ideas and ideals that its creators seek to communicate through it, but it also reflects meanings that the transforming cultural, social, societal, and political contexts and time produce for it. The second section in the book is entitled, 'Architectural Imaginings and Colonial and Post-Colonial Realities', and it includes three chapters that discuss urban planning and housing policies and practices in Africa. The section brings to the fore challenges that the colonial past poses for housing ideas and architectural meanings. The section starts with André van Graan's chapter, 'Modernism as a Mechanism of Power and Control in Colonial Contexts: The Project of Modernity in Cape Town, South Africa'. The modernist movement is one of the turning points in Western architecture; it has had an enormous impact on the development of cities, industrial production, housing, living environments, and the 20th and 21st centuries' way of everyday life. The foundation of the modernist movement was in the ideas and ideals of improving people's social and physical well-being.[26] In many European countries, the ideas of modern

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[23] See for example, Terry E. Smith, *The Architecture of Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
[24] Smith, *The Architecture of Aftermath*, 22.
[25] Ibid., 5–8.
[26] Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*, 4. edition (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).

architecture were used to produce welfare in broader societal terms—to develop the welfare state.[27]

Modernist architectural ideas spread from the Western world to its colonies, where the ideals of well-being and the interests in improving the living environment of the ordinary citizen, or the 'little man in the street', to use the expression of modernist architect Alvar Aalto[28], were often dismissed and forgotten. As the chapter by van Graan indicates, in late colonial countries, such as South Africa, modern architecture became primarily a mechanism for improving production, restructuring urban areas into racially and physically segregated areas, and dealing with issues related to health and slum clearance.

André van Graan emphasizes that the discourse on architectural modernism, particularly in the colonial context, is strongly grounded in power relations, mechanisms of control, and the terrains of contestation and negotiation of difference. He explains the nature of architecture as a mechanism of social engineering by including in the discussion Foucault's and Lefebvre's theories on the significance of space in social discourse and in the construction of power hierarchies. Van Graan suggests that the catalyst behind the modernist movement in architecture in general was not only in the attempts to realize social reform, but also to react to the social and political situation in the Western world. The ideas and ideals of modern architecture included a possibility to use power against the threats produced by the political and social changes in Europe. As van Graan writes:

> Although social reform is the often cited reason, one wonders whether the aftermath of the First World War and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was not feared as a threat to established order and whether they led to new Foucaultian methods of social control and surveillance to avert any possible threat. Modernism became the mechanism for visibly demonstrating change: the visualisation of political will.[29]

Similarly, in the late colonial countries modernism created spaces that rendered the 'Colonial Other' visible and controllable. The concept of the colonial 'Other' forms an important part of the postcolonial theory and explains how the colonized were dealt with as outsiders. In the early twentieth century South Africa, the division of people into 'us', who were white, and the 'Others', who were not, multiplied into much more heterogeneous clusters of subdivisions, taking the racist discourse to a new, intricately nuanced level. Van Graan notes how the outcome of this differentiation and the fixing of 'Otherness' to ethnic groups was used to map out the differing planning approaches that the City Council of Cape Town applied to different groups in its housing policies. Modernist architecture became the visual politics of the state as it suited its racist political agenda.

The second chapter in the section continues the discussion on spatial meanings in South Africa. June Jordaan's chapter, 'Architectural Agency and "Place-Making" in a Transformative Post-Apartheid South African Landscape', focuses on post-apartheid place-making practices which participate in the construction of a new South African identity. Jordaan emphasizes how in South Africa 'place' is an ideologically loaded word that has often been referred to as a 'healing instrument' through which the discrimination of apartheid and its spaces can be redressed. In order to engage with the creation of a post-apartheid South African identity, several architects have sought to reinterpret the meaning and significance of particular locales. These spatial and architectural reinterpretations include various place-making strategies.

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[27] Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Architecture and the Welfare State* (New York, Routledge, 2015).

[28] Sarah Menin and Flora Samuel, *Nature and Space: Aalto and Le Corbusier* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[29] André van Graan, "Modernism as a Mechanism of Power and Control in Colonial Contexts: The Project of Modernity in Cape Town, South Africa," in this volume.

In her chapter, Jordaan introduces two opposing theories of place-making. 'Finite, bounded, and differentiated space' is characterized by features Jordaan describes with concepts such as 'manicured', 'disneyfied', 'controlled', 'big narratives', and 'fixed meanings', while 'infinite, open, and fluid space' allows, for example, 'spontaneity', 'chaos', 'change', 'small narratives', and 'ambivalent meanings'. The distinction between these two place-making strategies is related to time: the former denies the contingencies that are brought about by time, while the latter inclines to environments that facilitate time and the contingencies it implies. As Jordaan indicates, recent South African architectural projects have followed one of these strategies, but can also be identified as 'post-apartheid hybrids'.

Jordaan deepens the discussion on architecture and spatiality by exploring how body, space, and time are intertwined. Drawing from the ideas of Lefebvre and Soja[30], she identifies three spatial dimensions of the life world: material, lived, and mental. This spatial triad is applied in an investigation of the meanings of a special South African place, the Cape Town Railway Station. In its history, the station has been subject to two major architectural place-making interventions. The earlier occurred in a late colonial and apartheid context in which South African modernist architecture was appropriated as 'a mechanism of power and control', as André van Graan describes it in his chapter, and the latter, in a democratic and transformative post-apartheid context that gave the oppressed members of society access to and free movement in the station. The newest interventions in the station were designed and timed for South Africa's hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup.

Jordaan notes how a multidimensional approach to place and space, which incorporates time, is useful to explicate various connotations and meanings of architecture which the architect him/herself cannot influence. She emphasizes that places should be considered as phenomena that affect 'life worlds' in various ways and on various scales: places are tied up with the way people use them and the meanings they attach to them. We do not live in separate material and mental worlds; these dimensions of 'life worlds' are fully intertwined.

The third chapter in the section is entitled 'Women as Retrofits in Modernist Low-Income Housing'. Its authors, Assumpta Nnaggenda-Musana and Eiman Ahmed Elwidaa, discuss Uganda's housing policies from the point of view of gender. Gendered spaces and spatial politics have been broadly discussed in Western multidisciplinary feminist scholarship.[31] The empirical focus of these discussions has, however, often been limited to the Western geographical locus. There is a significant practical need for research utilizing the point of view of gender beyond its common context in Western scholarly discussion, as this chapter indicates.

Similar to the South African context discussed in the previous chapters, colonial urban planning in Uganda was based on an ideology of economic and racial segregation. Racial segregation policies divided the urban housing areas into British, Asian, and African neighborhoods, enabling the British to monitor and control the 'lower' populations. The chapters by van Graan and Nnaggenda-Musana and Elwidaa bring to the fore how colonial government policies promoted construction of houses with few rooms and only basic facilities to accommodate African short-term male laborers. Nnaggenda-Musana and Elwidaa note that in the post-colonial period, urban planning in the major cities of Uganda was—and still is—guided by colonial planning principles and building regulations, since no major modifications have been made to these principles after the colonial period.

Nnaggenda-Musana and Elwidaa examine in particular the current low-income housing policies of the Ugandan government. Regardless of new ideas and points of view that encourage

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[30] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; also see Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

[31] See for example, Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Iain Borden, Barbara Penner and Jane Rendell, eds., *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction (Architext)* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

practical, flexible, and gender-sensitive design of living environments, the size of the low-income houses in the government's housing programs is similar to the temporary housing of male laborers in the African neighborhoods of the colonial era. How should the post-colonial housing policies take into account the needs of both genders in order to make women's lives easier for collaborative and productive income-generating activities, while enabling general household activities? Gender is an important but complex point of view in housing policies, since gender is a profoundly intersectional social category. Various other social categories and subject positions, such as race and class, influence gender relations. As Nnaggenda-Musana and Elwidaa note, the needs and concerns of the women who belong to a particular group might differ greatly from those of another group.

The empirical focus in Nnaggenda-Musana's and Elwidaa's chapter is on the MWHS: Masese Women's Housing Scheme in Jinja—one of the settlement upgrading schemes implemented in Uganda in the late eighties. The scheme had women as the main beneficiaries. The investigation indicates how the women in the settlement have modified their neighborhood, tamed and developed it to suit their ways of living better, and turned the neighborhood into a vivid and emancipating living environment.

The last section in the book is entitled, 'Spirituality and Decay in Architecture'. It exemplifies the temporality of architecture and discusses how changes in social, societal, political, economic, and cultural conditions and values influence the life span of buildings. The first chapter in the section, entitled 'The Heterotopic Nature of the Built Heritage. The Sacred Wooden Architecture of Transylvania and Its Practices', is written by Smaranda Spânu. The chapter focuses on old Transylvanian rural churches in Romania and the transformation of meanings that takes place when an ecclesiastical sacred space is protected and labeled as heritage. Through a process of 'heritagization', buildings which used to be the centers of rural villages have become isolated enclaves, removed not only from their original use but also from the natural flow of time, turning them into 'other' to their original context. Preservation of these churches as heritage seeks to tackle the passing of time; they are turned into a representation of a 'slice of time', living in their own 'parallel time' but simultaneously showcasing an idea of 'original time'. The materiality and physicality of the churches are sought to be preserved (thus, stopping their time flow) and in some cases restored (thus, reversing their time flow), as Spânu writes. The idea of a heritage object that is preserved and transferred as unchanged to future generations is driven by a struggle to suspend the flow of time and an impossible aim to freeze the materiality of objects detached from time.

Spânu brings to the discussion the hybrid spatial meanings of protected old churches, describing them as sacred ritual spaces, desacralized public spaces, mirrored spaces (since a new, bigger, and more robust church was often built next to the old one), and contested spaces (since their original use has been ceased). In general, heritage objects embrace a variety of values that change and whose relations change over the course of time.[32] Spânu emphasizes that the meanings and values are not, however, simply erased or replaced when the contexts of heritage change; they are often juxtaposed and remain imprinted within the physical form of the object—particularly when the heritage object is relatively immovable, like a building. When the social, cultural, historical, economic, and technological contexts are altered, some layers of values and meanings of heritage objects seem to be reinforced and accumulate, while some others seem to disappear. The layers that seem to disappear, however, only lose their visibility, although traces of the layers remain in the materiality of the object. Contemporary heritage policies include the idea of acknowledging all the layers of meanings and the varying values of heritage objects and their complex and even contradictory relationships.

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[32] See for example, Alois Riegle, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," *Oppositions* 25, Fall (1982): 21–50; Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren M. O´Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Spânu finds Foucault's concept of heterotopia useful in discussing the various layers of meanings of old Transylvanian wooden churches. According to her, 'a built object can harbor a heterotopic potential within its material and spatial characteristics, since these are the direct outcome of specific social orderings.'[33] According to Spânu, the attempts to retain and preserve the old churches have added to them a new heterotopic layer of meanings, which has had both positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand, it has led to an increase in awareness of their various values and conservation of their physical form. On the other hand, the preservation has led to isolation and physical deterioration, since the heritage status has prohibited their physical alteration.

The section ends with the chapter entitled 'Understanding Spirituality in Disabled Places: Focusing on Urban Ruins and Urban Decay' by Joongsub Kim. The chapter discusses the experiences of spirituality that people may find in decayed buildings and an urban environment. The empirical focus of the chapter is on Detroit and the urban decay caused by the economic depression and the post-industrial structural changes that the city has faced after the recession in the car industry. The urban decay of the city has, however, recently raised intellectual, commercial, and touristic interest. In addition, the ruins arouse spiritual interest and spiritual experiences.

The chapter indicates how the urban ruins generate various emotional responses: a sense of hope, despair, disappointment, sadness, even anger. They also produce various affective meanings, such as empowerment; a sense of community, collective responsibility, and permanence; sacredness and religious experience; senses of place and attachment; ethics; and soulfulness. A common thread that penetrates the experiences of urban ruins is spirituality. As a result of participatory action research with focus groups, Kim suggests that the spirituality of urban decay can be defined in four ways:

> Some places in urban decay can be spiritual because they inspire people to do good things for others and the community (catalytic); places in urban decay can be spiritual because they are consoling (therapeutic); places in urban decay can be spiritual because they help connect individuals to their inner selves (reflective); and places in urban decay can be spiritual because they connect people in many different ways (engaging).[34]

As Kim's chapter indicates, urban decay does not only have negative meanings, it can also include positive connotations and evoke a sense of spirituality. This point of view on ruins is beneficial to cities such as Detroit that have suffered from extensive economic depression, deterioration and negligence of urban space, and related chronic urban problems.

Space and spatiality are fundamental elements in diverse social and societal domains and areas of everyday life; human activity cannot be separated from space and spatial relations. The book at hand demonstrates this by paying special attention to time, temporality, and the temporal transformation of architecture, the built environment, and the meanings of urban space—and their relations to human's experiences, behavior, and practices. These topics are approached in the book through diverse methods with a particular emphasis on hermeneutic, phenomenological, ethnographic, and anthropological approaches in exploring spatial experiences, identities, and cultural narratives. The multi- and interdisciplinarity of these discussions is ensured by the manifold scholarly expertise of the authors, who represent the disciplines of architecture, art history, cultural studies, development studies, heritage studies, and urban planning.

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[33] Smaranda Spânu,"The Heterotopic Nature of the Built Heritage. The Sacred Wooden Architecture of Transylvania and Its Practices," in this volume.

[34] Joongsub Kim, "Understanding Spirituality in Disabled Places: Focusing on Urban Ruins and Decay," in this volume.

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