

# Place-making from the Urban Palimpsest

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English translation, Neil CHARLTON

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## Abstract

Based on the concept of the city as a palimpsest, a kind of constant superimposition of physical layers and traces of tangible and ephemeral memories to be explored again in each historical moment and each urban path, the article proposes reading and interpreting some examples of territorial inscriptions in Europe and Latin America, the tensions generated by them and the spatial and socio-cultural strategies that frame and constitute them.

In this respect, the text seeks to broaden the notion of urban memory, on the one hand, while inviting us to understand urbanism, beyond its technical function of territorial planning, as a collective practice, and an exercise in summarising and bringing together the intrinsic logics of a place with its social use. It defends transformative power in the short and long term, and the place-making capacity of some civic, political and artistic actions in the urban space. At the same time, it explores its experiential and commemorative potential to imagine an urban planning more oriented towards making places capable of meeting the demands of contemporary urban societies in all their diversity. It calls for a Geddesian reading of cities and argues for a kind of urbanism of memory that can emerge from a holistic view of the place and all its physical and social layers.

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**Keywords:** place-making, palimpsest, Patrick Geddes, collective memory, places of memory, urbanism of memory, memorial, public space, amnesic space, commemorative policies

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## Place-making from the Urban Palimpsest

*‘What is it, do you think?’ said Julia.  
‘I don’t think it’s anything  
– I mean, I don’t think it was ever put to any use.  
That’s what I like about it.  
It’s a little chunk of history that they’ve forgotten to alter.  
It’s a message from a hundred years ago,  
if one knew how to read it.’*

George Orwell (in Iniesta, 2009: 477)

*I don’t believe that space can be neutral.  
The history of wars,  
and perhaps history in general,  
is but an endless struggle to conquer space.  
Space is not simply a setting;  
it is what makes life possible.  
It is the site of proximity, where everything crosses over.*

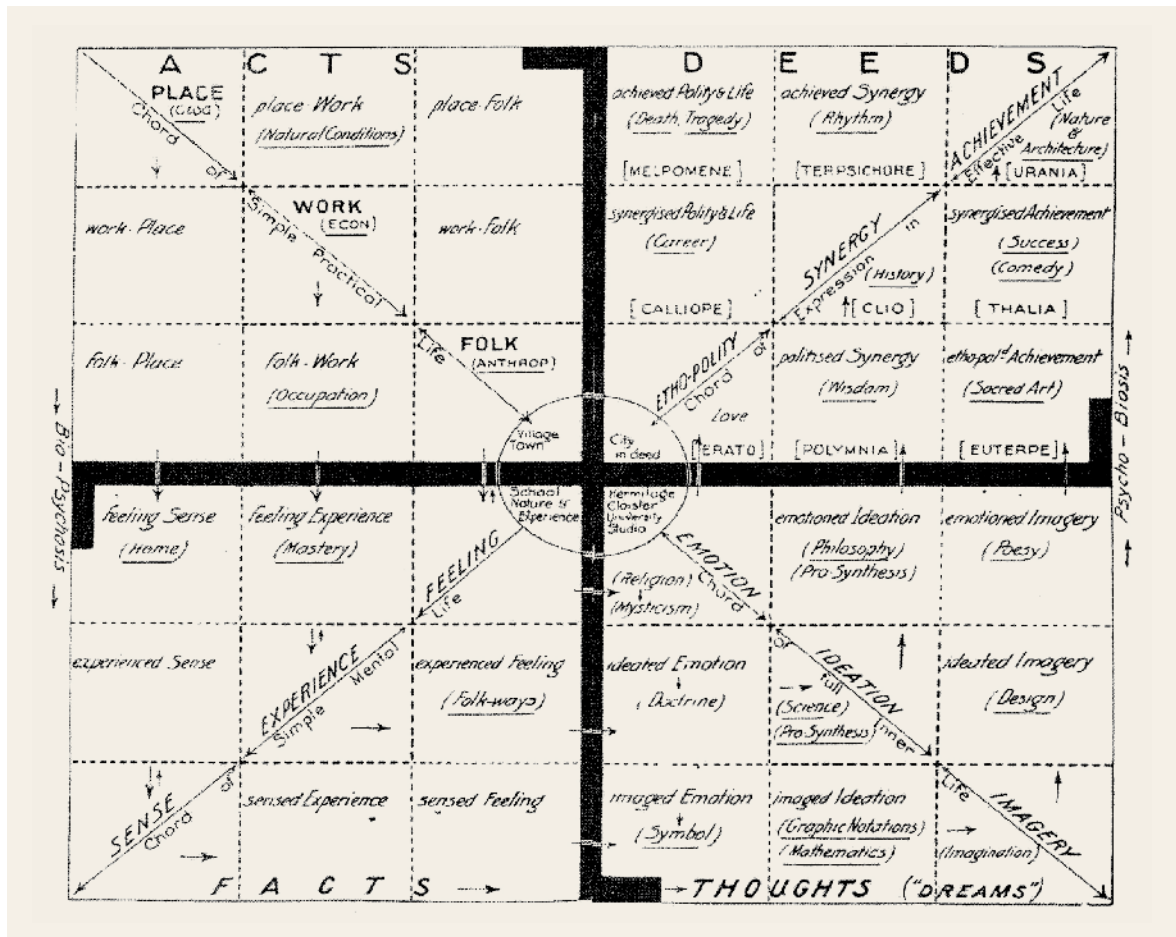
Doris Salcedo (in Princenthal, 2002: 12)

Urban memory? How does it help us? And where do we find it? Learning to read the chunks of history, the traces, the remains of an inscription on a façade, a building placed further back on a street or the presence of an empty lot, in the sense of George Orwell’s quote, can help us answer these questions. We could also start from the notion of space provided by Colombian visual artist Doris Salcedo. Making visible, making accessible and incorporating in the urban space the traces and echoes of both violence and collective experiences, identifying the meaning of certain urban places and finally place-making in this sense are acts of great importance. This text seeks to understand them as tools and strategies of what could be defined as an “urbanism of memory”, capable of articulating the multiple physical and social layers of a place and of adding new strata in each moment.

As we endeavour to interpret urban spaces on several scales — from the micro scale of a sculpture to the macro scale of a neighbourhood, an urban operation or the place itself — and when interpreting their qualities and memorial meanings in both European and Latin American contexts, we start from three main approaches: first, from the concept of public space as one where, within an urban and national context, the official memories of a people or a society are transmitted; second, from the perspective of public space impregnated with shared, collective and individual memories; and, third, from different collective or individual actions, mostly artistic, that emerge to decode or recover memories that escape political will; that is, whose defence is not part of a political agenda of the context and the moment.

Such actions are framed in a place-making practice: the place is understood as a centre of action and interaction, and its creation comes from human activity, also urban in some cases, and above all from an activity inter-related with all aspects of our life. The Scottish biologist and urban thinker Patrick Geddes, who believed in the close interrelation of spatial structures and social processes, in the importance of monitoring and understanding the place and in the positive impact and fundamental role in increasing quality of life that the cautious design of the environment and living spaces can have, provides us with a theoretical framework. His diagram *Notation of Life*, published for the first time in 1927, represents a holistic summary of life as a whole and of all the interrelated factors that constitute and anchor it in space. It is based on his conviction about the organic nature of society. It distinguishes and at the same time relates the passive side of life (place, work, folk) and its active side (achievement, politised synergy) and also shows the interrelation between external aspects and subjective or internal aspects of life. According to Geddes, each intervention in a place or place-making process requires a study that includes technical, social, historical and cultural factors, and must be adopted and approved by the residents of the town or village in question (Zimmermann, 2018: 302).

For the British architect John F. C. Turner, whose writings and documentation of the self-building process of a city from the end of the 1950s in Peru will be resumed at the end of the article, Geddes' thinking has been a fundamental influence in the construction of his ideas. His interest in ways of building community beyond housing itself combines his knowledge of Geddes and his observations of the building of neighbourhoods by the people in Peru. He understands place-making as an emerging paradigm (Turner, 2016), and defines planning as the “process of organizing a physical environment” for human well-being. In a holistic planning that he calls “ecology of man and his environment”, the elements are the Geddesian categories of place, work and folk (Golda-Pongratz and Oyón, 2018: 159). Turner thus inspires some Geddesian readings of the place and a review of our ways of leaving traces on it.



The diagram *Notation of life*, by Patrick Geddes. In: Zimmermann and he, in his turn, in Turner, 2018: 305.

## The Public Space as a Palimpsest of Collective Memories

Understanding the public space as a palimpsest<sup>1</sup> helps us understand that, beneath the surfaces on which we move, there are layers of human use, inscriptions in the place from very different eras, visible and invisible traces of collective and individual uses that are constantly overlapped, erased, reprinted and transformed. The concept of palimpsest helps us understand that these physical and symbolic layers overlap and that not all of them can be visible at any one time. However, interpreting them is never neutral and thus the acts of erasing, eliminating, reactivating, making visible or commemorating are always subject to the different ideological phases of the time, to political and urban procedures. Overwriting and making visible again are the essence of urbanisation, landscape design and cultural history itself (Golda-Pongratz in Vinyes, 2018: 261).

A place like the Plaza de Armas in Lima, the capital of Peru, is an exemplary and at the same time classic urban space in the sense of a collective memory palimpsest. Like any other main square in a Latin American capital, the centre of ecclesiastical, communal and state power, it has always been

1. The concept of palimpsest comes from the Ancient Greek *παλίμψηστον* and describes a parchment whose inscriptions have been erased to give way to new inscriptions that overlap on the same surface. With each new layer the document takes on a more profound and complex density of recoverable traces and, therefore, of meanings.

a key place for confrontation between authority and people, so it is necessarily the place where protest and the struggle for power happen. It is the place where an official system of symbols of the country is defined, as around the statue of the conqueror Francisco Pizarro, whose relocations at different points of the square throughout the 20th century have always been moments of discussion of national identity. The statue is loaded with symbolism, both of the conquest and the subsequent miscegenation. As is the setting of a stone dedicated to the last indigenous *kuraka* Taulichusco during the socialist municipal government of Alfonso Barrantes in 1985. It is a symbol of asserting a territorial identity that would not have been possible in other historical moments and is therefore inscribed in the urban space as a political trace.

In 2000, an ephemeral, collective and highly political and emotionally-charged ritual was performed in this square, which was etched on the collective memory of Peruvians: the public rite of flag washing.<sup>2</sup> After the re-election of President Alberto Fujimori based on electoral fraud, the people's discontent had been increasing. Thus, from the end of May 2000 and every Friday at noon, citizens gathered to wash the flag, a ritual for the symbolic purification of the "dirty" flag until democracy was restored in Peru.<sup>3</sup>

In the city of Barcelona, among many palimpsestic places, it is worth mentioning the Turó de la Rovira, a hill in El Carmel neighbourhood whose location and height has always given it a strategic position within the urban fabric. Its layers have literally been revealed and exposed by a recent landscape intervention: all phases of its occupation, which began with an early Iberian settlement, but especially the installation of anti-aircraft batteries during the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent phase of construction of self-built dwellings after the war and until the 1980s, when its occupants were relocated as part of a municipal "slum clearing" programme. So all the inscriptions present on this hill have now become visible and their fusion into a landscape design makes it a place of urban learning and a unique experience.

Of the self-built city, whose memory we will talk about later, little remains other than its memory and a dignification in the form of an exhibition integrated into an old air defence building managed by the Museu d'Història de Barcelona (Museum of History of Barcelona, MUHBA). In a short time, the award-winning project<sup>4</sup> has gone from being an abandoned and forgotten place to a tourist magnet. Its monumentalisation, however, carries the danger of a new form of supplanting<sup>5</sup> memory, if it is used as a starting point for other urban interventions in the area and for a probable forced eviction of the residents remaining there.

2. Washing the flag shares features with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo movement in Buenos Aires, who met in that public space every week to keep alive the memory of members of their families who disappeared during the dictatorship. This movement helped to bring down the regime and opened the eyes of the world to the fate of its victims.

3. On 22 October 2000 the mandate of President Fujimori definitively ended and an interim president led the nation to free elections.

4. The intervention received the European Prize for Urban Public Space *ex aequo* in 2012 and is well documented in <<http://www.publicspace.org/es/obras/g320-arranjament-dels-cims-del-turo-de-la-rovira>> [Last accessed: 15 November 2019].

5. The video *The Supplanted City* by the group *Repensar Barcelona* formed part of the participation of Sitesize in the 53rd Venice Biennale. (2009). Link: <<https://vimeo.com/108912473>> [Last accessed: 2 November 2018].

## Amnesic Spaces, Spaces of Ephemeral Memory

The years before the crisis that emerged from 2008 were somewhat marked by the supplanting of urban concepts and civic forces by an urbanism aimed at erasing traces. In Barcelona its peak was in the mega project of the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. At that time the Catalan artist Francesc Abad presented his documentary work *El Camp de la Bota* and explained that this new convention and leisure centre with esplanades facing the sea had been a place of outdoor executions in front of a wall during the Franco regime. Between 1939 and 1952, 1,706 people lost their lives in the place whose existence is systematically denied by the current asphalt platform that covers it. In addition to architectural elements of a globalised aesthetic, it is surrounded by buildings that figure spectacularly in architectural magazines, and that served, in this case, as a setting for holding the Universal Forum of Cultures but fail to give a continuous spatial quality to its surroundings, apart from hiding any memory of systemic violence that took place in this space. Abad formulates it thus: “This isn’t a peaceful place, but one of death. Only one criticism: Why? The citizen in the second modern civilization wouldn’t be able to think that deeply. Why? These are not the times to talk about the behaviour and languages that the concept of the ethic of public space has. Why this distrust towards the reconversion of the cultural and social value of territory as identity?” (Abad, 2016).<sup>6</sup>

It is worth highlighting here the key role that artists and civil society play in influencing such processes and, in the end, helping shape and depicting memory. In the case of *El Camp de la Bota*, a major step was taken in 2010,



An amnesic space: architectural constructions such as the triangular building (now Museu Blau) by the Swiss architects Herzog and De Meuron frame the esplanade of the Barcelona Forum, where *El Camp de la Bota* was located. Photo © Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 2010.

6. The project is well documented at: <[www.francescabad.com/campdelabota](http://www.francescabad.com/campdelabota)> [Last accessed: 12 June 2019].



Municipal opening of the installation with the 1,706 names in the space of the Barcelona Forum on 24 February 2019. Photo © Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 2019.

promoted by the Memorial Democràtic de Catalunya:<sup>7</sup> although somewhat distant from the leisure areas and not very visible to the general passerby, an explanatory plaque about the events was placed where the wall was thought to have been – on the side of Sant Adrià del Besòs. In 2015, the mobilisation of the families of the victims and the creation of a civic platform helped make the name visible again in the urban space, and to commemorate and dignify the slum experience of the working people of this urban periphery, which for decades had overlapped with political violence in the place. They are acts that kindled hopes that, in the long term, there can be a symbolic articulation in the same place, capable of reconstructing its painful identity and integrating it into a new urban layer in the current leisure context, the early 21st century product of speculative urbanism without memory.

On 24 February 2019, under Mayoress Ada Colau and although already with a noticeable pressure before the May municipal elections, another important step was taken towards overcoming amnesia in the place driven by the powerful commemorative policies of the current municipal government: in a mass event chaired by the mayoress of Barcelona and the mayor of Sant Adrià, an in situ work by Francesc Abad was unveiled: the inscription of the names of all the victims who, between 1939 and 1952 died in El Camp de la Bota, on a wall that is part of the new architectures of the place, with an emergency exit in the centre, an exit denied to those executed. The materiality on adhesive panels that the artist himself calls “ephemeral” is, perhaps, less purist and more exposed to the imminent deterioration than the terrifying memory that the place would demand, but it is explained with the difficulties that a possible end of the mandate and change of course of policies entails.

7. Independent institution founded in 2007 to preserve democratic memory and the memory of the victims of the repression of Franco's dictatorship.

Extensive research and documentation of the place conducted both by the Comissionat de Memòria and MUHBA can help provide some guidelines for a future urban planning reinterpretation and an integral memorial gesture: it reveals that the real location of the execution wall is currently under the sea (MUHBA, 2018). The devastating urbanism has left the wall amidst the new marina port built in the early 21st century. In the long term, this historically relevant site, currently with many overlapping uses and lacking in the qualities of a public space that invite people to spend time there, will need an urban review enabling a place-making process in a Geddesian sense that eliminates its current amnesic nature, integrates technical, social, historical and cultural factors that define it, and is approved by citizens.

### Working on the Voids in History

In the 1970s, on many occasions the American artist Gordon Matta-Clark addressed — through provocative actions — the processes of urban speculation and the intermediate states prior to the demolition of the old and the construction of the new. His intervention *Conical Intersect* deals with one of the most debated urban development projects in the Europe of that time: the destruction of several apartment blocks in Beaubourg, in the historical centre of Paris, to build Les Halles shopping centre and the Centre Pompidou. The time void, which formed part of the fabric of the old century two decades before the new arts centre was built, a kind of void of history, becomes a field of experimentation for the artist, who reinterprets it as a metaphor of the place (Lee, 2000: 169).

A building, whose demolition had already been authorised, became a time periscope aimed at what was happening at that time in the city: Matta-Clark made a cone-shaped incision on the façade to offer passersby a view of the gradual construction of a strange urban body. The opening of the ruinous structures of the old apartment block was also a metaphor for the demolition ball because the demolition of the perforated building was part of the project. *Conical Intersect* wished to focus on the transforming process and communicate the loss caused by it in the urban context. It also embodies a key issue in the debate about urban memory and the role of public spaces in preserving it: modernisation, urban renewal and urban development often play against the preservation of memory or, perhaps, do not search for ways of recovering it or integrating it into the renewing works.

### Rearticulating Collective Memory

The sculpture *L'Estel ferit* (“The Wounded Shooting Star”) by the German sculptor Rebecca Horn plays with nostalgia and turns it into a constitutive and palpable part of the urban landscape of the post-Olympic city of Barcelona. The artist articulates the loss of the urban space and the destruction of collective memory or, rather, the physical remnants that made up a sum of memories framed in a social setting that are reactivated when they are shared (Halbwachs, 1992: 39). On La Barceloneta beach, where there were many



*chiringuitos* (beach bars) until the place was restructured during the 1992 Olympic Games, there was a steel tower 12 metres high. Those wooden huts, which had served fresh seafood, had been until that moment a point of culinary reference and a key element both of urban life in general and La Barceloneta neighbourhood. The *chiringuitos* and other informal elements on the beach had to give way to the policy of city embellishment for the Olympics, new palm trees and the recently created white sand esplanade.

The contemporary urban landscape of Barcelona is unconceivable without the sculpture *L'Estel ferit*. For the time being it forms part of a silhouette of growing towers of blocks, hotels and offices, which makes increasingly necessary a dialogue on the loss of free urban spaces and places that are not pre-determined by the dictates of design and an endless gentrification process. It is, moreover, a meeting point, a point of attraction by the sea and also the centre of the fight for the preservation of memory and resistance against the complex urban planning intervention projects in the former fishing neighbourhood of La Barceloneta. Thus, the tower of nostalgia has become a kind of political symbol.

In the city of Bogotá, through actions and installations such as *Ecos del Dolor* (“Echoes of Pain”), an ephemeral monument made in November 2002, for which for two days 280 chairs were hung on the façade of the Palacio de Justicia, commemorating the 17th anniversary of the violent storming of the Palacio de Gobierno,<sup>8</sup> the artist Doris Salcedo made exemplarily visible and encapsulated the memory of political events in the public space and portrayed them as both collective and individual memory.

### Battles for Memory

Among the contemporary and contested memorials in Lima, the work *El Ojo que llora* (“The Crying Eye”), by the Dutch sculptor Lika Mutal, located in the Campo de Marte embodies both a new era at several levels and an ongoing battle for memory. It is, in the first place, an intervention of radical reinterpretation of a monumental space traditionally related to “classic” wars, such as the defence of Peru in the war against Ecuador or the battle of Ayacucho, and against the heroes of the country; it is a sculptural work that invites people to come closer and enter: and it is the first monumental space in the city of Lima that acts as a space of memory of the internal violence that the country suffered between 1980 and 2000 and as a tribute to the victims of the terrorism of Sendero Luminoso.<sup>9</sup>

8. The exact number of victims is unknown; probably 115 people died. The figure of 280 is understood as the number that has the aesthetic and symbolic effect to fill the façade and make people understand the absurdity and seriousness of any violent death.

9. To overcome the terrible events of the internal war in Peru, the interim president Valentín Paniagua (2000-2001) created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR). In the conclusions of the final report, submitted in August 2003, the CVR highlighted that the internal armed conflict that occurred in Peru between 1980 and 2000 claimed the lives of 69,280 people.

According to the CVR, during the urban offensive, broad groups of society were willing to sacrifice elements of democracy in exchange for greater security and tolerated the violation of human rights as a necessary price for guaranteeing the end of terrorism (Arroyo, 2003: 1ff.).



The labyrinth of boulders around *El Ojo que llora*, the sculpture by the artist Lika Mutal in the Campo de Marte in Lima. Photo ©Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 2010.



The stones that form the labyrinth bearing the names of the victims, in alphabetical order. Photo ©Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 2010.

The work's core consists of a huge stone found by the artist close to a pre-Hispanic cemetery in the north of the country, probably discarded by tomb raiders. As such, it is also a symbol of the lack of respect for pre-Hispanic cultures in Peru. Around the stone, 40,000 boulders bearing the names of all the victims have been placed in the form of a labyrinth. A sculptural site that, however, is in constant danger while there is no reconciliation capable of transforming the memory into events, actions, meetings and tributes to overcome pain and do justice. It has been attacked on several occasions and partially destroyed by sympathisers of Fujimori. The work had endured a long path until it was created, during which a ruling by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which sentenced the Peruvian state for the killing of 41 terrorists in a prison, gave the order to provide redress for the victims and inscribe their names on the stones of the monument. This decision caused very serious controversy and showed again the breach that still exists in Peruvian society.

Time will tell if there is still political will to look after the remembrance site and if it will be able to contribute to reconciliation. Undoubtedly, time is a key factor in the relationship between physical space and memory as it is in the battles of memory expressed in public places and where, depending on how much time has passed and the political climate, different challenges, movements, situations, and forms of action came together.

The monument of *El Ojo que llora* was followed by other examples that embody the memory of the victims of terrorism. This time in non-monumental places, such as El Cono Sur de Lima,<sup>10</sup> in a formerly vacant space called "Oval de la Esperanza" (Oval of Hope), located between the districts of Villa El Salvador, San Juan de Miraflores and Villa María del Triunfo, areas that were greatly affected by violence in the years of terrorism of Sendero Luminoso. After a call by the Civic Committee "Para Que No Se Repita - Lima Sur"

10. Los Conos de Lima are areas of urban expansion beyond the established urban centre, which extend to the north, south and east of the city, with a high rate of self-building and significant economic growth, particularly in the last decade.

(So That It Is Not Repeated - Lima Sur), on 28 August 2007, four years after the submission of the final document of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (CVR), the monument *El árbol desarraigado* (“The Uprooted Tree”) by the visual artist Jaime Miranda was finally unveiled. The work consisted of a big dead eucalyptus with its roots raised above the pedestrians thanks to a metal structure of three pillars that symbolised the neighbouring districts of Lima where many Andean migrants settled after having been evicted — uprooted — by violence (Buntinx, 2010). Less than three years later, in May 2010, it was destroyed by workers of the *Municipalidad de Villa María del Triunfo* with the simple explanation that the work was being withdrawn to improve the paths. Currently, it has disappeared and on its remains (still visible for those who want to see them) there is an advertising billboard for an enormous shopping centre recently built in the area. In this way — and to some extent involuntarily — it has become a monument symptomatic of the society of oblivion and consumerism.

### Towards New Commemorative Cultures

What are monuments and memorials today and how are they used? What do we have to commemorate today? How do we generate, channel and guide discourses and debates, particularly in fragmented societies? In terms of the subjects and promoters of the commemoration, do we have to think of new formats and new communities within shifting and migratory societies?<sup>11</sup>

If we start from Maurice Halbwachs’ thesis that memory provides meaning within a social framework (*cadre social*) and that, when this framework changes, memories without a reference are lost while new ones are added, then in the spaces of memory in migratory societies new patterns of references must be created. On the one hand, there are also deployments or displacements of memories or spaces of identification. And, on the other, people have several spaces of reference or experience a “place polygamy” (Beck, 1998), so their feeling of belonging is ambivalent. This refers to global cross-border workers and migrants from the rural regions to the cities that rapidly grow, mainly in the urbanised Latin America, where during the last half century urbanisation has mainly taken place on the peripheries of big cities in the form of informal settlements, and where the issue of the definition of identities of these self-built cities and the shaping and assessment of the migratory sites of memory not described or inscribed in the place itself has been completely overlooked so far.

### The Memory of the Emerging City

The emerging city and the *pueblos jóvenes* (the name given to vast informal settlements in Lima), which can illustrate other self-built settlements in many other cities, are now facing a radical change, in which hard layers of commercialisation and consumerism overlap. In the aforementioned “conos”

11. These are questions that were addressed in the first *Triálogos Ciudad y Memoria* curated by the author in Barcelona in November 2018. Link: <<http://elbornculturaيمemoria.barcelona.cat/activitat/monument-poder-comunitat/>> [Last accessed: 15 November 2019].

of Lima, the enlargements of the city that emerged after the invasions of land, urbanisation began without public management, without mayors and without state support. While the economic boost and its consolidation strengthen the identification of a new middle class from Andean or provincial origins there is an increasingly stronger need to remember the collective forces of the origins of these neighbourhoods that were originally self-built.

What are the conflicts, challenges and contradictions, desires, imaginaries and hopes today of that emerging city – which resulted from a collective dream, a shared effort and community self-organisation – in a globalised world and within what the architect John Turner calls “final stage of a collective civilization”? (Turner in Golda-Pongratz, 2018: 258).

These and more questions were dealt with by the research project and the production of a documentary in the neighbourhood of El Cono Norte in Lima, where Turner studied the processes of self-managed production of dwellings and entire neighbourhoods in the early 1960s, which he called “resources” (Turner, 1963). We are referring to the documentary *A Roof of my Own* (UNTV, 1964), shot in the neighbourhood of El Ermitaño, which documented its foundation based on the occupation of land and its later development supported by the government of the time and the United Nations.<sup>12</sup> In 2016, this documentary was screened for the first time in the place where it was shot. Thus begins a process of activation of memory led by the author, which, along with workshops and long interviews, gave way to the production of a new documentary bringing together the voices of the current residents. *Ciudad Infinita – Voces de El Ermitaño* (2018)<sup>13</sup> reactivates the memory of the origins of a self-built neighbourhood and its multiple identities of migratory origin.

The documentary, filmed between 2017 and 2018, seeks to foster the following major steps: first, understand the value of the unwritten urban history and its potential for the creation of a collective identity and to foster processes of improvement rooted in culture; secondly, promote the value of urban memory and develop tools and methods to transfer it in a participatory way to the public and urban space; thirdly, formulate patterns and frameworks to identify the territorial identity and place-making processes in the established self-built city; and, finally, empower and give legal support to the residents as actors and protagonists of the protection of cultural heritage and the ecological balance of their habitat. Moreover, the documentary highlights that there is an informal urbanisation alongside a territorial legacy that has been so far overlooked and a current situation of rupture between people and their environment. Geddes’ conceptual framework can also help

12. In *A Roof of My Own, International Zone 41* (1964), original version. Executive producer: G. Movshon; camera: D. Myers; commentator: A. Cooke; consultant: J. F. C. Turner. DVD. New York. UNTV. The documentary was censored at the time. After its rediscovery in 2015, it was re-edited by Chris Berry, with the support of John F. C. Turner and Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, with the assistance of Amarun Turner. Available at: <<https://bit.ly/2RwzBMF>>.

13. *Ciudad Infinita – Voces de El Ermitaño* premiered in Lima in October 2018. Project concept and management: Kathrin Golda-Pongratz; director: Rodrigo Flores (Imaginario Colectivo); advice and research: Dayan Zussner and Rosa Paredes; script: Rodrigo Flores, Noelia Crispin and Kathrin Golda-Pongratz; production: Claudia Chávez; director of photography: Ian Ilbert; editing: Miguel Reyes; live sound: José Carlos Valencia; music: Rafael Benavides. The project received the support of the Building and Social Housing Foundation (BSHF) in 2016. See <<https://bit.ly/2sT5pAZ>> [Last accessed: 20 February 2018].



The neighbourhood of El Ermitaño, which emerged in the 1960s in the northern area of Lima, today. Beyond the well-established self-built city, new invasions have taken place in vulnerable areas. Photo ©Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 2018.

revise the concept of city-region and macroregion that, in the early 21st century, has assumed a hitherto unknown scope.

The broad reception by the population, and the lack of similar projects and the subsequent lack of knowledge on the motivations and the wide capacities of the place-making of the first generation of self-builders show us that it is now time to recover the memory of the self-built city. Working with the population and integrating their knowledge and ideas in the design of the future is a first step towards an urbanism of memory. Both the traces of the beginnings, which in the end make up the pride and identity of the population, and the memory of the resistance against the violence of the 1980s and 1990s must be present when thinking about and planning the future of the self-built city. It will be key for the reconstruction of social networks that have gradually weakened and to achieve a true participation of the population. The awareness of the coexistence with a pre-Hispanic past in broad areas of the desert periphery of Lima must be strengthened and result in logics of territorial use. Again the concept of the palimpsest helps us think about new forms of coexistence. The recovery of traces of different pasts is key to making the emerging city an urban space with a solid citizen future, beyond economic growth, which, in the end, is subject to global dynamics and, therefore, disconnected from the citizens and their relationship with their living environment.

### **Articulating the Memory of the Place Itself**

Who listens to, who looks at the place? Who understands its needs, who watches over it and looks after it, who responds to it with suitable planning measures? These are other questions that may lead us to finding tools for an urbanism of memory. The images, photographic or filmic, within their “subjective form of documentation” (Melot, 2010: 71), can become a powerful tool

to activate and even constitute memory, become metaphors and challenge those metaphors that form part of the recurrent collective imaginary. They are capable of recording collective microactions that, in many places of the world, emerge to confront ecological degradation, the loss of territorial integrity and cultural and industrial legacy faced with a unilateral exploitation of its resources. Images, in the end, form part of the place, its record and its history, they constitute an activated territorial archive that helps us understand and watch over it (Golda-Pongratz, López, Lladó and Mas, 2018).

If we take a step further and start from the idea that the daily urban space is itself a permanent overlapping of vernacular imaginaries and memories, we can define the present as an immediate space of memory. Eventually, and through mnemonic means such as film or photography, they become part of an enlarged landscape of memory. In other words, the aim is not to recall what has been lived but the lived present and the interaction of the past with the present: to create special framework conditions for daily life in special experiences that permanently overlap the memories. In this respect, believing in a sustainable Geddesian urbanism will help achieve a balance between permanence and permanent change, and enable multiple uses and attributions, articulate open wounds and shed light on the layers of memory in the urban landscape.



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