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I, Ana G Ozaki, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture in Architecture.

It is entitled:

**Rethinking Urban District Preservation: The Case of Bordeaux France**

Student's name: **Ana G Ozaki**

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: John Eliot Hancock, M.Arch.

Committee member: Edson Cabalfin, Ph.D.

Committee member: Elizabeth Riorden, M.Arch.



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# RETHINKING URBAN DISTRICT PRESERVATION: THE CASE OF BORDEAUX FRANCE

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Ana Gisele Ozaki

BArch  
Federal University of Paraná  
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Committee Chairs:  
Prof. John Eliot Hancock, M. Arch  
Prof. Edson Cabalfin, Ph. D  
Prof. Elizabeth Riorden, M.Arch

## Abstract

As cities struggle to accommodate new uses without loss of identity, discussions of historic districts and preservation have been dramatically reinvigorated by the latest UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) normative text of 2011. The “Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes” recognizes the value of urban settings and lays out criteria for a systemic urban approach integrating sustainable development and socio-economic aspects into urban heritage management.

This research aims to provide insight into the best practices concerning the process of revitalizing historic districts and urban fabrics, exploring the city of Bordeaux, France. The city has helped established a historic new preservation paradigm and criteria, while combining old and new into the urban landscape. Bordeaux went through a renovation process of its historic district, from 1996 to 2007, which helped it shape a new approach to urban management, closely coordinated by the local government. The Urban Project of 1996 culminated in Bordeaux’s inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2007, while also contributing to more inclusive and sustainable practices.

Through the analysis of the best practices of Bordeaux, between 1996 and 2012, in particular the recognition of both the economic value of architectural heritage and the promotion of diversity in the use and population, this study helps to advance the discussion on historic preservation of urban landscapes, especially in the context of mid-sized cities dealing with formerly-neglected historic districts while accommodating new infrastructure.

**Keywords:** historic districts, historic preservation, urban revitalization process, historic urban landscapes, Bordeaux Urban Project 1996, UNESCO World Heritage Site



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# 1

## Introduction: Problem Statement, Significance of the Study

Tangible and intangible heritage are sources of social cohesion, factors of diversity and drivers of creativity, innovation and urban regeneration.<sup>1</sup>

Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, (Naples, 2012)

Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings.

Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (1961)

This research addresses the process of urban revitalization that has taken place in Bordeaux, France, from the Urban Project of 1996 until 2012. The urban project (1996-2004) represented the underpinnings of a new model of urban heritage management that culminated with the City of Bordeaux's inscription into the World Heritage List in 2007. This analysis begins with the assumption that the 2007 UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) nomination marked a turning point in the local practice, defining a new paradigm and set of criteria for the revitalization of the city's historic urban core. The assessment and discussions around the project and the UNESCO inscription have contributed to the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL), shaped by regional UNESCO Committee meetings, beginning with the one that resulted in the Vienna Memorandum of 2005. Along with the complexity of the process itself, the main question framing the research concerns the process towards a new paradigm in conceptualizing and managing historic

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<sup>1</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "New Life for Historic Cities: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained," *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) Paris, France, 2, accessed February 3, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/news/documents/news-1026-1.pdf>.

urban settlements, fabric, and landscape, as an urban system composed by physical and socio-economic features and relationships.

Although the UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes was released in 2011, it represented the capstone of a long and ongoing discussion around boundaries and definitions of urban historic preservation. International organizations and standards, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites), offer guidelines on how to approach historic contexts (natural and cultural, tangible and intangible); however, the initiative and the specific devices of the operation are defined at the local level.

According to more recent studies on heritage, its role in the contemporary city involves a greater social consideration, imagined, defined and articulated within cultural and economic practices.<sup>2</sup> Historic quarters or districts witness the social development and accomplishments of a nation or a culture, which only make sense as part of a continuous process.<sup>3</sup> The challenge for ancient cities trying to revitalize their historical districts relies on the question of how to complement and enhance the distinctive features that shape the city's character with both economic efficiency and socio-cultural responsibility. The implementation of a new agenda revitalizing historic districts, while recognizing their importance as assets of an urban and human settlement, requires effective urban policies, partnerships, and strong leadership.

Preservation of historic and cultural heritage, which initially focused on individual and monumental buildings and monuments of architectural significance, has progressively relied on area based efforts. As the professor

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<sup>2</sup> Brian Graham, "Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?," *Urban Studies*, 39, nos. 5-6 (2002): 1003.

<sup>3</sup> Pamela Ward, *Conservation and Development in Historic Towns and Cities*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1968), 15, quoted in Naciye Doratli, "Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters: A Model for Determining the Most Relevant Strategic Approach," *European Planning Studies*, 13, no. 5 (2005): 750.

of architecture and urban planning Naciye Doratli states, the changes in preservation and conservation attitudes towards historic quarters are due to the changes in the meaning (iterated by many international documents and declarations) and the role of the “historic urban cores,” as a result of new production processes of globalized economy (causing increases in socio-economic mobility).<sup>4</sup> The Urban Project of Bordeaux is considered worthy of analysis due to its holistic and integrated conservation approach, in terms of historic urban management, addressing cultural and socio-economic dimensions, as well as developing a symbiotic relationship of its historic core to the rest of the conurbation. In addition, it has opened the ground to new and broader efforts, characterizing a shift in Bordeaux’s urban management attitude, towards the agglomeration as a whole. According to previous studies on the subject, the city’s case stands out due to its multidisciplinary efforts,<sup>5</sup> having each of the disciplines playing its role within a larger vision. As the professors and researchers in Bordeaux Patrice Godier, Clause Sorbets, and Guy Tapie state, the ten year process of the Urban Project (including its planning) engaged a renovation of the local urban culture, focused on the collective and public spaces, whereas, before, policies regarding the historic urban core would be centered merely in touristic and cultural uses, reducing it to its aesthetic function.<sup>6</sup> According to the chief architect in charge of Bordeaux’s UNESCO inscription Anne-Laure Moniot, the city of Bordeaux was “awakened” by the urban project, encompassing the cultural, urban, and economic aspects of the city; the reintroduction of the 1960s extinct tramway, aggregating a contemporary element into the historic landscape, and the redevelopment of public spaces are the starting

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Christian Sallenave, “The Plural in the Singular, Cities and Disciplinary Battalions? – Interdisciplinary Approaches Facing Nowadays Environmental Challenges”, *Journal of Civil Engineering and Architecture* 6, no. 12 (2012): 1638.

<sup>6</sup> Patrice Godier, Claude Sorbets, and Guy Tapie. *Bordeaux métropole: un futur sans rupture* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2009), 10-21.

point "of an urban and landscape requalification", expanding the vision of the central city towards its territorial context and introducing a new vocabulary in preservation.<sup>7</sup> The French researcher in political sciences Stéphane Cadiou, on the other hand, addresses the intellectual dimension that the Urban Project arose in the city, changing the local agenda and highlighting the differences of approach to the previous mandate, in which Bordeaux was referenced as "the city with no project". During the Urban Project, the discussions and research would legitimize the new projects undertaken by the new urban managers.<sup>8</sup>

Tracing back Bordeaux's process of the revitalization of its core and the shifts in its city planning practices, this study will focus on the process, challenges, outcomes, and new concepts that have led the city into a holistic approach. This is aimed to serve as an example of how recently established criteria have affected urban preservation concepts. Some of the specific questions to be addressed are:

- PROCESS: Was the process successful? How does Bordeaux define success? What are the issues and challenges they should look out for? What are the new criteria?
- TIMELINE: Following is a general timeline defining the timeframe of analysis, for contextualization. However, the more specific question concerns to: what were the defining moments and changes in the process and approach, the durations of key processes, and revisions in the organizational structure?

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<sup>7</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot. "Intégrer le tourisme dans les plans de gestion des sites du Patrimoine mondial ? Focus sur Bordeaux" in *Villes Françaises du Patrimoine Mondial et Tourisme : Protection, Gestion, Valorisation*, ed. Anne-Cécile Mermet (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), 70.

<sup>8</sup> Stéphane Cadiou. "Projet urbain, débats intellectuels et engagements savants : Le cas de l'agglomération bordelaise," *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine* 104 (2008) : 61.



Figure 1 Timeline of analysis

- **ECONOMICS & POLITICS:** Who sponsored/funded it? What kind of funding was used? How was consensus reached and how were constituencies convinced?
- **STAKEHOLDERS:** What were the relations among public and private sectors and agencies?

From January of 2012 until April of 2014, the qualitative analysis was conducted through discourse analysis and archival research of official documents, along with field research and personal interviews. Some of the main stakeholders, mostly people involved in the Urban Project of 1996, have been interviewed and their respective publications analyzed. In the first chapter, the scope and the limitations of the analyses are defined, by posing the main questions and research methods. The second chapter focuses on the discourses of preservation of historic districts, contextualizing the reader into the UNESCO and French visions of historic urban management and the new paths taken in international discussions. The third chapter centers on the Urban Project itself, the UNESCO nomination and how it came about, and the challenges, actors, and stakeholders involved in the process. The fourth chapter assesses the entrepreneurship, specifically, how the UNESCO inscription and the results of the urban project have affected the local urban culture and the design of future projects. Finally, the fifth chapter concludes with what we can learn from this analysis, and how similar cities that can apply principles of the historic urban landscape concept, which are still in discussion.

Through the study and analysis of the best practices of Bordeaux, and in recognition of both the economic value of architectural heritage and the promotion of diversity in the use and population of its historic district, this study will help to advance the debate on how to approach a variety of other criteria beyond the aesthetic features of formerly-neglected historical districts, helping to define even further the concept of Historic Urban Landscapes. Specifically, by reviewing the Bordeaux case, it will be possible to define the criteria to be utilized in comparable situations, as well as create a better understanding, for architects and city planners, of historic urban management as not only a material, but also, a social and human concept.

## 2

### Discourses on Preservation (Old Vs. New Approach)

#### 2.1 Revitalization of Urban Historic Districts

In most cities, urban renovations represent opportunities to change economic hierarchies and functions within the urban region, creating new jobs, and strengthening the city's position in the urban division of labor.<sup>1</sup>

Central areas are also usually the oldest part of a city, containing, therefore, local structures of architectural and historic importance. While they are the representation of a community's pride and identity, these areas also have substantial capital investment (both public and private) in buildings, streets, utilities, and other structures and services. Therefore, by investing in these areas, communities have better chances to prosper as a whole and maintain a healthy economic and social base. However, the current size of the urban population and the expectation of its increase, plus traffic, tourism and real estate pressures, as well as functional changes in downtown areas, are all factors that have had a detrimental effect on the cultural and historic value of World Heritage Sites, which has therefore greatly affected the agenda of the World Heritage Committee.<sup>2</sup> This is also

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<sup>1</sup> Erik Swyngedouw, Moulaert, Frank and Arantxa Rodriguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy," *Antipode* 34, no.3 (2002): 542-577.

<sup>2</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis and Et., Al., ed. 2010, *Proceedings of the Journées d'étude sur le thème "Paysages Urbains Historiques : Une nouvelle recommandation de l'UNESCO à l'appui de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, June 8- 9, 2009.* Bordeaux, France: ICOMOS France.

true in terms of social equity and diversity of urban contexts, in which the same factors have created or enhanced disadvantaged relationships. As noted by Saskia Sassen, a sociologist and expert in globalization, in what she calls the “politics of exclusion,” regarding global cities:<sup>3</sup>

The downtowns of global cities and metropolitan business centers receive massive investments in real estate and telecommunications while low-income city areas are starved for resources. Highly educated workers employed in leading sectors see their incomes rise to unusually high levels while low- or medium-skilled workers in those same sectors see theirs sink.[...]. These trends are evident, with different levels of intensity, in a growing number of major cities in the developed world and increasingly in some of the developing countries that have been integrated into the global economy.<sup>4</sup>

As also observed by Sassen, the territorial dispersal facilitated by telecommunication advances has led to the immense expansion and agglomeration of centralizing activities. This represents a new logic of agglomeration, further enhanced by information technologies.<sup>5</sup> Citing Manuel Castells, she bases her statement on the distinct conditions under which such facilities are available, which have promoted the centralization of the most advanced users in the most advanced telecommunications centers.<sup>6</sup>

In the context of global economies, it becomes essential for a city to keep downtown areas competitive, in order to attract and rely on a net tax revenue surplus to support local government services in other parts of the city as well. However, starting in the 1960s, many downtown areas reduced their ability to remain competitive due, in part, to the migration of people from the city to the suburbs, the competition from chain stores and shopping

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<sup>3</sup> Saskia Sassen, “Whose City Is It?”, *Public Culture* 8, no. 2 (1996): 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-209.

<sup>6</sup> Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Economic Restructuring and Urban Development*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), quoted in Saskia Sassen, “Whose City Is It?”, *Public Culture* 8, no. 2 (1996): 209.

malls with local businesses, and especially, the increased use of automobiles.<sup>7</sup> Along with such changes, preservation has also accepted different roles within urban structures, especially in Europe, from object based to area-based approaches, which will be further explained in the next section.

## 2.2 Discourses about Preservation

On a brief research about preservation, it becomes evident that there is an abundance of terms related to the subject in general. Preservation, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, intervention, regeneration, rehabilitation, and revitalization are just a few of the terms used currently to define efforts in historical sites. According to the 1995 United States Secretary of Interior, the definitions of preservation and rehabilitation are, respectively:

...the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form (maintenance), integrity, and materials of an historic property...new exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.<sup>8</sup>

...the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations and additions, while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, architectural values.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Howard F. Wise and Judith B. Williams, *Main Street, Ohio: Opportunities or Bringing People Back Downtown*. (Columbus: State of Ohio, Dept. of Economic and Community Development, 1981), p. 2-9.

<sup>8</sup> "Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines [As Amended And Annotated]," National Park Service, Department of the Interior, last modified 1995, accessed June 30, 2014, [http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/arch\\_stnds\\_10.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/arch_stnds_10.htm).

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service, *Illustrated Guidelines on Sustainability for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*, by Anne E. Grimmer, et al., Washington D.C.: Technical Preservation Services, 2011, <http://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/rehabilitation/sustainability-guidelines.pdf> (accessed June 30, 2014).

However, according to Cesare Brandi, in *Theory of Restoration*, the focus on the compatibility of use does not necessarily relate to works of art and architecture, in which the central idea should be on “what the eyes see.” In stating: “restoration is the methodological moment in which the work of art is recognized in its physical being and its dual historical and aesthetic nature, with a view to transmitting it to the future,” the definition encompasses not only its functionality but also addresses issues of authenticity, which became extensively discussed in the second half of the 20th Century.<sup>10</sup>

In France, the concept of heritage was born with the French Revolution and the collective awareness that the old possessions, movable and immovable, of the royal family, church, or nobility should not be destroyed but kept as symbols of the *Ancien Régime*, under the property of the Nation and, therefore, should be preserved as such. The same concept applies to important architectural or artistic pieces. Since 1840, under the classification of historical monuments, it is based on from the premise of having an important symbolic and memory meaning to the community that should be kept for future generations.<sup>11</sup> Although France possesses the oldest conservation and restoration legislation, the principles of conservation and restoration in Europe mostly reference the Venice Charter, defined during the 1964 Second International Congress of Architects in Venice, which states:

Article 2. The conservation and restoration of monuments must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the architectural heritage.

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<sup>10</sup> Cesare Brandi, Giuseppe Basile, *Theory of Restauration* (Roma: Istituto centrale per il restauro, 2005), 79.

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Marie Vincent, “Conservation et mise en valeur du patrimoine,” Ambassade de France à Bandar Seri Begawan, last modified, July 5, 2013, accessed June 30, 2014, <http://www.ambafrance-bn.org/Patrimoine-conservation-et-mise-en>.

Article 6. The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and color must be allowed.

Article 9. The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

The 1994 Nara Document of Authenticity works as an extension of the discussion but still does not define conservation in any more detail, referring simply to: “all operations designed to understand a property, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard, and, if required, its restoration and enhancement.”<sup>12</sup>

Concerning the realm of urban planning, the terms regeneration, revitalization and rehabilitation are more commonly used, especially after the “urban renewals” that characterized the 60s and 70s, which would include slum clearances and interventions without much regard to the past or urban heritage. As mentioned, preservation efforts, initially, would focus on individual buildings and architectural elements; however, the change in urban dynamics required interventions to be rather area-based, taking into account socio-economic aspects, and accommodating adaptations of the existing urban environment. According to Doratli, since the 1960s, there has been a considerable change in the attitude towards protection/conservation of historic urban settings as they also need to thrive as urban centers: historic quarters should be seen as capital stock in symbiotic relationships

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<sup>12</sup> United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization. “The Nara Document on Authenticity,” Phuket, Thailand: 18th Session World Heritage Committee, 1994, accessed June 30, 2014  
<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-833-3.pdf>.

with the rest of the city, in addition to their tangible and intangible heritage values. The terms revitalization, regeneration, and rehabilitation encompass, therefore, the idea of “reuse” in addition to “enhancement” and “development” of historic centers.<sup>13</sup>

In facing the dilemma of what should be preserved or not within urban cores, while adapting a city’s infrastructure to contemporary needs, UNESCO and its Cultural Heritage Division and publications have played an essential role in providing definitions and guidelines applicable in international terms. It began with the foundation of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), in Rome, in 1959, with the mission of advising internationally on conservation problems, coordinating conservation activators, and establishing standards of training courses. In 1965, in order to deal with archaeological, architectural, and town planning questions, besides monitoring relevant legislation, the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was set up following the 1964 Venice Charter. The creation of institutions such as the International Institutional for the Conservation of Museum Objects (IIC), the International Council of Museums (ICOM), as well as ICOMOS and the ICCROM, during the 60s, and the international congresses held by them not only brought consistency into the practice but also raised the problems of conservation and protection into an international level of collaboration and dialogue.<sup>14</sup>

The modern interpretation of preservation goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century with the development of Western historical thought as a result of tension between the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the pre-Romantic and Romantic sentiment. It mainly emerged from the dualism between the

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<sup>13</sup> Naciye Doratli, “Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters: A Model for Determining the Most Relevant Strategic Approach,” *European Planning Studies*, 13, no. 5 (2005): 750-1.

<sup>14</sup> Paulo Philippot, foreword to *A History of Architectural Conservation*, by Jukka Jokilehto (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), vii–ix.

classical interest in continuous traditions rooted in antiquity and the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century awareness of the novelty and variety available in multiple “histories,” Later on, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, discussions further develop the concept, as we know it.<sup>15</sup>

According to the historian Paul Philippot, despite arguments around the existence of a European culture involving conservation, it first developed its relationship with the past in Italy, when, through the romantic sentiment of nostalgia, the Renaissance humanism identified in antiquity an ideal model for the present.<sup>16</sup> The relationship was also defined by the desire to learn from past experiences as well as from the shock and sense of displacement caused by the destruction of familiar places or pleasing works of art.<sup>17</sup> Progressively, these ideas translated into culture, according to each national context and criticism and the presence or not of Christianity.<sup>18</sup> New concepts of historicity and aesthetics, new relationships with culture and religion, nature and environment, have molded new conceptions of time and values of judgment.<sup>19</sup>

The mixed feelings about a general European culture of conservation also relate to nineteenth century nationalism, which emerged from the advent of European Romanticism, after the French Revolution, and it is defined as identity-related and not very flexible. In the service of national pride and identity, then, the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century approaches to restoration went gradually through an opening process to include diverse styles and periods that had been neglected by the classical tradition: Romanesque, Gothic Middle Ages, Baroque, and finally even to the non-European cultures. During the second half of the twentieth century, the concept extends its

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., vii.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 1.

<sup>18</sup> Philippot, foreword, vii.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 6.

domain and it deepens its criticism from the classical tradition and into the dialogue with other cultures. Conservation starts encompassing historical ensembles, vernacular and popular production and territory, and the landscapes where history and nature interact. Some of the current debates have their core in the dualism of the question of authenticity and the traditional situations reminiscent of those in the Western world before the Renaissance. However, other various cultures have found their space in the requirements of safeguarding historic authenticity, essential to any modern conception of preservation and restoration.<sup>20</sup>

The definition of “heritage” and the policies related to its protection, conservation, and restoration have also evolved. According to historian Jukka Jokilehto, professor and Special Advisor to the Director General of ICCROM, the main goal of all of these efforts since the 18th Century has been the preservation of cultural heritage, a concept that has itself also evolved and expanded, initially encompassing ancient monuments and works of art, and, more recently, vast territories.<sup>21</sup> The 1989 UNESCO medium-term program has written the most commonly accepted definition of “cultural heritage” in the “modern conservation movement:”

The cultural heritage may be defined as the entire corpus of material signs – either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience. The preservation and the presentation of the cultural heritage are therefore a corner-stone of any cultural policy.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., viii.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>22</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General Conference, 25th 1989, Paris, France. *Draft Medium-Term Plan (1990-1995: adopted by the General Conference at its nineteenth session, Paris, 30 August 1989 / United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*. Paris, 1989, 57, accessed January 13, 2014, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000825/082539eb.pdf>.

In terms of the identified trend whereby concepts and approaches in historic preservation are broadened over time, there has recently arisen a new term from discussions around the world, “Historic Urban Landscapes” (HUL), which encompasses urban systems, concerning tangible and intangible elements as well as the main actors of their functioning.

### 2.3 New Look into Preservation Management: the Concept of Historic Urban Landscapes

The new recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape by UNESCO’s General Conference, adopted in November of 2011, brought a new light to preservation discourse. It takes into consideration processes and challenges such as demographic shifts, global market liberalization and decentralization, as well as mass tourism, market exploitation of heritage, and climate change in the urban management process. None these issues were present in the previous most recent (1976) adopted recommendation of UNESCO on historic areas and their role in contemporary life.<sup>23</sup>

According to the 2011 Recommendation text, the “Historic Urban Landscape” is:

...the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic center” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices

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<sup>23</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General Conference, 36<sup>th</sup> Session 2011, Paris. *Records of the General Conference: Resolutions*. 25 Oct. – 10 Nov. 2011 (36 C/Resolution 41). Official Record. Paris, 2012, 51, accessed December 17, 2013, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002150/215084e.pdf#page=52>.

and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.<sup>24</sup>

This concept contrasts to the more narrow definition of historic area/city of the 1976 Recommendation, which concerns mainly the physical features of the site as being a documentation of the past:

Historic and architectural (including vernacular) areas” shall be taken to mean any groups of buildings, structures and open spaces including archaeological and paleontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban or rural environment, the cohesion and value of which, from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, aesthetic or sociocultural point of view are recognized. Among these “areas”, which are very varied in nature, it is possible to distinguish the following “in particular: prehistoric sites, historic towns, old urban quarters, villages and hamlets as well as homogeneous monumental groups, it being understood that the latter should as a rule be carefully preserved unchanged.<sup>25</sup>

This definition went through an evolutionary process, in international terms. According to the ICOMOS Washington Charter of 1987, historic urban areas, large and small, include cities, towns, and historic centers or quarters, together with their natural and man-made environments, as embodiments of traditional urban cultures. The European Union research report N<sup>o</sup> 16 (2004) (Sustainable development of Urban historical areas through and active Integration within Towns – SUIT), “urban heritage” comprises three main categories: monumental heritage of exceptional cultural value; non-exceptional heritage elements that are present in a coherent way with a relative abundance; and new urban elements to be considered, such as the urban built form, the open and public spaces and urban infrastructures.<sup>26</sup> As

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>25</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General Conference, 19th historic areas: adopted by the General Conference at its nineteenth session, Kenya, 26 October - 30 November 1976 / United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Paris, 1977, Annex 1, 20, accessed December 22, 2013, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114038e.pdf#page=136>.

<sup>26</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General Conference, 25<sup>th</sup> Session, 54.

stated in the ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter of 1999, “cultural significance” means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, or spiritual value for past, present, or future generations, being embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places, and related objects; and recognizing that places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.<sup>27</sup>

In recent years, the number and intensity of debates regarding requests for reorientation of urban projects proposed to ICOMOS communities at World Heritage Committee annual sessions have increased significantly, suggesting that the framework for managing contemporary issues in historic urban contexts was inappropriate. At its 31st session in Christchurch, New Zealand (June/July 2007), the World Heritage Committee reviewed a total of 84 reports on the state of conservation of cultural property (of a total of 830 sites inscribed at that time on the World Heritage List), prepared by the World Heritage Center in collaboration with the advisory bodies, namely ICOMOS, IUCN, and ICCROM. Thirty-three of these reports (alarming 39% of world cultural heritage sites on which the Committee received a report) focused on the potential harmful impacts of urban development and regeneration projects, including threats posed by infrastructure projects or by contemporary architecture and tall buildings (other impacts are natural disasters, regional conflicts, and the lack of management capacity).<sup>28</sup>

Clearly, the traditional views of development and conservation of World Heritage sites evolve, and the authorities in developed countries as well as in developing countries and on all continents have difficulty

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<sup>27</sup> Australia ICOMOS Inc., “The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance,” *International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) 1999*, 2, accessed January 20 2014, [http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA\\_CHARTER.pdf](http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA_CHARTER.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis et al., “Paysages Urbains Historiques”, 16.

understanding the question satisfactorily to all sides. The reconciliation between development and conservation of protected areas needed a new and strong impetus requested by a multitude of stakeholders, along with updated guidance for local communities and policy makers, including the World Heritage Committee (although the recommendation is not specific just to World Heritage cities but extended to all historic cities), so potential impacts on the value and integrity of the sites are assessed in a systematic and objective manner.<sup>29</sup>

That is why, at its 29th session in July, 2005, in Durban, South Africa, the World Heritage Committee recommended that the General Conference of UNESCO adopt a new recommendation complementing and updating existing recommendations for conservation of historic urban landscapes, with special reference to the need of linking contemporary architecture to the historic urban context. The conditions under which urban projects have been developed have changed dramatically in the last ten or twenty years and there had been a debate on urban conservation for decades; nevertheless, for the last ten years, the conservation community has had trouble accepting and reaching a consensus on the scope of permissible change relative to its fundamental ideology of preserving monuments and sites as intact as possible. This difficulty has been one of the biggest challenges on the path of progress in the discipline.<sup>30</sup>

At its 27th session in Paris (2003), after a lively debate on an urban development of the Wien-Mitte railway station project in Vienna, the World Heritage Committee requested that a symposium be organized to discuss how to regulate appropriate manners to address the needs of modernization of historic urban environments, while preserving the values embodied by the inherited urban landscapes, especially of cities inscribed on the World

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>30</sup> Decision 29 COM 5D. Ibid., 18.

Heritage List. In response, the World Heritage Centre organized the international conference "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture: Managing the Historic Urban Landscape" In Vienna, Austria, in May 2005. It was during this conference that the "Vienna Memorandum" was adopted as the first draft of principles and guidelines to promote a harmonious and integrated relationship between conservation and new urban developments, while preserving the integrity of historic urban landscapes.<sup>31</sup>

The "Vienna Memorandum" formed the basis of the "Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes," adopted by the 15th General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention at the headquarters of UNESCO in October, 2005.<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that the "Vienna Memorandum" is not a charter and neither was it designed as a final document that can guide urban development and conservation. It was a transitional product of consensus, established with the participation of various professional bodies, to serve as a catalyst to open the debate regarding the understanding of human ecology and expansion of the concept of urban space, networks, and their surroundings. ICOMOS had a key role in developing the concept of historic urban landscapes, referring to "...the sensory perception of the urban network and its surroundings. A system of physical components (urban plan, parcels, buildings, open spaces, trees and vegetation, street furniture, etc.) and their relations are the results of a process, and are conditioned by social, political, and cultural constraints over the years. The concept of historic urban landscapes helps to bind the elements of tangible and intangible heritage together and to encourage assessment and understanding of the city or urban space as a process with many aspects and not merely as an object".<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Resolution 15 GA 7.Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 19.

The World Heritage Center, with the support of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies, and various professional organizations, initiated a process of regional consultation meetings to gather input from experts on concepts, definitions, and approaches to historic urban landscapes as potential content of the new UNESCO Recommendation that would be released in 2011. The meeting focused on the main aspects regarding a new paradigm in urban heritage conservation: the importance of the landscapes as a stratification of past and current urban dynamics, with interaction between the natural and built environment; the role of contemporary architecture, previously considered “contextualization of new construction;” economic aspects and the changing role of cities, in particular non-local processes, such as tourism and urban development, influenced by external actors. Therefore, at the 32nd session in Quebec (Canada) in 2008, the World Heritage Committee, in its decision 32 COM 7.2, and the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, by its resolution 16 GA 11 expressed their continued support for the "Historic Urban Landscape" initiative. Decision 32 COM 7.2 has proposed a revision of the relevant sections of the Guidelines with a view to expand the categories under which historic towns can be registered, thus facilitating a more holistic approach to the management of historic cities in due course. It also recalled the decision 29 COM 5D, recommending that the General Conference of UNESCO regulate the conservation of historic urban landscapes at the international level in the form of a new UNESCO Recommendation. After 2009, when the General Conference of UNESCO adopted a resolution calling for the development of the new recommendation, from 2010 until its adoption by the UNESCO General Conference at its 36<sup>th</sup> session in 2011, a series of texts were written inspired by definitions and approaches developed in the context of HUL initiatives.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 20-24.

The main difference in the 2011 Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes relies on the holistic perspective of cities, which considers the local context, the tangible and intangible assets attached to the urban landscapes, and considers the contemporary needs of planning, management of resources, as well as social and economic development. It also incorporates time as an important factor in cities, as opposed to the previous recognition of historic districts as being static groups of buildings; that is, it recognizes change as an inherent element of any living urban condition. Therefore, it also proposes a new interpretation of historic districts and of preservation itself, once it aims to incorporate time as an important aspect in shaping cities and communities.<sup>35</sup>

This way of interpreting historic cities represents an alternative to cutting them up into zones of preservation, which can encourage social as well as spatial segregation. Instead, it proposes inclusion of the complex layering of urban settlements (urban structure, economics processes, structures of power, hydrology, geomorphology, social interactions, cultural manifestations, etc.).<sup>36</sup> UNESCO aims to promote more equitable and catalytic manners of preserving historic agglomerations, which are moving targets of socio-economic development. It also addresses policy, governance, and management concerns involving a variety of stakeholders, including local, national, regional, international, public, and private actors into a more participatory urban development process.<sup>37</sup> As the main outcome, cities should be preserved but also remain functional and livable.<sup>38</sup>

Among the tools suggested are:

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<sup>35</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, “New Life for Historic Cities: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained,” *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) Paris, France, 5, accessed February 3, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/news/documents/news-1026-1.pdf>.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>37</sup> UNESCO General Conference, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, 51.

<sup>38</sup> UNESCO. *New Life for Historic Cities*, 9.

- Civic engagement tools: involving a cross-section of different stakeholders in defining key values of their urban areas, reflecting diversity in an intercultural dialogue about goals, histories, traditions, needs.
- Knowledge and planning tools: aiming at the integrity and authenticity of the urban heritage, they should document and map important assets and provide monitoring and management of changes that can improve urban life and space.
- Regulatory systems: legislative and regulatory measures reflecting local conditions should be implemented or revised.
- Financial tools: micro-credit, models of partnerships or other flexible financing to support local enterprise should foster private investment in building capacities, supporting income-generating development.<sup>39</sup>

In general terms, the guidelines include 7 steps:

1. Undertake a full assessment of the city's natural, cultural, and human resources;
2. Use participatory planning and stakeholder consultations to decide on conservation aims and actions;
3. Assess the vulnerability of urban heritage to socio-economic pressures and impacts of climate change;
4. Integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development;
5. Prioritize policies and actions for conservation and development, including good stewardship;

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<sup>39</sup> UNESCO General Conference, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, 53.

6. Establish the appropriate (public-private) partnerships and local management frameworks;
7. Develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors.<sup>40</sup>

These international guidelines aim to better define the concept in local terms as well as define an adapted framework, not only, but especially, for listed World Heritage Sites, in which category the city of Bordeaux is included and which constraints and concepts will be further explored from here on.

#### 2.4 UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) World Heritage List

The World Heritage Convention, established in 1972, decides which properties are inscribed on the World Heritage List but also encourages their insertion into the wider development goals advocated by the United Nations. The idea of creating an international movement for protecting heritage emerged after World War I. The 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage developed from the merging of two separate movements: the first focusing on the preservation of cultural sites, and the other dealing with the conservation of nature.<sup>41</sup> The World Heritage List is based on the definition of outstanding universal value (OUV) from the point of view of history, art, or science, for “monuments” and “groups of buildings,” while the “sites” are also seen from the ethnological or anthropological points of view. The definition according to the Operational

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>41</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis et al., “Paysages Urbains Historiques”, 5.

## Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005)

is:

Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, the OUV can be articulated in reference to any one or more of ten criteria described in the Operational Guidelines, six of which refer to cultural heritage and can represent: i) masterpiece of human creative genius, ii) important interchange of values, iii) exceptional testimony to a civilization, iv) a type of construction or site, v) traditional land use, and/or vi) association with traditions or beliefs; while the four remaining criteria refer to natural heritage.<sup>43</sup>

In the beginning of the 1960s, UNESCO appealed to the preservation of urban sites, progressively in danger by the industrial development and land speculation. UNESCO was the first international organization to become interested in this problem, even before the European Council, who has worked hard to promote heritage. The world scale of over 300 urban sites now inscribed on the World Heritage List represents the largest challenge of the institution: accommodating recommendations that can adapt to different approaches depending on the continent and development level of the country.<sup>44</sup> The convention states:

The Convention sets out the duties of States Parties in identifying potential sites and their role in protecting and preserving them. By signing the Convention, each country pledges to conserve not only the World Heritage sites situated on its

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<sup>42</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, "Considerations on Authenticity and Integrity in World Heritage Context," *City and Time* 2, 1 (2006): 1, accessed 15 October, 2013, <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org/novo/revista/viewarticle.php?id=44>.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis et al., "Paysages Urbains Historiques", 5.

territory, but also to protect its national heritage. The States Parties are encouraged to integrate the protection of the cultural and natural heritage into regional planning programs, set up staff and services at their sites, undertake scientific and technical conservation research and adopt measures which give this heritage a function in the day-to-day life of the community.

It explains how the World Heritage Fund is to be used and managed and under what conditions international financial assistance may be provided.

The Convention stipulates the obligation of States Parties to report regularly to the World Heritage Committee on the state of conservation of their World Heritage properties. These reports are crucial to the work of the Committee as they enable it to assess the conditions of the sites, decide on specific program needs and resolve recurrent problems.

It also encourages States Parties to strengthen the appreciation of the public for World Heritage properties and to enhance their protection through educational and information programs.<sup>45</sup>

The process undertaken by UNESCO aims to provide the Committee with support tools and decision making recommendations to the heads of the World Heritage listed sites on the maintenance of historical and cultural values that justified their inclusion. It is also to provide members of the Convention a reflection of how they could contribute to the political and regulatory process.<sup>46</sup>

European and international legislation on heritage and urban conservation have been produced as a result of the great movement of the 1970s in favor of conservation. Concerning urban environments, the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention evokes the notion a "group of buildings" and has been supplemented by the 1976 Nairobi Recommendation, which extends the concept to "historic areas," "human settlements" including "built elements and open spaces," whose preservation must be ensured and integrated into urban planning.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> "The World Heritage Convention," United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), accessed February 25, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis et al., "Paysages Urbains Historiques", 8.

At the same time, this process develops the tendency to take account of heritage as a resource and an environment to maintain and manage, under the influence of the work of the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment or Vancouver Conference called Habitat 1976. It is no longer a question of extension of the scholarly approach of heritage subjects or of exceeding the nature/culture opposition, but a totally different way of looking at heritage as part of the human environment, to be managed in an integrated and in a sustainable manner.<sup>48</sup>

In 2005 the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention decided to adopt the conclusions of the "Vienna Memorandum," a document produced at the end of a conference organized to discuss a tower project of great height in the World Heritage inscribed historic center of Vienna.<sup>49</sup>

This initiative resulted from the multiplication of conservation problems encountered with inscribed urban sites, and against which the World Heritage Committee, the body that oversees the Convention, felt helpless. The concern of the Committee is driven primarily by new construction projects such as bridges and towers that can cause visual disruption in an otherwise consolidated historic fabric. The problems are especially acute in the countries of the "North," famous for strong policies for heritage, more than in the countries of the "South."<sup>50</sup> This distinction refers to the concept of comparison based on economic power, created after the Cold War. According to The Brandt Report, a reference on the subject, the North controls "the international economic system, its rules and regulations, and its international institutions of trade money and finance," whereas,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

comparatively, the South presents huge populations with relative poverty and unhealth compared to the North.<sup>51</sup>

The “Vienna Memorandum” introduces the concept of historic urban landscape: the historic city in its "topographic" and "environmental" context, understood in a broader "territorial scope" and expresses "economic and socio-cultural specific values" constantly changing. It defines the conditions for the inclusion of contemporary architecture in old tissue, a process that is familiar to Europe, but had not yet been acknowledged inside the World Heritage Committee.<sup>52</sup>

Therefore, the enlargement of the spatial scale and taking into account the inevitable change, while maintaining historical urban situations, are certainly the two new elements that have driven the elaboration of the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes.<sup>53</sup>

Bordeaux has been one of the defining case studies of this term, indeed the concept of the “historic urban landscape” had been already in study and application at least since the beginning of its Urban Project of 1996. France in general has a significant history concerning studies in historic preservation and the UNESCO organization, being, in fact, where its headquarters are located. The definitions of these terms and the applications into the French context will be presented in the next sections.

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<sup>51</sup> “The Brandt Report,” Share The World’s Resources (STWR): Sustainable Economics to End Global Poverty, accessed 2 May 2014, <http://www.stwr.org/special-features/the-brandt-report.html#setting>.

<sup>52</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis et al., “Paysages Urbains Historiques”, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

## 2.5 The French Context

*Considéré ville par ville ou sur l'ensemble du pays, le rôle des centres anciens dépasse de loin leur poids démographique, économique ou leur superficie. Leur population représente moins de 8% de celle des agglomérations et leur surface moins de 4% de la surface urbanisée des villes. Cependant leur importance sociale, culturelle et symbolique reste primordiale et elle devient de plus en plus actuelle aux yeux de la population. Les quartiers anciens «résument» et «identifient» les villes: si Poitiers n'est pas Nancy et si Bayonne n'est pas Dieppe, ce n'est pas grâce à leurs banlieues, à leurs "Zup ou à leurs lotissements", mais bien grâce à leur centre.<sup>54</sup>*

*Rapport de la Commission Nationale des Secteurs de Sauvegardés, Novembre 1992.*

Considering city by city or across the country, the role of the old centers far exceeds their demographics, economics or area. Their population represents less than 8% of the urban areas and the surface less than 4% of the urbanized cities. However, their social, cultural and symbolic importance remains paramount and it becomes more and more present in the eyes of the population. Old neighborhoods "summarize" and "identify" towns: if Poitiers is not Nancy and if Bayonne is not Dieppe, is not because of their suburbs, their "Zup or subdivision," but thanks to their center.

National Commission of the *Secteurs de Sauvegardés* Report, November 1992.

The French governments' designated *Secteurs de Sauvegardés* represent one hundred conservation areas currently, and, along with the Zones of Architectural, Urban and Landscape Heritage Protection, established in 1983, they are tools that have been increasing and kept up to date throughout the National territory. More recently, common urban planning practices in France have also been taking heritage into account.<sup>55</sup>

Heritage conservation has historically been constituted by concentric circles of action, from the monument to the set of all central areas or districts, regardless of ongoing interactions between the city and its context, or its modes of expansion. Today's understanding of the city and its management

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<sup>54</sup> Ministère de Culture et Communication and Ministère de l'Équipement, des Transports et du Logement, "Les Secteurs de Sauvegardés," *Ministère de Culture et Communication*, Paris, France, 1999, 18, accessed May 8 2014, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/content/download/39854/320343/file/SecSauv.pdf>.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

requires a change of scale. And the center or historic district urbanization, as it has evolved, can no longer be seen as a fixed object, or treated in isolation.<sup>56</sup>

In the context of changes in the urban conditions, resulting from economic, social, and political changes, the issues affecting preservation policy are also in flux: economic globalization, decentralization of power, proliferation of actors, mobility and infrastructure, urban sprawl, industrial facilities movement, evolution of individual behavior, etc. These factors have led the French approach towards historic preservation to question its efficiency and accuracy in focusing only in specific areas.<sup>57</sup> Bruno Fayolle, professor and member of the Bordeaux UNESCO Local Committee (CLUB), points out that the lack of concern on buildings' interior modifications, that is, without regulated guidelines, has represented danger and can be harmful to their users.<sup>58</sup> This is among the reasons why the municipality implemented a regulating organization (InCité) to oversee the interior renovations and guarantee the public safety of the buildings located in the historic areas.

In terms of historic preservation, France follows the principle defined in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, which until the 1960s only addressed the protection of monuments, by the National Commission of Historic Monuments (*Commission Nationale de Monumentes Historiques* - CNMH). The first measures in terms of conservation of historic centers in France come from the beginning of the 1960s. Gradually, urban tools have been developed taking into account questions of use, social needs, and economic viability. The *Secteurs de Sauvegardés* and the Protection Zones of Architectural, Urban and Landscape Heritage, established in 1983, have only grown. More

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>58</sup> Bruno Fayolle, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

recently, the urban planning in the regional scale (communes) has also taken into account the heritage aspect.<sup>59</sup> It is now divided in two organizations: the one concerning the preservation of historic monuments, and the other of urban districts, the *Secteurs de Sauvegardé*.<sup>60</sup> The *Architecte des Batimènts de France* (ABF), in charge of preserving the monuments of each department (geo-political division in France), in this case Aquitaine, is responsible for any operation on and around them, within the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* limits. Due to this administrative division, it is possible that conflicts of interests might arise between the architect in charge of the *Secteurs de Sauvegardé* and the *Architecte des Batimènts de France*.<sup>61</sup>

The law of December 31<sup>st</sup> of 1913 assures the protection of historic monuments while its amendment of February 25<sup>th</sup> 1943 included the protection of their surroundings as well. <sup>62</sup> In the 1950s, after the Second World War, the cities were largely in derelict conditions and, as one can imagine, the temptation was great to apply a hygienist solution, that is, to demolish and rebuild according to the principles of modern zoning, already underway in the peripheries.<sup>63</sup> The Malraux Law created in October 4<sup>th</sup> 1962, came along not only as a tool of historic preservation but also of urban planning. Defending the idea that the urban dynamics should be one of the main strata of urban contexts, André Malraux, the first minister of Cultural Affairs of France, argued that “restoration should reconcile two imperatives that could seem opposites: to preserve architectural and historic heritage and improve the life and work conditions of the French people.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis and Et., Al. “Paysages Urbains Historiques”, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Bruno Fayolle, interview by author.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ministère de Culture et Communication and Ministère de l'Équipement, des Transports et du Logement. *Les Secteurs de Sauvegardé*, 11.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 16.

By opposition and established by the Malraux Law of 1962, an approach was defined that considered the historic, cultural, and aesthetic interest of a number of cities that could not be reduced to merely monuments. It was necessary to establish a relationship of preservation and urban compositions, made by public spaces and building sets. A *Secteur de Sauvegardé* is characterized by the historic, aesthetic, or natural character that justifies its preservation, restoration and enhancement, either of a whole set of properties or just part of it. They are the State's responsibility (National), including financially, but each in close association with its respective commune. These districts follow strict and specific rules and undergo regular and close oversight from the national commission, represented by the figure of the *Architecte des Batiments de France*, who gives authorizations for any intervention constrained by its boundaries. The policies regarding these districts aim to revitalize the central and ancient neighborhoods, enable the implementation of global actions on public areas and groups of buildings, but also in a smaller scale of the building to favor the protection and restoration of architectural elements.

The specific device to frame and guide the execution of these heritage and urban planning objectives in each situation is the *Plan de Sauvegardé et de Mise en Valeur* (Plan of Safeguarding and Development – PSMV) which provides, at the same time:

- Support for identification and protection of the urban heritage,
- Planning documentation of the sector, composed by the area within the boundaries and its operational surroundings, and
- Guidance for restoration and enhancement of the urban heritage.

The plan works as a substitute for a regular plan of zoning or land use. This permits that the question of heritage and historic preservation be posed

not only in terms of image and identity but, equally and simultaneously, in terms of function and use.<sup>65</sup>

At the regional scale, historic preservation in France is applied by the Regional Directory of Cultural Affairs and works in partnerships with local actors such as the Sector of Regional Conservation of Historic Monuments (*Conservation régionale des monuments historiques*), Inventory Regional Service (*Service régional de l'inventaire*), Archeological Regional Service (*Service régional de l'archéologie*) and Regional Ethnologist (*Ethnologue régional*). The local commission of the *Secteurs de Sauvegardé* frames the work of the architect in charge of the development of the PSMV, by providing consultation and management. Similarly, in the process of the PSMV elaboration, the local commission plays the same role as the work team in charge of the elaboration of a Zoning Plan.<sup>66</sup>

The French conception of urban management is based on a strong government intervention. However, in the face of the new paradigm of liberal cities, public intervention has now been decentralized. It regulates a city that obviously remains largely produced by the interaction between the needs of the population through individual and social behavior, such as choice of residential location, service demand, consumption patterns, market needs that are influenced increasingly by globalization, such as the establishment of businesses and jobs, real estate, shopping, etc.<sup>67</sup>

France has developed powerful and effective tools for the conservation and urban planning; these tools take into account the preservation of the historical, while asking questions of uses and economic viability. However, these tools have sometimes led to exclusive attitudes: either the "crystallization" of existing conditions, or development undertaken

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 24–26.

<sup>67</sup> Catherine Chimits, interview by author, 26 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

without sufficient sensitivity or prior knowledge. This cleavage between pure conservation or complete failure in taking into account the heritage still persists. Regarding the inclusion of contemporary architecture in the old fabric, which is a major concern of the “Vienna Memorandum,” the French tools can be helpful, but they have not always prevented the appearance of bad new architecture.<sup>68</sup>

Since the 1970s, the car has gradually taken over the street, for circulation or parking, and has become an important icon in the urban lifestyle. The public policies of many European cities for more than half a century had privileged mainly the road infrastructure focusing primarily on cars. These choices are responsible for traffic congestion, noise, and the denaturation of these centers. The pollution provided by this has been, in 70% of cases, the most powerful cause of damage in historical cores. In terms of historical buildings, it could mean the continuous coating of the sandstone to the point when it cannot “breathe” and it cracks.<sup>69</sup>

In France, envisioning new ways to compete with outlying commercial centers has led some of its cities to adopt policies encouraging more economical transport methods in terms of use of space, such as walking, the bicycle, or public transportation. The *Rue du Gros Horloge* in Rouen, for instance, was the first pedestrian street to be opened in 1970. The mid-80s are marked by the consciousness of the need to reverse the “car-supremacy” trend. The 1990’s experienced the “30-zones,” groups of streets where the speed limit is 30km/h and where the entries and exits are planned under some specific conditions, for example the so-called “quiet-districts” in Paris. In these zones the effects of traffic congestion, such as noise, insecurity, and pollution are diminished significantly and pedestrians, cyclists, and cars

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>69</sup> Roland Ries, “Urban Mobility and Conservation,” *World Heritage Paper 9* (2002): 74, accessed December 15, 2012, [http://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi\\_wh\\_papers\\_09\\_en.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi_wh_papers_09_en.pdf).

cohabit with ease, thanks to specific measures limiting speed and encouraging the mix of transportation modes.<sup>70</sup>

In most cases, the creation of a public transportation system in a delimited zone is usually the cornerstone of an ambitious urban policy to reconquer urban space, such as a special lane on the road system reserved only for buses (Bus Rapid Transit system), or a tramway. Trams, especially, have been the favorite solution amongst French cities for the past fifteen years. The city of Nantes, for instance, implemented its system in 1985 and has currently about 35 km, which is still being expanded. Presently, more than ten French cities are equipped with tramways, including Strasbourg, Paris, Montpellier, Lyon, and Bordeaux. The implementation of tramway systems has proven to provide new impetus for the introduction of other urban improvement projects such as: restoration of buildings, rehabilitation of squares and streets, planting of trees, and development of local businesses. Along with this phenomenon, measures such as the substitution for oil based fuels by electric energy have also been increasing in implementation within historical centers, in which category Bordeaux is one of the main references.<sup>71</sup>

If before the main goals were to facilitate the traffic and its flow, now the French cities have been seeking to develop means to dissuade the automobile from entering the city center: automobiles in the central and historic areas of these cities should only be authorized if there is sufficient space and if the inconveniences caused do not outweigh the advantages. Those are examples of good policies; even if they have been firstly applied only to central areas (meaning the displacement of the nuisances to the outer city) they still are improvements over the old policies. A city with strong planning principles, non-exponential mobility, and incentives for public

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 75.

transportation should be the recipe to counter-balance the sprawling and anarchical growth that ends up freezing its heritage while giving a false sense of modernization.<sup>72</sup>

The current challenge for France and other nations in the World Heritage Convention is that UNESCO does not manage specific situations, nor provide real strategy or technical or conceptual tools to address the issue on a relevant scale, that is, the territorial scale. Bordeaux has managed to accommodate the different forces acting in its urban environment, and synthesize them into a multidisciplinary and comprehensive approach. The Urban Project of 1996 represents the turning point of a new way of looking at and dealing with the historic city.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 76.

# 3

## Bordeaux's Change of Urban Paradigm (1996 | 2007) –

### The Urban Project

#### 3.1 Bordeaux's Heritage Relevance

The city of Bordeaux is a port city located in south-west France (Figure 2), in the Aquitaine basin, on the margins of the Garonne River. At this location, the river forms a bend, surrounded by hills, which became a natural harbor, later called “*le Port de la Lune*” (the port of the moon) due to its shape. Traditionally, Bordeaux has based its economy mostly on agriculture and the wine culture, starting from the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>1</sup>

The early history of Bordeaux began with its founding by Gallic tribes, but its importance as a market town grew under the Roman domination in 56 BC. The Roman *castrum* (450 x 700m or 1,312 x 2,296.5 ft.) still remains in the center of the town, being one of the few features that have survived from this time, along with the remains of the *antique amphitheatre*, the *Palais Gallien*.<sup>2</sup>

Bordeaux is the second largest urban district (after Paris) protected by the highest level of historic preservation in France (*Secteurs de*

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<sup>1</sup> Dossier de Présentation en Vue de l'Inscription sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de L'UNESCO au Titre d'Ensemble Urbain, by the City of Bordeaux (Paris:UNESCO, 2007), 147, accessed October 11, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1256.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Dossier de Présentation en Vue de l'Inscription sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de L'UNESCO au Titre d'Ensemble Urbain, 147.

*Sauvegardés*).<sup>3</sup> Punctuated by classical monuments, the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*, as shown on Figures 8 and 10, encompasses the boundaries of the walled city of the 14<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries, the neighborhoods of the Medieval Quarter, the architectural and urban ensembles of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, and the especially distinctive system of articulated places and 18<sup>th</sup> Century façades along the quays. The policies of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* are applied by the municipality at the local level and supervised by a strict commission from the national level.<sup>4</sup>

The creation and delimitation of a protected area was prescribed in Bordeaux on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February of 1967, published on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November of 1984, and approved on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1988. The revision of the Plan of Safeguarding and Development (PSMV) of the Conservation area of Bordeaux was prescribed on 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1998, published on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June of 1999, and approved on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February of 2002 (Figure 11). The *Secteur de Sauvegardé* covers 363.2 acres (147 hectares) (Figures 6 and 8). The latest revision was provided to include the tramway project and part of the Urban Project of 1996 in the historic center of the city.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, World Heritage Convention (Paris: UNESCO, 2007), accessed October 11, 2012, [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory\\_body\\_evaluation/1256.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1256.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO.

<sup>5</sup> “Secteur sauvegardé : Bordeaux. Plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur,” Direction régionale des affaires culturelles (Drac) d'Aquitaine, accessed 22 February 2014, <http://aquitaine.culture.gouv.fr/dossiers-thematiques/architecture-urbanisme/secteur-sauvegarde/secteurs-sauvegardes-gironde/d111a2a36309689594f9e6aa95075b91/>.



Figure 2 Bordeaux contextualization and main flows of people within Europe. The implementation in 2016 of the LGV (*Ligne à la Grand Vitesse*) *Sud Europe Atlantique* (High Speed Train) will make Bordeaux only two hours away from Paris, with that the city hopes to turn into a gateway to the Southwest of Europe. (CUB,2006)

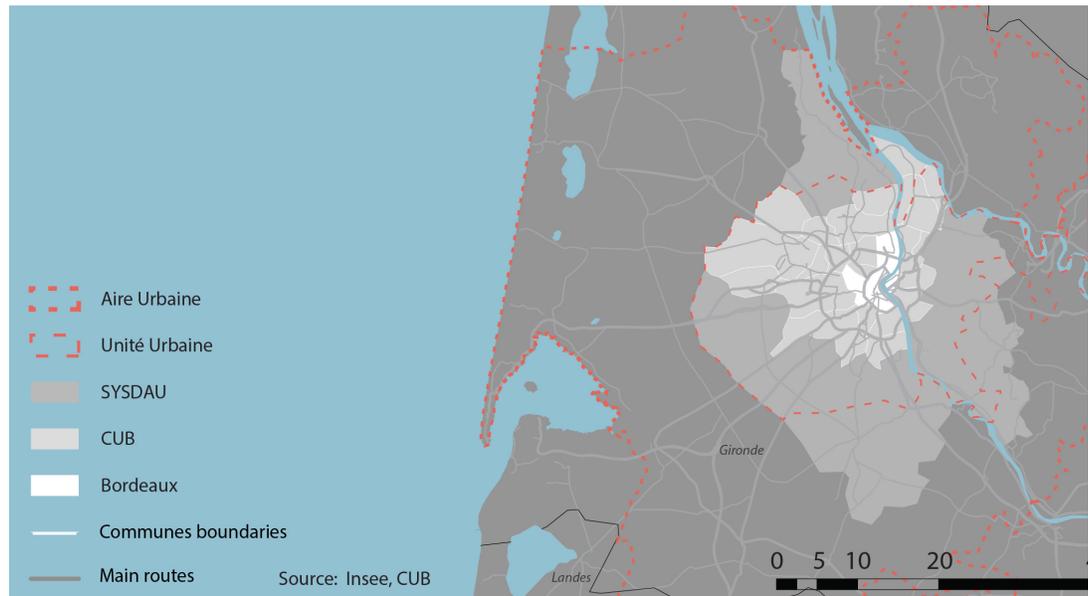


Figure 3 Political and Territorial institutions and entities (Insee, CUB, the author, 2013)

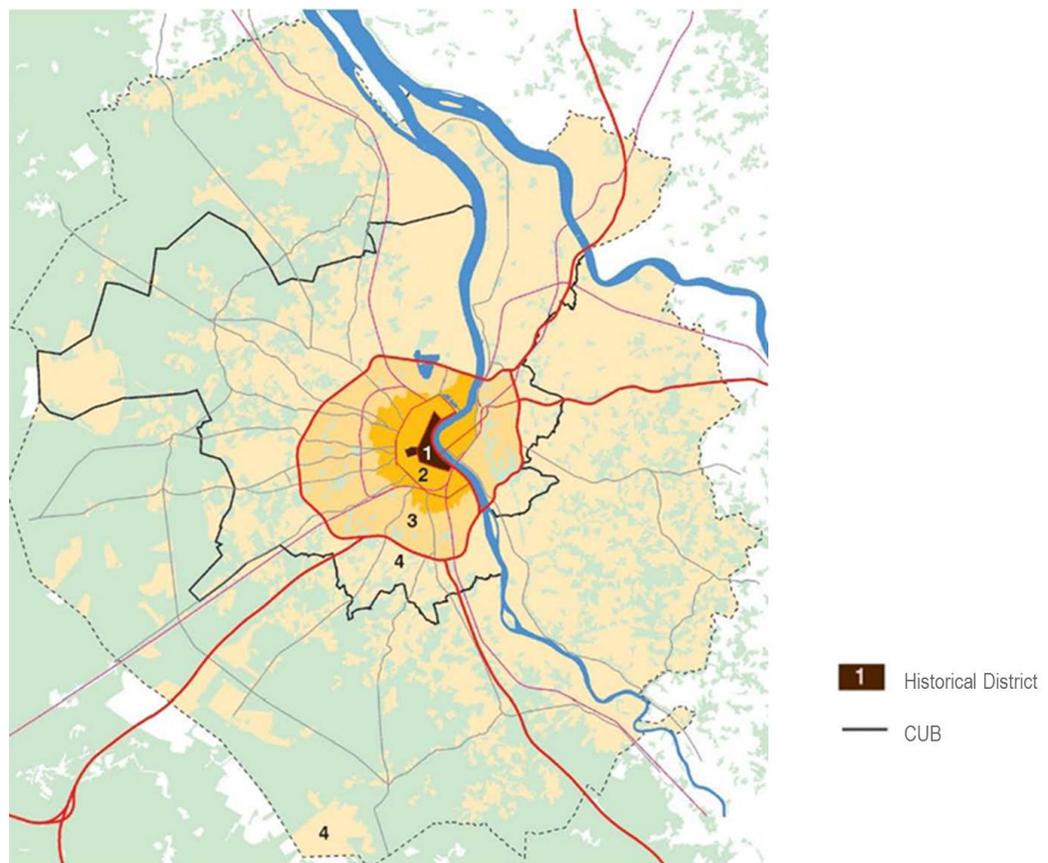


Figure 4 Bordeaux limits and territories: the Urban Community of Bordeaux and its historic center (in brown), *Ville de Pierre* (in yellow) and the suburbs (beige) (a'urba,2008)



Figure 5 Bordeaux's neighborhoods and the Garonne River(Bordeaux2030, 2009)

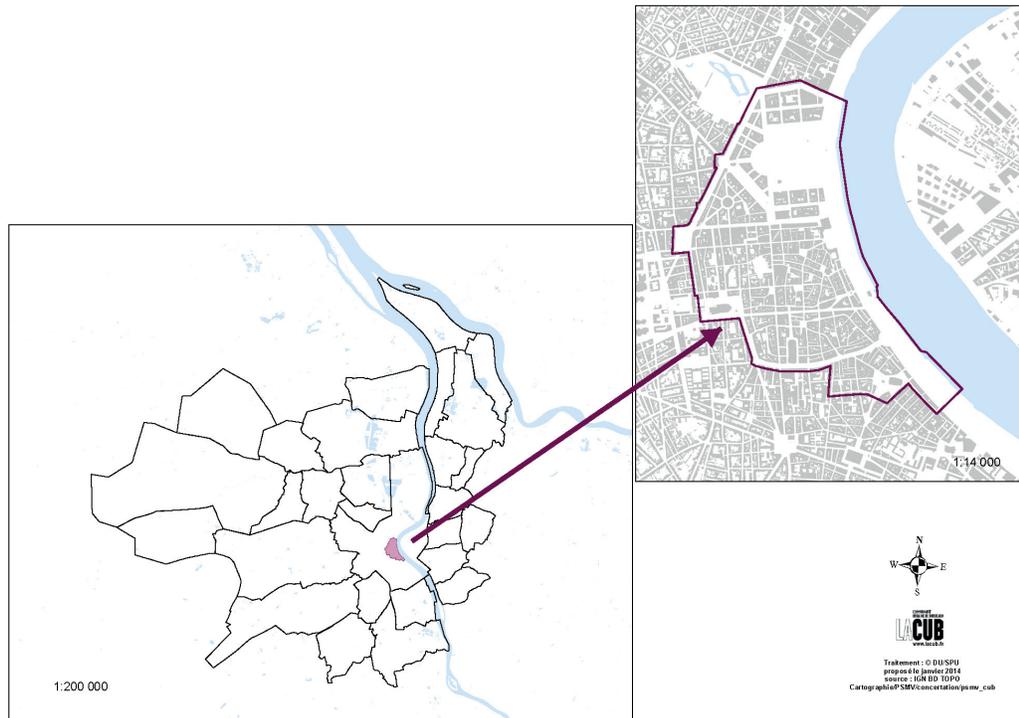


Figure 6 Secteur de Sauvegardé in the context of the *Communauté urbaine de Bordeaux – CUB* – political and territorial division encompassing 27 other communes (municipalities) (CUB, 2014)

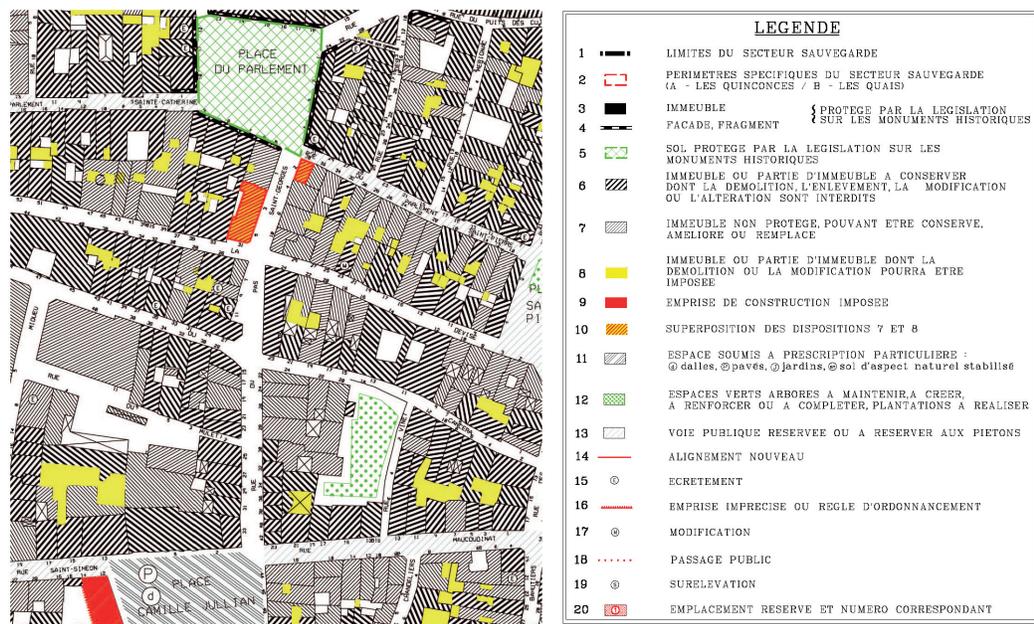


Figure 7 Detail of current *Plan de Sauvegardé et Mise en Valeur (PSMV)*, the Plan of Safeguarding and Development of the protected historic center, in which specific guidelines of protection and conservation are specified. (CUB, 2014)

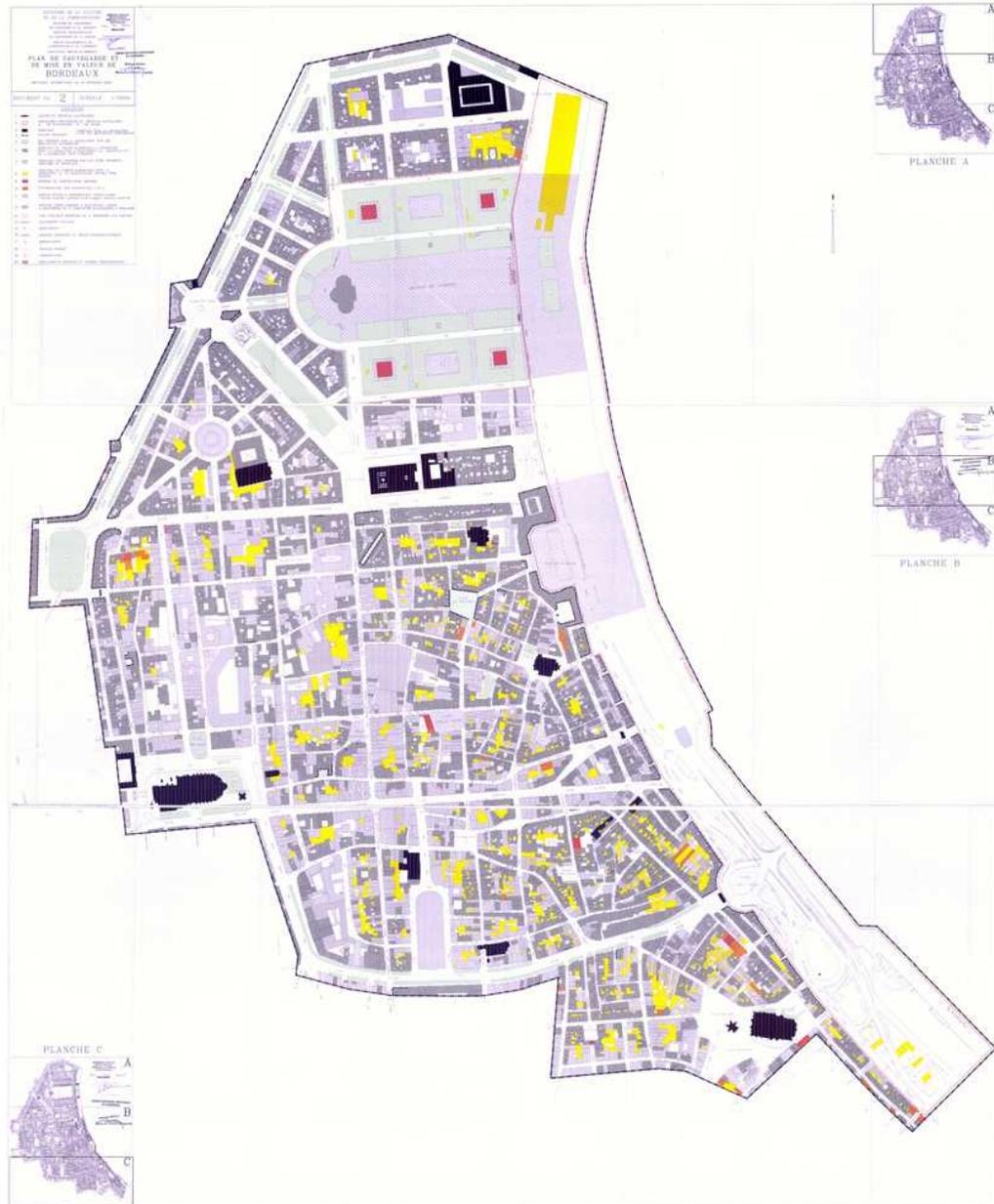


Figure 8 Bordeaux's *Secteur de Sauvegardé* plan (PSMV) and legend specifying in detail actions of preservation depending on classification of the property. The PSMV is made in close partnership between the National (main funder) and the local levels. (DRAC Aquitaine, 2010)

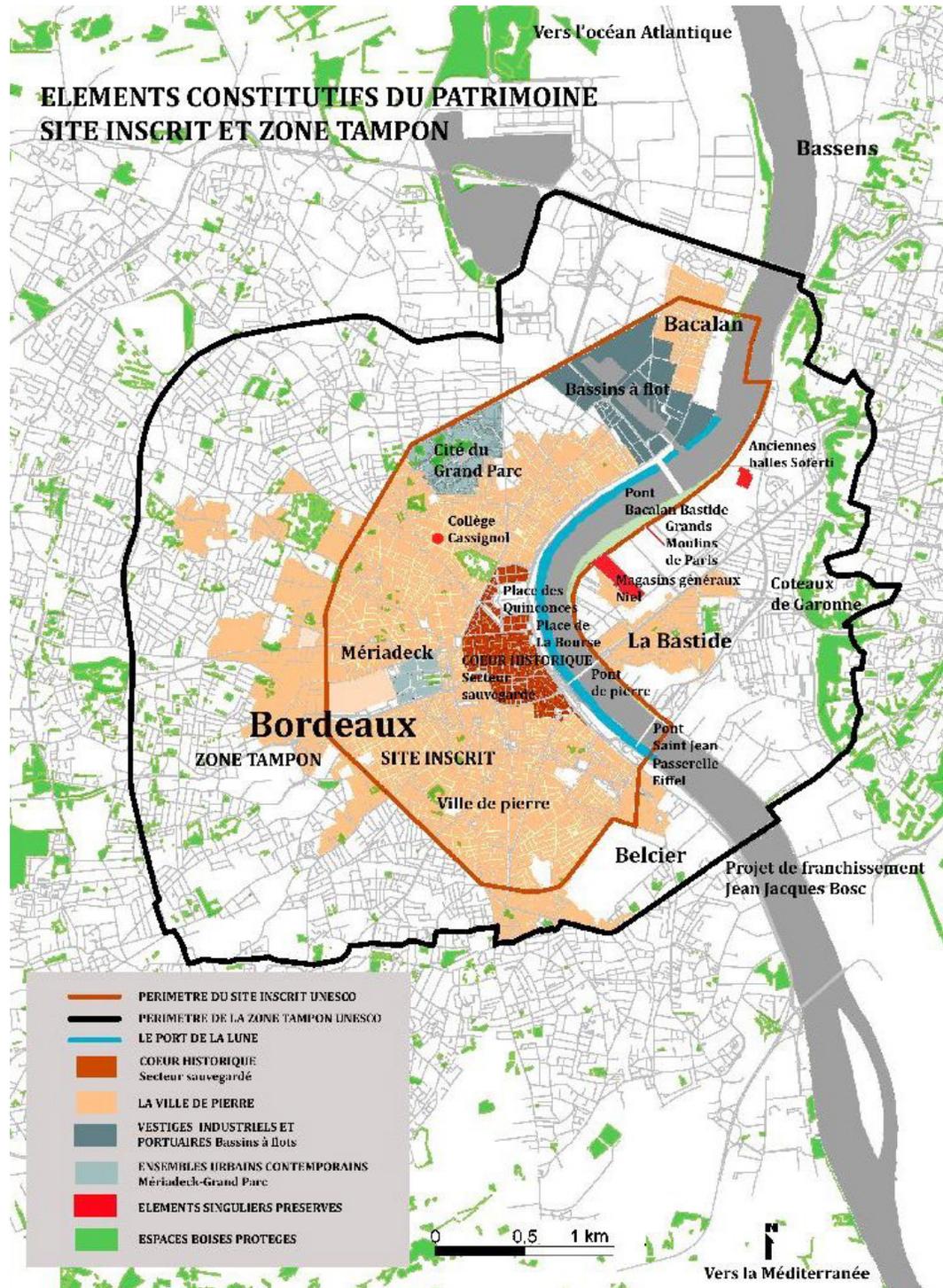


Figure 9 Elements of urban heritage management in Bordeaux. It also shows the bridges connecting to the other side of the Garonne river and the boundaries of the *Ville de Pierre* (historic buildings of more “common” architecture surrounding the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*). (Bordeaux2030, 2009)

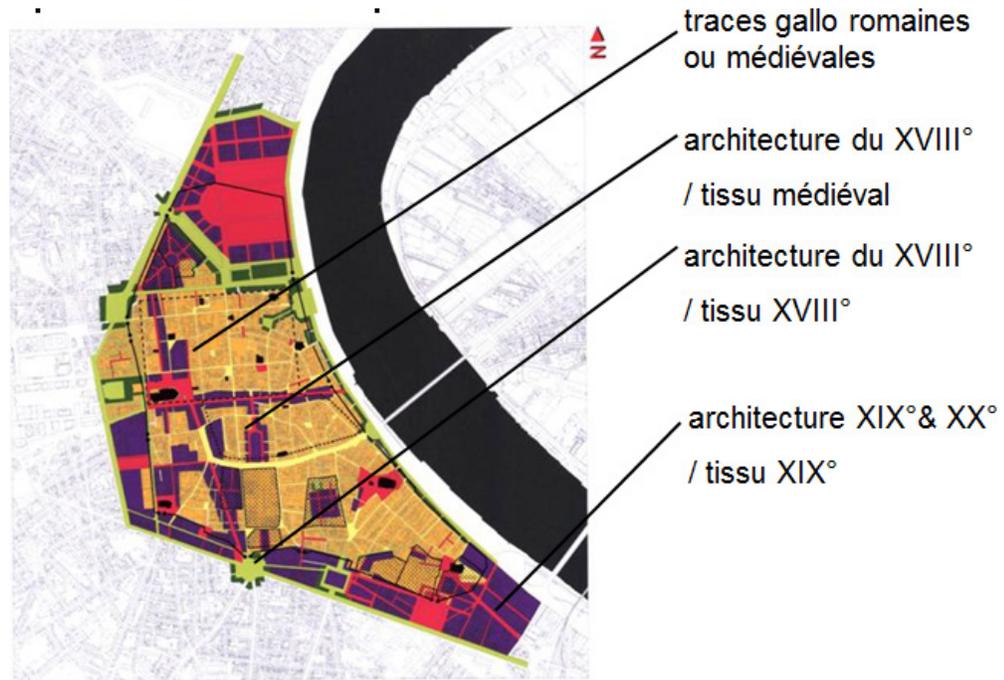


Figure 10 Inventory of Architecture Heritage by period (CUB, 2006)

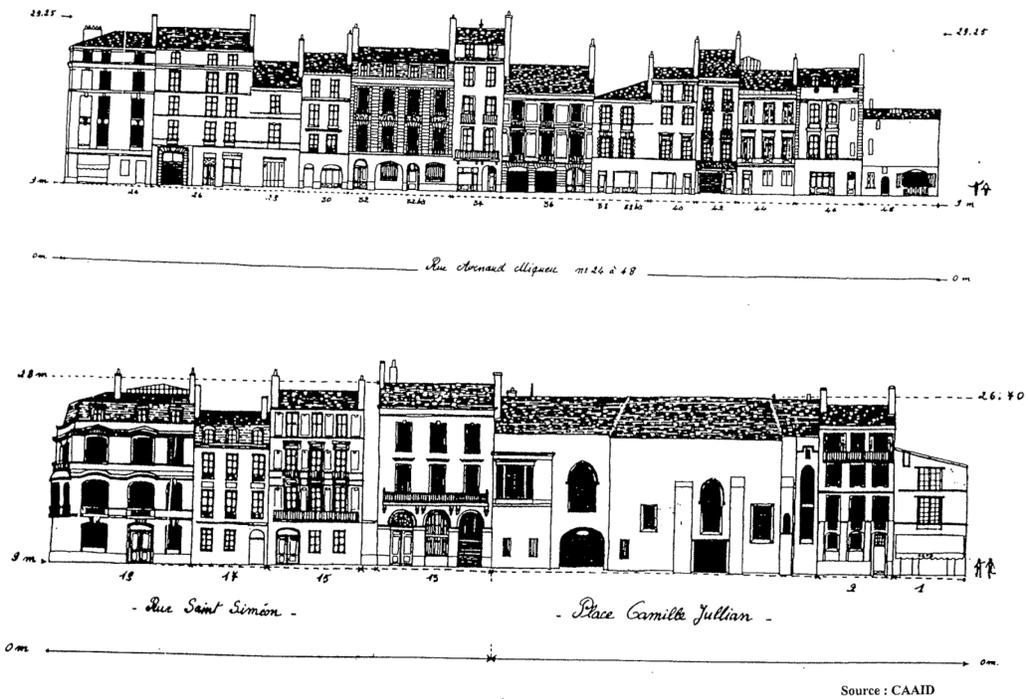


Figure 11 Facades of streets in the Secteur de Sauvegardé of Bordeaux. This drawing is part of the annexes of the Presentation Report of the Revision of the Plan de Sauvegardé et de Mise en Valeur de Bordeaux of 2000. (DRAC Aquitaine, 2000)

During the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the city experienced another phase of its development due to links with Britain and the Low Lands. From this period the main buildings are: the Basilica of *Saint-Seurin*, Basilica of *Saint-Michel*, and *Saint-André* Cathedral.<sup>6</sup> The city retained its generally medieval design until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when, during the Age of Enlightenment, the city's peculiarity and framework in urban design emerged. Most of the historically recognized architecture of Bordeaux was produced then, such as the *Place Royale* (Royal Square, today *Place de la Bourse*, Stock Exchange Square), designed by architect Jacques Gabriel (1667-1742), the *Place Vendôme* (Vendôme Square) and *the Place de la Concorde* (Concorde Square). Under the direction of *Louis-Urbain Aubert, Marquis de Tourny*, the city's formerly medieval urban form was opened up by major urban renovation projects, especially on the facades to the Garonne's quays, the vital arterial access for the commercial life of the city. This also contributed to new developments in housing and, therefore, to the classic and characteristic Bordelaise townscape design. The construction of the *Allées de Tourny* (Tourny Avenues) was initiated in 1744 and it was the first grand town-planning intervention in Bordeaux.<sup>7</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were several large-scale constructions, such as the first bridge built in stone across the Garonne (1810-1822). The ancient fortifications were demolished in the 1830s to provide space for new facilities and by the mid-century the city had already reached the limits traced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century urban plans. Upon the arrival of the railway from Paris in 1852, the railway station was built in *Bastide*, on the right side of the river and a new railway bridge (1859-1860) was built under the direction of Gustave Eiffel to serve the left side with the Tourny urban plans. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new industrial harbor on the right side of the river was built

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 147.

and in the Second World War, the German occupation added a military harbor, which went through renovation and modernization once the war was over.<sup>8</sup>

In terms of integrity and authenticity, the history of Bordeaux is still easily legible in its current urban form, in spite of the major urban project performed by the Enlightenment planners that opened the city to its surroundings and away from its medieval scenario, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the buildings from this period are considered well maintained in the urban context. According to the State Party, due to its port the historical character and function of the city as a place of exchange and commerce is still retained as well.<sup>9</sup>

Conscious of the architectural and urban assets of the city, Alain Juppé, the newly elected mayor of Bordeaux in 1996, guided the city into a new phase of urban development, enhancing the local identity, using this heritage as a catalyst of change and, establishing a new look for historic preservation and its management in the urban context.

### 3.2 Urban Project of 1996 to 2004

According to Juppé, heritage must be a project tool. This raised new questions about the role of heritage in the city, suggesting that it goes well beyond the concept of the built structure or road system and refers to its sociological aspects, urban landscape, and cultural heritage. In light of a new discourse, the renovation plan of 1996 led to the city's inscription on the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 2007. The reclaiming of Bordeaux's center was the core of the Urban Project undertaken by Juppé, after the departure of

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

the port activities in 1981.<sup>10</sup> The city's originality on historic preservation relies not only in buildings and their preserved façades but especially on the preservation of the urban fabric, responsible for the city's identity. This thinking came from the city's leaders' realization that the urban heritage is not only an important economic asset, but also a human and social product that requires the land use, urban fabric, and ways of life in the historical district to be preserved.

According to Catherine Chimits, chief of the revitalization of the historic center project for the City of Bordeaux from 1996 to 2009, the UNESCO inscription processes was a cultural approach to redevelop the historical center, while the Urban Project of 1996 had been mainly to improve the quality of living and of the deteriorated houses in the center of the city. The Urban Project referenced to the urban fabric as a whole more than just monuments or particular buildings. This global approach required more legibility of legal and administrative constraints and simplification of financial arrangements, either for the public or the private spheres.<sup>11</sup>

According to Juppé, there were three reasons for the direction taken in the Urban Project: First, the reinforcement of the historical center was a strong issue for the urban agglomeration as a whole due to sprawling and its effects in the public finances; therefore, it required attractiveness for people to re-inhabit the area. Second, given the economic role that took place at the urban core of Bordeaux, which is one of the main poles of employment and services of the agglomeration, it was necessary to strengthen its capacity by consolidating the existing fabric of activities and by welcoming new services. And third, since the facades of the quays and the historical district are of

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<sup>10</sup> Agence d'Urbanisme Bordeaux Métropole Aquitaine, ed. 2003. Proceedings of the 4e Assises du Patrimoine du Grand-Ouest : Les débats sur la ville 5, *Patrimoine et développement des cœurs de ville*, January 30-31, 2003. Bordeaux, France: Éditions Confluences, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Catherine Chimits, interview by author, 26 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

great heritage value, meaningful to the city's identity, they should be enhanced and protected in order to permit new uses and activities not only related to visitation and tourism.<sup>12</sup>

Starting in 1996, two main questions guided Alain Juppé's vision: first, how to provide these different actions that would enable older neighborhoods to be reinvested in by locals and visitors and ensure that they are available to everyone, and second, how to find the perfect balance between economic activity, tourism, habitat, and everyday life.<sup>13</sup> For that, some imperatives had to be followed:

- Conservation of the architectural and heritage quality of the building complexes, but also of the urban fabric, while accommodating contemporary activities.
- Restoration and rehabilitation of the buildings, by offering them a better quality of comfort, atmosphere, light and space, to ensure that all generations will have access to these places.
- Integration of the green spaces, and urban services.
- Ensuring the cohabitation and proximity of spaces of leisure and housing.

Juppé's approach of urban planning and redevelopment managed to satisfy two urban forces: on one hand, the strict national and local historic preservation requirements and constraints, and, on the other hand, its urgency to re-adapt itself to contemporary needs and uses. By focusing on the historic center, he expected to strengthen and better integrate the two

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<sup>12</sup> Agence d'Urbanisme Bordeaux Métropole Aquitaine, *Patrimoine et développement des cœurs de ville*, 7-8.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Chimits. "Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional: o exemplo do Centro Histórico de Bordeaux," (slideshow, Brasília, DF, Ministério das Cidades, 2008).

banks along the Garonne River and the agglomeration as a whole, composed by 28 communes (municipalities) under the political/territorial institution *Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux* (Urban Community of Bordeaux – CUB).

The CUB is formed with the purpose to achieve cooperation and joint administration between Bordeaux and its independent suburbs. The head of the CUB is not elected in a direct way, the mayor of Bordeaux, though, the largest city of the agglomeration, is, and so are his/her staff. Along with other cities' administrations, they elect the head chiefs of the CUB. The CUB is responsible for larger issues such as: sewage, garbage, transportation, economic development of the area, general policies in housing (*Programme local d'habitat* - Local Plan for Housing - PLH), urbanism (PLU), commerce (SDUC), and so forth; and the municipalities execute these guidelines within their respective boundaries. In fact, the State defines the public interest, the CUB plans it on the regional level, and the municipalities have to apply it.<sup>14</sup>

The Urban Project was then divided into three main operations: In 2000, the project of redevelopment of the quays was initiated, allowing Bordeaux to return to its river and reclaim its quays as a place of urban identity. In 2003, the tramway system was implemented and aimed to reorganize the urban exchanges and displacement in the center of the city, providing a better sharing of free spaces by releasing the streets from the huge automobile presence. And from 2000 to 2004, the project of rehabilitation of the ancient neighborhoods was begun, through a partnership between the State, the *Agence Nationale de l'Habitat* (National Housing Agency - ANAH), *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations* (Fund of Deposits and Consignations - CDC), and the *Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux* (CUB), representing the metropolitan region. This also included the

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<sup>14</sup> Catherine Chimits, interview by author.

creation of an updated inventory of the *Ville de Pierre* (surrounding the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* but of heritage relevance).<sup>15</sup>

Bordeaux, like many other French cities, relied on its tramway system for the re-appropriation of iconic public spaces and on the encouraging partnership associating public and private partnerships to help attract new inhabitants back into the city center. In order to implement the tramway in 2003 (Figure 12), changes were provided in the PSMV, in 2002, allowing the *Place de Quinconces* to be part of the public transportation system.<sup>16</sup> These provisions and transformations were meant to brand the city and make up for the “lost time” in the competition with other mid-tier European cities, such as Bilbao, Nantes, and Toulouse.<sup>17</sup>

Although the CUB was present mostly to implement and facilitate the tramway system, and Alain Juppé was also the president of the institution, the main actors in the center renovation process were the ANAH and the State (city and federal governments), as, also, the main providers of funding.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Agence d'Urbanisme Bordeaux Métropole Aquitaine, *Patrimoine et développement des cœurs de ville*, 7-37; and Catherine Chimits. “Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional: o exemplo do Centro Histórico de Bordeaux.”

<sup>16</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>17</sup> Patrice Godier, Claude Sorbets and Guy Tapie. *Bordeaux métropole: un futur sans rupture* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2009), 10-14.

<sup>18</sup> Chimits, interview by author.



Figure 12 Bordeaux's Tramway crossing the Garonne River. The tramway was a fundamental piece reinforcing the agglomeration by connecting the two banks of the river, one of the goals of the Urban Project of 1996. (City of Bordeaux, La CUB, 2009)

From 1965 to 2005, the historic core of Bordeaux had suffered a gradual declining of its population. Many of the subsidized social housing facilities had deteriorated, almost 12% of them were in an inhabitable state and almost 20% were vacant. In addition, there were not many housing options, 85% of units were rental, and 66% of them were efficiencies not suitable for families. These conditions created a significant turnover of residents detrimental to the neighborhood's life and urban vibrancy.<sup>19</sup>

In January of 2002, the City of Bordeaux engaged the CUB, the State, the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations* (Fund of Deposits and Consignations - CDC) and the ANAH into a discussion about a vast territory between the Garonne River and its courses, which culminated in the release of a plan for

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<sup>19</sup> "Le projet de requalification," InCité, accessed April 19, 2013, [http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,17,left\\_B2F70BF8.html](http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,17,left_B2F70BF8.html).

general actions concerning the revitalization of the historic central district of the city.<sup>20</sup> The target area consisted of 501 acres (203 hectares) and extends from within the courses (*Arnozan* to the *Marne*) to the Garonne River including the area between the Course de la Somme and the *Rue de Bègles*.<sup>21</sup> According to Chimits, the action plan aimed to improve the quality of life and residential comfort of the local population (current and future), to stop the progressive decline of the center but also to strengthen the social diversity (age, marital status, and household composition), therefore, branching out the residential choices.<sup>22</sup>

In face of this challenge, in which low income people were living in inadequate conditions in private housing, the main goal became to improve and implement private social housing, by providing money to private owners to renovate their properties, including a percentage of social housing, over a period of twelve years. The city combined two incentives: one coming from the ANAH, and another from the National Government concerning the *Secteurs de Sauvegardé*, within the parameters of the *Loi Malraux*, according to which, to renovate a building, the developer could take out of the taxable income the amount of the investment. However, recently the law has leveled the maximum amount of income. In Chimits' perspective, the down side of this entrepreneurship was that some private investors/developers used the Malraux law to buy housing with fewer regulations, then evicting residents without any regard. Due to the lack of long term reasoning, many low-income people turned into easy targets of persuasion, especially considering that some buildings' rental values would not reflect their tax incentives, due to a lack of regulatory oversight. In sum, the renovations under the *Loi Malraux*

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<sup>20</sup> Chimits, "Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional: o exemplo do Centro Histórico de Bordeaux".

<sup>21</sup> "Le projet de requalification," InCité, accessed April 19, 2013, [http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,17,left\\_B2F70BF8.html](http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,17,left_B2F70BF8.html).

<sup>22</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO.

were being done without a specific frame. The organization called InCité was created to provide a more restrictive and controlled framework.<sup>23</sup>

In 2002, the City of Bordeaux and other public partners (the State, the CUB, ANAH and others) fixed the tasks and means of InCité, in charge of what the State had established as the public interest, referring to the habitat component, through a convention of Public Land for a period of 8 years, extended until 2014. The company took the name of InCité to "better communicate its new missions of urban renewal."<sup>24</sup> Although, InCité coordinated a firm and strict system under its guidance, it aimed to control the real estate and financial operations for the sake of promoting equality.<sup>25</sup>

InCité is an institution of mixed economy dedicated to the missions of construction, real estate management, redevelopment, planning of complex transactions, land purchase, marketing, housing, and social support. Its forerunner, the *Société Bordelaise mixte d'Urbanisme et de Construction* (Mixed Association of Construction and Planning of Bordeaux - SBUC), had been set up much earlier, in July of 1957, when the municipal council of Bordeaux, composed by the City of Bordeaux and other public partners (the State, the CUB, ANAH and others) decided to create a mixed economy company, with the mission of opening the new areas of Bordeaux to the urbanization process. The city was going through a housing crisis at that time. The Board of Directors was then chaired by Jacques Chaban-Delmas, the mayor of Bordeaux, previously to Alain Juppé. This began a period devoted to the development of new neighborhoods and the construction and management of nearly 4,000 homes and local businesses within the districts of *Grand-Parc, Bordeaux Lac, Benauge, Chartrons, Meriadeck*, and others.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>24</sup> "Le projet de requalification."

<sup>25</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>26</sup> "Le projet de requalification."

The established commission of the municipality InCité took responsibility for solving the deficit of adequate social housing. This association organized the project, working in partnership with the city and the society. This kind of association represents a more efficient way to deal with the operation than the city itself, since it is not the role of the city to buy and negotiate buildings. The city had a contract with InCité that settled goals in terms of rehabilitation within ANAH's budget, defining apartments that would be renovated under the Malraux law, the percentage of social housing, with free rent or controlled rent.<sup>27</sup> The institution, under the municipality's designation, directed all the actions performed by the private developers in order to prevent gentrification and guarantee equitable conditions. Work within the previously neglected historical district had to be carried out under new, updated urban policies and incentives, and needed to accommodate specific guidelines, incorporating not only the protection of the historical urban landscape, but also the social use of the buildings.<sup>28</sup>

InCité advised the developers through the interventions in the historic district, giving authorizations in exchange for the tax incentives given by the State. However, the State was a partner of the city that required the creation of urban tools. The law never defined what the tools would be based upon. InCité would make decisions based on the amount of social housing in the project, with the municipality deciding that there was not enough social housing of quality in the center of the city, which was the number one criterion. The authorization was not the issue anymore but in order to get the ANAH's and State's incentives, the renovation would have to provide the required amount of social housing. According to Chimits, the Malraux Law alone is too open to address social housing aspects. As the head of the project, she then decided to combine them both (the law and the goal);

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<sup>27</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>28</sup> Chimits. "Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional."

however, the fact that this was not enforced by legal means opened precedents for lawsuits after ten years. Currently, the system is working differently; it is easier to produce social housing through the device of *Périmètre de Restauration Immobilière* (Properties Restoration Perimeter - PRI), a way to initiate renovation of blighted and unsafe buildings, encouraging the action of private owners.<sup>29</sup> The PRI defines the perimeter and the time frame of intervention, allowing full restructuring of the area and avoiding rehabilitation of poor quality leading to an overproduction of small dwellings.<sup>30</sup>

By the beginning of InCité's work, the city presented 230,000 inhabitants and 114,000 residential units; the historic district had 27,700 people and only 23,500 residential units. While the National government required 20% to be social housing, the existing was limited to 14.7%, in which 70% was rented and 12% was vacant. By 1999, the urban core of the city was mostly vacant, populated by poor and minority groups and lacking in social diversity.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>30</sup> "Restauration immobilière," InCité, accessed June 29, 2014, [http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,22,left\\_4FBB8897.html](http://www.incite-bordeaux.fr/pageseditos,22,left_4FBB8897.html)

<sup>31</sup> Chimits. "Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional."

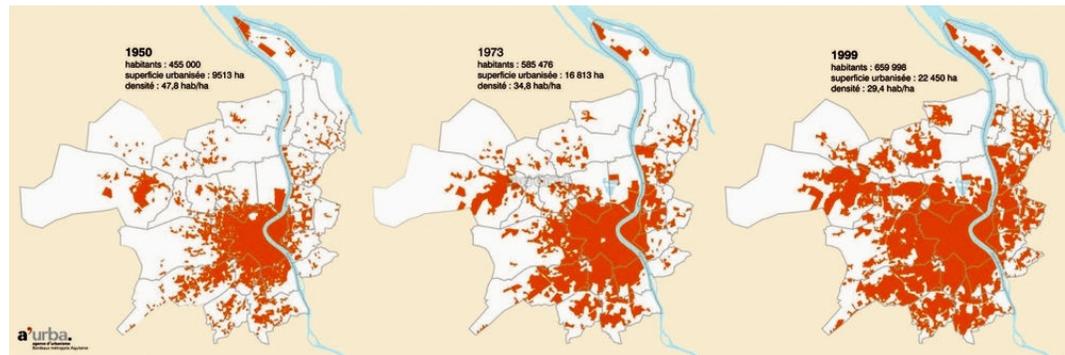


Figure 13 Maps showing evolution of the urban agglomeration while showing the effects of sprawling, contrary force to the Urban Project's goal of reinforcing the attractiveness of the city's center. The *agence d'urbanisme Bordeaux métropole Aquitaine* (a'urba) works in partnership with the CUB, funded by the department of Aquitaine (political-territorial division right below the national level in France), to develop strategic plans, studies and projects. (a'urba 2012)

Along with the improvement of the conditions and quantity of housing, the revitalization the center of the city also aimed to control and contain the urban sprawl (Figure 12). The architectural heritage referenced to quality of housing but also the use of the buildings. InCité had a certain amount of money to buy properties, so they tried to also include actions in the street infrastructure. As a public authority, InCité was given a special right to buy properties before any other buyer, the pre-emption tool. The act of buying and the definition of what should be kept or destroyed were for fully public goals, even in the case of buildings from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century; at the same time, what would persist should be kept in sustainable and livable conditions. The historic plan concerning the district did not address safety, and for this reason, InCité was also allowed to determine which buildings would be demolished. According to Chimits, this follows one Italian conservation principle of *delitamento*, in which sometimes it is necessary to destroy in order to protect. The medieval layout was kept but the effort was to improve the interior of the blocks, in order to provide light, ventilation and better spaces, the “definition of inner landscapes,” in her words. Certain blocks were built out up to 85%/90% of occupation, in which there was no

“breathing room.” InCité performed a “knitting work,” as Chimits described it, by buying properties to better connect the urban fabric.<sup>32</sup>

Although the protection of a *Secteur de Sauvegardé* is a national mandate, it is performed by the local power, along with the *Architect du Batimênt de France*. Weekly, InCité would meet the *Architect du Batimênt de France*, and the city, to discuss developers’ projects and their feasibility, aiming always for the production of housing. Another alternative was that the developers would have to meet with InCité for every new project, for advice, before getting the permission/license/authorization from the city. Therefore, the program had to be evaluated and approved by the *Architect du Batimênt de France* (the State), InCité, and finally the city of Bordeaux in order to be built.<sup>33</sup>

The Operation *Tiroir* (drawer) consisted in renovating whole blocks for social housing, while moving the former residents to the operation that had been performed right next to it, that is, already in livable conditions after being renovated. With times changing, the *Architect du Batimênt de France* had become stricter about conceiving permissions inside the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*, concerning interior renovations. Inside the sector, there are different levels of protection, some cases had to be analyzed on the inside and outside, some of them just the outside, depending on the level of the protection (the higher the level, more critical would be the architect’s judgment about the whole building). However, many of the interiors had been already long neglected due to the long lasting façade oriented approach, so the city, along with the *Architect du Batimênt de France* and InCité, decided to raise the standards. According to Chimits, Francois Grandron, the *Architect du Batimênt de France* during the Urban Project, interpreted the rules of the

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<sup>32</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

*Secteur de Sauvegardé* on a case by case basis, taking into consideration other factors and nuances, and not letting himself be influenced by local interests.<sup>34</sup>

InCité works with almost 50 other partners within the public and private spheres and local residents, in order to ensure the social diversity of the central population. Since 2002, 1,876 units have been renewed within the historic district, 83% of which are social housing units. Concerning the contemporary habitats within the renewed historic heritage, the goal is to rehabilitate 2,400 units from which 30% should be of social housing, create 53,820 square feet of commercial use, and 330 new parking spots by the end of 2014.<sup>35</sup>

According to Catherine Chimits, it is necessary to balance development and protection. In the case of the tramway it required minor modifications in the historic district regulation in order to improve enormously the urban mobility. However, by improving the quality of the infrastructure, it is very hard to prevent gentrification; it is a natural phenomenon of the renovation process. Nevertheless, with the constraints defined by InCité and the city in terms of social housing, the diversity of the urban social environment would be guaranteed for at least 12 years. Despite the expiration of the contract, some of the buildings that InCité had bought for social housing now belong to local social agencies and institutions.<sup>36</sup>

The effectiveness of InCité's actions is due to its high leadership in directing the actions performed by the public and private sectors, in a well-defined framework. The ultimate goals lead to the abolishment of inadequate and high risk buildings and to the increase of affordable and social housing in the urban core. The scope of its work was defined by at least five different plans concerning the same area:

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> "Le projet de requalification."

<sup>36</sup> Chimits, interviewed by the author.

- *Schéma de cohérence territoriale* (Plan of Development - SCOT) of 2000: that envisioned a population growth of 33% for the regional conurbation;
- *Plan Local d'habitat* (Local Housing Program - PLH) of 2002-2006: that aimed to diversify the housing choices, renew the ancient neighborhoods, and offer social housing;
- *Plan des déplacements urbains* (Urban Displacement Plan – PDU): that wanted to protect the center from auto traffic and develop an efficient public transportation mode;
- *Plan Local d'Urbanisme* (Local Urban Plan - PLU) of 2005: that defines the land use and zoning of the city;
- *Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur* (Plan of Safeguarding and Development - PMSV): that is the Plan of Preservation and Development of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*.<sup>37</sup>

InCité's initiatives have become reality through several tools such as tax incentives, oversight features and power to buy and sell properties:

- *Opération programmée d'amélioration de l'habitat* (Programmed Operation for Housing Improvement - OPAH): this tax incentive aims to assist the rehabilitation of housing in ancient buildings and offers subsidized rental in private properties within a specific perimeter. OPAH offers the possibility for owners to benefit from tax incentives, and free technical and administrative consulting, in exchange for a cap on rent or other income conditions.<sup>38</sup>
- Tax incentives from the Malraux Law: intended to protect the architectural heritage of the *Secteurs de Sauvegardé*. The building that

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<sup>37</sup> Chimits, “Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional.”

<sup>38</sup> “Le projet de requalification.”

will be renovated must be a rental unit (to be rented for 6 years) in an ancient building. The incentive discounts from the owner's income tax the total amount invested in the construction and rehabilitation of the building.

- *Périmètre de Restauration Immobilière* (Properties Restoration Perimeter - PRI) (Figure 15): intended to initiate the process of restoration of buildings in bad condition, to trigger the intervention from private owners in unsafe and unhealthy conditions, to avoid rehabilitations of poor quality, subdivisions into very small dwellings, and to enable the complete restructuring of an established perimeter in a certain given time.
- Relocation: InCité can relocate temporarily or permanently former tenants of buildings targeted for redevelopment. They could either be placed in a private rental unit subsidized by OPAH, buildings or units acquired by InCité, property of social housing administrators, or a hotel if the case is for a short-term relocation. The relocation process is also provided with social accompaniment, considering the economic fragility of each tenant.
- *Déclaration d'Utilité Publique* (Declaration of Public Utility - DUP): once the PRI is defined, studies are addressed to areas of most priority, considering the DUP. These studies focus on sanitation, security, livability, and enhancement of the heritage. Once the City Hall and Town Council define the priorities and deadlines, InCité must notify the owners of the properties of the work required in order to get them rehabilitated. If the work is not completed, an investigation could lead to a piecemeal expropriation procedure.
- Land tenure monitoring for friendly purchase: for the purpose of demolition (ventilating the middle of dense blocks and creating inner gardens) or sale to enhance home ownership, social rents,

restructuring by private renters (in larger units and/or with rental diversity of units).

- Right of urban preemption: the first right of purchase of any property by InCité if deemed important; from over 21,000 declarations of alienation intention, 0.6% has been preempted, since 2003.<sup>39</sup>

In parallel, more than 350 buildings were listed on the inventory of the *Monuments Historiques* (French National Trust), a protection structure established in the country in the 19th Century. Three of these buildings are places of worship inscribed on the World Heritage Santiago de Compostela Pilgrimage route, in 1996. Some buildings were even protected as historic monuments before that, as early as 1840.<sup>40</sup>

The *Architect du Bâtiment de France*, overseen by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage of France, assures the local quality and preservation of the urban space. Any interventions in protected buildings or districts (*Secteurs de Sauvegardé*) are required to be approved by the *Architect du Bâtiment de France* responsible for that area. Along with the *Architect de Bâtiment de France*, InCité and the city of Bordeaux were able to define a new approach towards urban preservation, not only focused on the façades or on preservation at any cost, as the former practice, but open to nuances according to each case. In a joint process, gradually, the interventions focused on the whole building, its use and contribution to the surrounding context. In a few cases, the policy was to “destroy in order to protect,” as affirms Chimits, prioritizing the quality of the urban space as a whole.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout the year 2002, a work session directed by Alain Juppé was able to show that the Urban Project had effectively changed the historic

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<sup>39</sup> Chimits, “Integrar a Renovação Urbana à Reabilitação do Patrimônio Histórico e à Produção Habitacional.”

<sup>40</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO, 151.

<sup>41</sup> Chimits, interview by author.

city, reduced traffic in the city center, restored facades, and helped ensure vibrant social diversity. And it is in fact this Urban Project that positioned the city's UNESCO World Heritage nomination for success. That process began on 2003. In the city's first attempt of 2004, Bordeaux presented its case to the National government asking to be considered by the World Heritage Committee in the same year. Although the city of Le Havre was chosen instead in that year, the municipality of Bordeaux took this as an opportunity to further improve its candidature document. Later on, in 2006, with the expertise of the international commission, the city produced a document that was much different and more mature than that provided two years before.<sup>42</sup>

The Urban Project had a positive effect in the scientific community regarding the fields of urban planning, architecture, and heritage preservation. A lot has been written regarding the tramway implementation in public spaces; the role of the Urban Project of 1996, which transformed the perspective regarding the city and engaged awareness by the locals and other institutions about Bordeaux's heritage value. Anne-Laure Moniot, responsible for the general management of the World Heritage Mission in the City of Bordeaux, was one of the key lecturers at the General Assembly of ICOMOS in Paris, in November of 2011.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Mairie de Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

<sup>43</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author.



Figure 14 Bordeaux's Historic District and the tramway system (Bordeaux Tourisme, 2013)

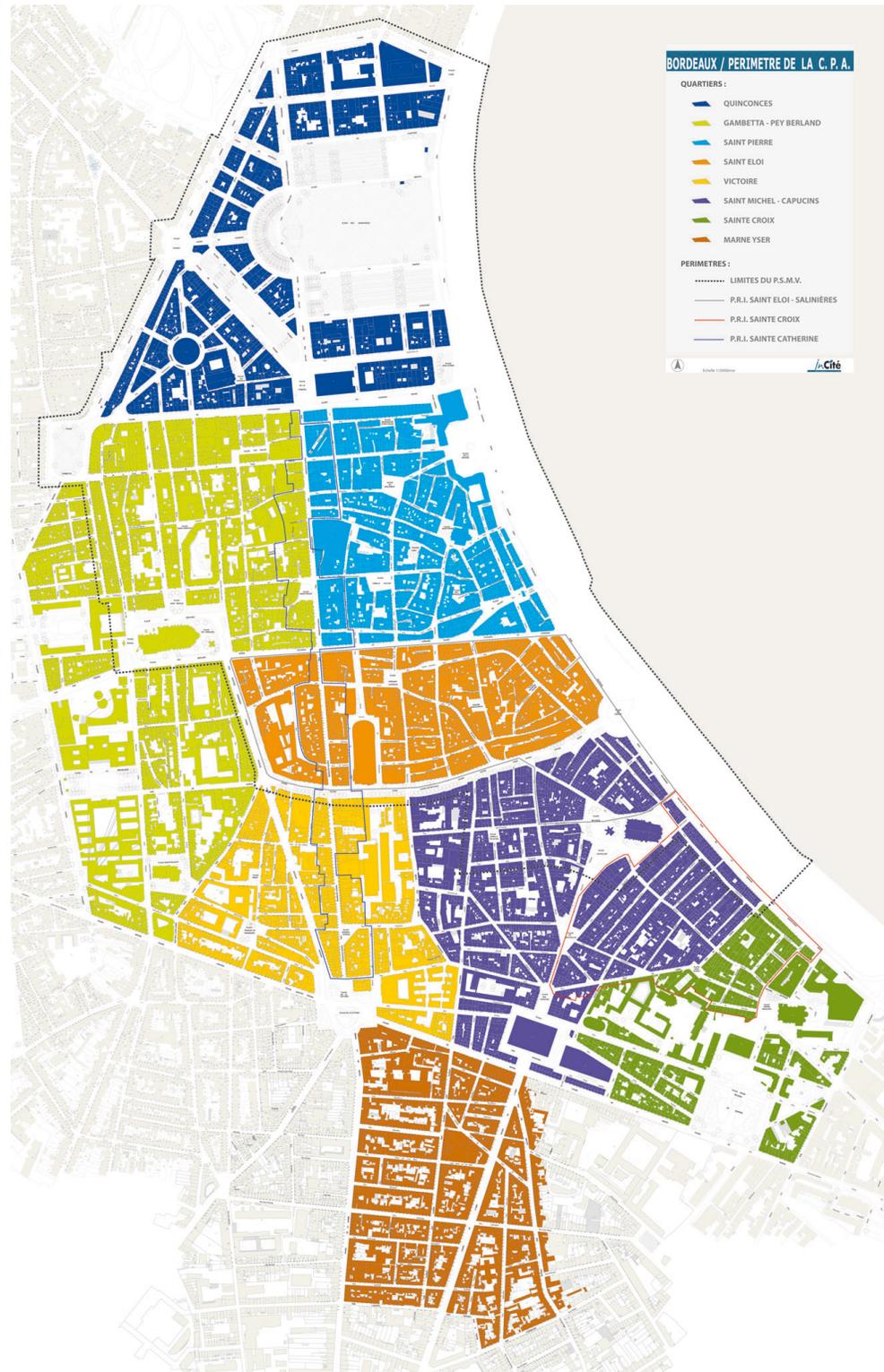


Figure 15 Perimeter of InCité's interventions (*Convention Publique d'Aménagement*) (InCité, 2014)

### 3.3 Bordeaux's UNESCO World Heritage List Nomination

The idea of seeking the UNESCO World Heritage Nomination was a municipal decision and a way to validate the efforts of the 1996 Urban Project. Obviously, it was related to economic interests around tourist visitation (which increased after inscription by around 30%), but also to bring prestige and publicity, and to make the city known worldwide. The guiding reason for the UNESCO nomination was the façades of the docks, connected to the Garonne River, of classical architecture and the management of public spaces.<sup>44</sup> The main argument of the nomination dossier was that no other port city in France had respected its urban and architectural unity over two and a half centuries like Bordeaux. The city has conserved rich testimonies of its history and its royal past, an active harbor and a cultural and political center throughout this period. This statement is supported by many comparative analyses of Bordeaux to other European World Heritage towns: Florence, St. Petersburg, Naples, Sienna, Porto, Salzburg, Riga, Tallinn, Lyon, Urbino, Bruges, Aranjuez, Liverpool, and Le Havre.<sup>45</sup>

In 2003, the City implemented a process of preparation, under the direction of the elected leaders in charge of heritage. It became apparent that, because of its history, its architecture, and its urban fabric, Bordeaux would position its candidacy in the category "Outstanding Urban Ensemble" and as such it was going to be necessary to provide a certain perimeter scope that was significant and consistent from the Garonne (the port of the moon) to the belt of boulevards. Scientific, technical, and management committees then elaborated a document that was submitted to the Ministry of Culture in

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<sup>44</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Mairie de Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

<sup>45</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO, 148.

December 2005. Upon review and selection of other candidates, the Ministry sent it to the World Heritage Centre in Paris in January of 2006, which verified it and forwarded it onto the Secretariat of ICOMOS in March of 2006. The assessment procedure by ICOMOS required the intervention of two expert groups of architects, planners, and historians. The first group decided on the issue of outstanding universal value, while the second examined the means employed by the City for the management and conservation of a large and complex urban area.<sup>46</sup>

In November of 2006, the experts appointed by ICOMOS made a study and evaluation visit to Bordeaux, making notes, especially on the perimeter of the heritage focus area (also called the buffer zone). In response to that, the City proposed changes rapidly, following the mapping of the Local Urban Plan (PLU). At this stage of the investigation of the case, the work of the city was completed. Expert reports and the nomination dossier, prepared by the State were sent to ICOMOS for several meetings of its Committee on World Heritage, in the beginning of 2007. This committee consists of 26 members representing all regions of the globe and a wide range of skills and experiences. At the end of their work, the organization established an evaluation report of the case, to be examined by the World Heritage Committee at its annual meeting. The final step of the procedure consists of a presentation of the candidacy of Bordeaux to the World Heritage Committee during its plenary meeting held in June each year. On 28 June 2007, it was in Christchurch, New Zealand, that Bordeaux made its entry on the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites.

The successful inscription process went hand-in-hand with the city's urban initiatives. In 2004, the city had initiated an innovative approach that consisted of performing laborious architectural inventories of buildings and

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<sup>46</sup> "Chronique d'une candidature," Mairie de Bordeaux, accessed January 27 2014, [http://www.bordeaux.fr/pgPresStand8.psm1?\\_nfpb=true&\\_pageLabel=pgPresStand8&classofcontent=presentationStandard&id=15365](http://www.bordeaux.fr/pgPresStand8.psm1?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=pgPresStand8&classofcontent=presentationStandard&id=15365).

urban settings for over a third of the city's communal territory. This process then provided the empirical and scientific knowledge to design policies and regulations to preserve the architectural and urban features of the city's neighborhoods. The innovation of this approach lies in the attention given to a modest heritage, the neighborhood shops and townhouses for example, which distinguish Bordeaux for its implementation of regulatory provisions combining heritage and urban development.<sup>47</sup>

The UNESCO recognition carries new requirements from the international community but also from the Bordeaux region. The management plan combines urban, cultural, and economic actions. It takes key actions and tools that have led to the recognition of heritage material, including immaterial and natural, and that have participated in the implementation of the Urban Project and contributed to its promotion. This includes the PSMV and PLU, the inventory of architectural and urban landscape, leading to suitable requirements for the entire Ville de Pierre, the cleaning of facades, the setting of lights, and the program organization for festive events. All these devices are articulated around three main objectives: to preserve and promote cultural heritage, to share the heritage of Bordeaux, and to ensure economic and social development of the city.<sup>48</sup>

From 2003 to 2006, the city commissioned the organization GRAHAL, made up of the advisory class of local active specialists formed by architects, town planners, historians, researchers, and representatives of associations involved in heritage preservation, to actively develop and defend Bordeaux's inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List.<sup>49</sup> During the nomination process of the urban ensemble, Bordeaux mentioned the intention of connecting the two banks of the river through a new *Bacalan-Bastide* bridge.

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<sup>47</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Mairie de Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

<sup>48</sup> "Chronique d'une candidature," Mairie de Bordeaux.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

However, during the 31<sup>st</sup> session of the World Heritage Committee, in Quebec in 2008, the city of Bordeaux was questioned about the impact of this project on the unity of the protected area. A workshop on Historic Urban Landscapes (*Paysages Urbains*) was organized by the city in order for specialists to further discuss the subject and get to a solution.

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is one of the three formal advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee, along with the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the International Center for the Preservations and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). It is the professional and scientific advisor to the Committee and it is also funded by them to design missions, to create intellectual development plans, and to monitor and evaluate requests for technical assistance.<sup>50</sup> ICOMOS has recognized Bordeaux as a significant example of urban planning and classical and neoclassical architecture from the age of the Enlightenment, along with its strength as a major international wine exporting center.

Another feature of Bordeaux's originality in its nomination process involves the size of the protected area of 1,731 hectares (4,277 acres), nearly half of the city's surface area, and 11,974 hectares (29,588 acres), for its buffer zone, the immediate surrounding area that is also under restrictions. The classified zones correspond to the inside of the boulevards, to and including the Garonne River. The sensitive area includes the city of Bordeaux as a whole, the area outside the boulevards and 8 surrounding communes: *Bruges, Cenon, Floirac, le Bouscat, Lormont, Mérignac, Pessac, and Talence*.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "The role of ICOMOS in the World Heritage Convention," ICOMOS, International Convention of Monuments and Sites, accessed 29 October 2012, <http://www.icomos.org/en/what-we-do/involvement-in-international-conventions/world-heritage/81-english-categories/what-we-do/268-he-role-of-icomos-in-the-world-heritage-convention>.

<sup>51</sup> "Bordeaux World Heritage," Office de Tourisme de Bordeaux, accessed 29 October 2012, [http://www.bordeaux-tourisme.com/uk/bordeaux\\_patrimoine\\_mondial/introduction/bordeaux\\_patrimoine\\_mondial\\_index.html](http://www.bordeaux-tourisme.com/uk/bordeaux_patrimoine_mondial/introduction/bordeaux_patrimoine_mondial_index.html).

The core zone is limited by a ring road built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and includes the essential parts of Bordeaux's history, the perimeter of Saint-Jean railway station, and the *Pont Eiffel* (Eiffel Bridge), an urban extension of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The buffer zone, on the other hand, extends to the more recent urban areas but it also includes the technical railway and industrial area of *Bercier*. It encompasses the entire perimeter of the classical town (the urban development from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 1950s), areas of concentrated protected elements and the natural boundaries of the right bank of the river, in order to guarantee the visual qualities from the left bank *quais*. Most of the areas in the buffer zone are also protected by the Local Urban Plan (PLU).<sup>52</sup>

Of the ten criteria under which UNESCO will inscribe properties on the World Heritage List, the city of Bordeaux used numbers ii and iv:

Criterion ii: The State Party justifies this criterion on the basis that Bordeaux bears testimony of a considerable exchange of influences between people of the land and people of the sea. The city owes its prosperity to its vineyards, the most celebrated in the world, to the strong will of its luminary people, to its natural port and the Garonne River, which have provided the opportunity to exchange influences with the rest of the world over the centuries. These exchanges have provided this cosmopolitan town, in the age of Enlightenment, with an unparalleled prosperity that created an exceptional urban and architectural transformation that continued through the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the present time.

Criterion iv: The State Party justifies this criterion on the basis that Bordeaux represents an outstanding urban and architectural ensemble, created in the age of Enlightenment, whose values continued up to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with more protected buildings than any other French city, except Paris. Bordeaux is exceptional for the unity of its urban and architectural classical and neo-classical expression, which has not undergone any stylistic rupture over more than two centuries. Its urban form represents the success of philosophers who wanted to make towns into melting pots of humanism, universality and culture.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO, 150.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

Both criteria were recognized by ICOMOS as justifiable ones, as the first one stands for intangible cultural values and the second one focuses mostly in the Enlightenment architectural and urban pieces in the city. ICOMOS has also recognized that the main risks to Bordeaux heritage lie on the urban growth pressures, and future developments. Therefore, as for the recommendations made by UNESCO for the State Party, in order to optimize the management for the property and its buffer zone, they are:

- a) Special attention should be given to projects in the city and its surrounding area that could affect the city's qualities, and in particular the significance of the historic areas of Bordeaux as testimonies of the development of the city over two thousand years and the unity and coherence of the classical and neo-classical monumental ensembles;
- b) Identify and apply indicators for the condition and qualities of public spaces as an essential component in monitoring the nominated property over time.<sup>54</sup>

Both the 347 listed buildings and the buffer zone are protected by the *Plan de Sauvegardé et de Mise en Valeur* (PSMV), approved in 1988 and revised in 1998 and 2002. According to this plan, a protected sector justifies its conservation and restoration by some historic or aesthetic character that presents as a unit of part of an ensemble. The responsibility of the protection and conservation of these buildings is shared among the national, regional, and local governments. The main points valorized by the many plans that ensure the protection of the area are: preservation of the historic and heritage character, controlled evaluation of the historic center, unification of

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<sup>54</sup> U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General Conference, 31<sup>th</sup> Session 2011, Paris. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Nominations to the World Heritage List*. 23 Jun. – 2 Jul. 2007 (WHC-07/31.COM/8B). Official Record. Christchurch,, 2007, 24, accessed December 20, 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-8be.pdf>.

the various planning rules, and contribution to the international significance of metropolitan Bordeaux.<sup>55</sup>

On the specific case of buildings declared *Monuments Historiques Classés*, for new interventions, the support of the Ministry of Culture is required. In the cases of interventions within a 500 meter (1,640 feet) radius from a historic building, in buildings registered in the *Inventaire supplémentaire*, or concerning protected areas (*Secteurs Sauvegardés*, established by the 1962 *Loi Malraux*) any plans must also be reviewed by the Architect for the Buildings for France (*Architecte des Bâtiments de France*).<sup>56</sup>

The nominated area is mostly in private ownership, mostly individual and some juridical bodies such as enterprises and non-governmental associations. Some buildings are owned by the City of Bordeaux, the Gironde Department, the Aquitaine Region, the autonomous port or the State, and therefore, under the City of Bordeaux's guidance, the historic town is also subjected to the following plans: "Convention Ville d'Art"; Land use plan (*Plan de'occupation des sols*) (POS); Local Town plan (*Plan Local d'Urbanisme*) (PLU); Global Project for Urban Renewal (*Projet Global de Renouveau Urbain*), 2002 and the Plan for Urban Transportation Development. Most of these plans are intended for the conservation of the city not only as a group of significant buildings but as an ensemble of urban and architectural coherence and unity:<sup>57</sup>

- The *Convention Ville d'Art* of 1978 was formulated to give visibility to the monuments with the support of the National Office of Historic Monuments.

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<sup>55</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, by UNESCO, 150-151.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 151.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

- The Land use plan of 1983 was revised in 2003 and it is managed by the city to establish general rules on land use and give urban approvals to new interventions.
- The Urban Community of Bordeaux (*Communauté Urban de Bordeaux* – CUB) developed the Local Urban Plan on the regional level.
- The Ministry of Culture and the Departmental Section on Architecture and Heritage (*Service Départemental de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine*) (SDAP) of Gironde established a plan to protect the City of Bordeaux in 1988 including a document on urbanism.
- The Urban Project for the City of Bordeaux of 1996 deals with policies of major public interventions taking into account the heritage enhancement.
- The Global Project of urban renewal for the historic center of the agglomeration of 2002 encloses a great number of strategic and operational objectives.
- The Plan of Protection from the risks of floods (PPRI) of 2003 establishes risk prevention by reinforcing or constructing protective measures.<sup>58</sup>

The entire Management Plan is based upon four main aspects: preserving the historic and heritage character of the city, allowing controlled evolution of the historic center, unifying the various planning rules, and contributing to the international significance of metropolitan Bordeaux. The responsibility for this Management Plan is under the City of Bordeaux jurisdiction that includes the POS/PLU and the PSVM plans. The city is also responsible for the management of public buildings, protected or not. On the other hand, codes of the Urban Community (CUB) are applied in the buffer zone. Required expertise for the conservation and maintenance of protected

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 152-153.

buildings are provided by State agencies but the local government can also provide specialized studies, offices, or adviser architects. Overall, responsibilities are shared with regional agencies: Regional Direction for Cultural Affairs (DRAC), Departmental Service for Architecture and Heritage (DGAC) and the General Direction for Urban Planning of the City of Bordeaux (DGAU).<sup>59</sup>

The city's interventions on this concern have been towards measures of preservation and enhancement of its heritage while encouraging ambitious and good architectural projects, strategies to improve the quality of public spaces, increasing the greenery and the use of landscape architecture in urban projects, and implementation of policies of communication and exchange and reliable institutional partnerships.<sup>60</sup>

According to the Management Plan, and to ICOMOS evaluation, the City of Bordeaux provides the necessary budget for the conservation of its heritage. Other resources are provided by the State and territorial associations that assist with specific operations. In the case of historic monuments, they are funded by special grants and the State contributes with usually 50%. In cases where the monuments are owned by communities, other than the State's funding the Department and the City contributes with 25% each.<sup>61</sup>

The number of plans regarding historic conservation measures in the city proves that the City of Bordeaux has been very active in this matter, due to the PSMV. Since 1996, the city has given special attention to the restoration of historic monuments, but its main approach has been through regular maintenance over protective interventions. The heritage program is, therefore, divided into two categories: conservation and preservation before other types of interventions, and the development of a cultural policy

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 152.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 151.

favoring heritage, which consists in raising public awareness of the relevance of such an intention.<sup>62</sup>

One of the main approaches of these urban policies was the implementation of tramway lines and underground parking areas, as a way to enhance the vistas of important monuments, such as the *Place de la Bourse*, the Cathedral, and *Palais Rohan's* surroundings, while diminishing the damages caused by traffic and pollution, for instance. Along with this measure, other ideas were also implemented: the rehabilitation of the *quais*, the refurbishment of preserved and relevant hangars, a plan for lighting several sites and monuments, studies of the infrastructure along the right bank of the Garonne River, the rehabilitation of the *Palais de la Bourse*, studies and recommendations on urban furniture sympathetic with the city's heritage, and, finally, a campaign to keep the restoration of the *quais* facades and for improvement of housing.<sup>63</sup>

According to Bruno Fayolle, the UNESCO inscription was a way to fund and sustain the Urban Project from the beginning. In order for a city to run the "UNESCO competition," the French National Commission of UNESCO needs to agree on a city inscription to run internationally. France has over 700 sites listed. According to Fayolle, the boundary of the UNESCO protected area is too large and stagnates the city in terms of modernization or architectural evolution, creating samples of pastiche architecture (for the sake of the urban fabric). With the purpose of encompassing the urban fabric, it also ended up including ordinary constructions. Fayolle also alerts to the danger of a process that aims to valorize the unique character of a place but that can also standardize it into a system of "common culture."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 151.

<sup>64</sup> Bruno Fayolle, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.



Figure 16 Aerial view of Bordeaux's historical district (UNESCO-WHC, Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, 2007, 155)



Figure 17 *La place Royale par Gabriel* (UNESCO-WHC, Advisory Body Evaluation: Bordeaux Port of the Moon, 2007, 156)

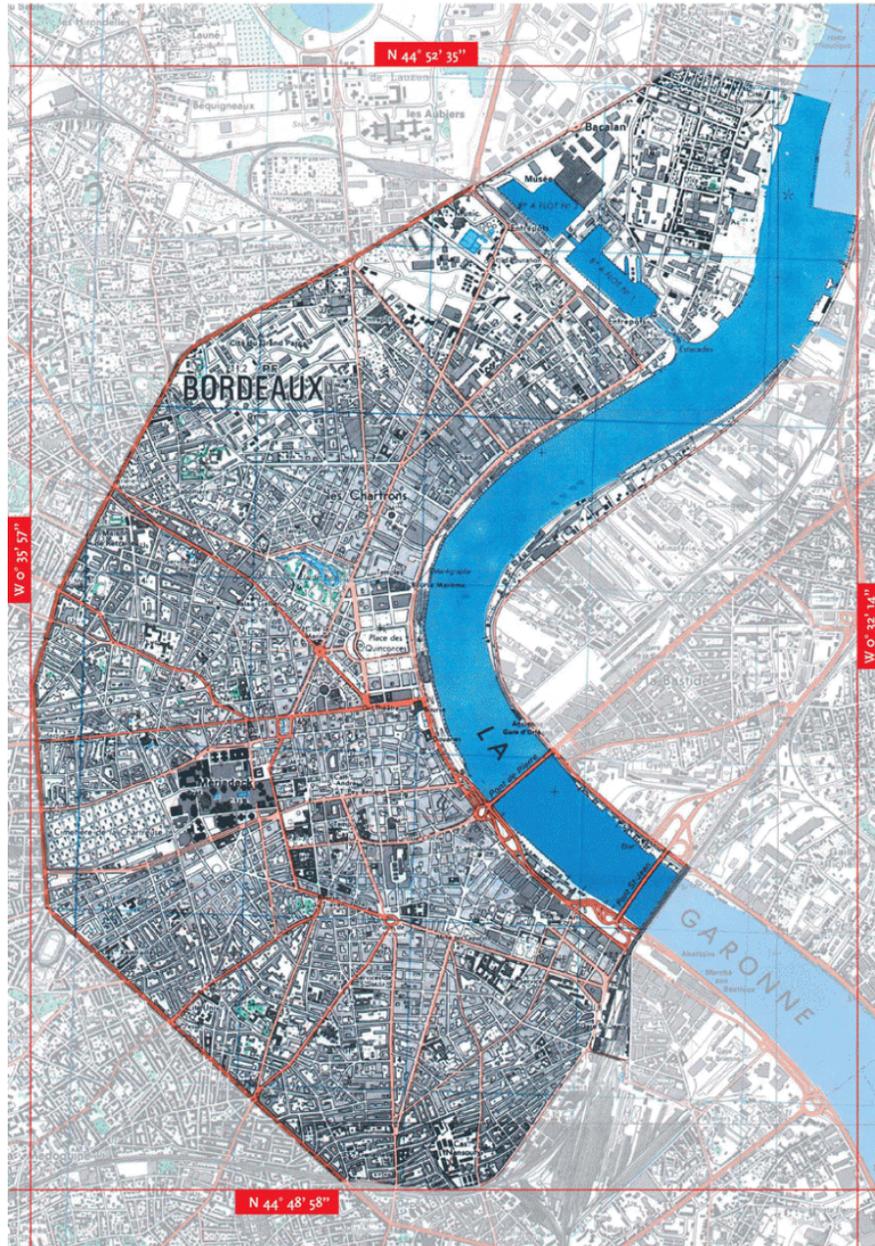


Figure 18 UNESCO inscribed area, 2007

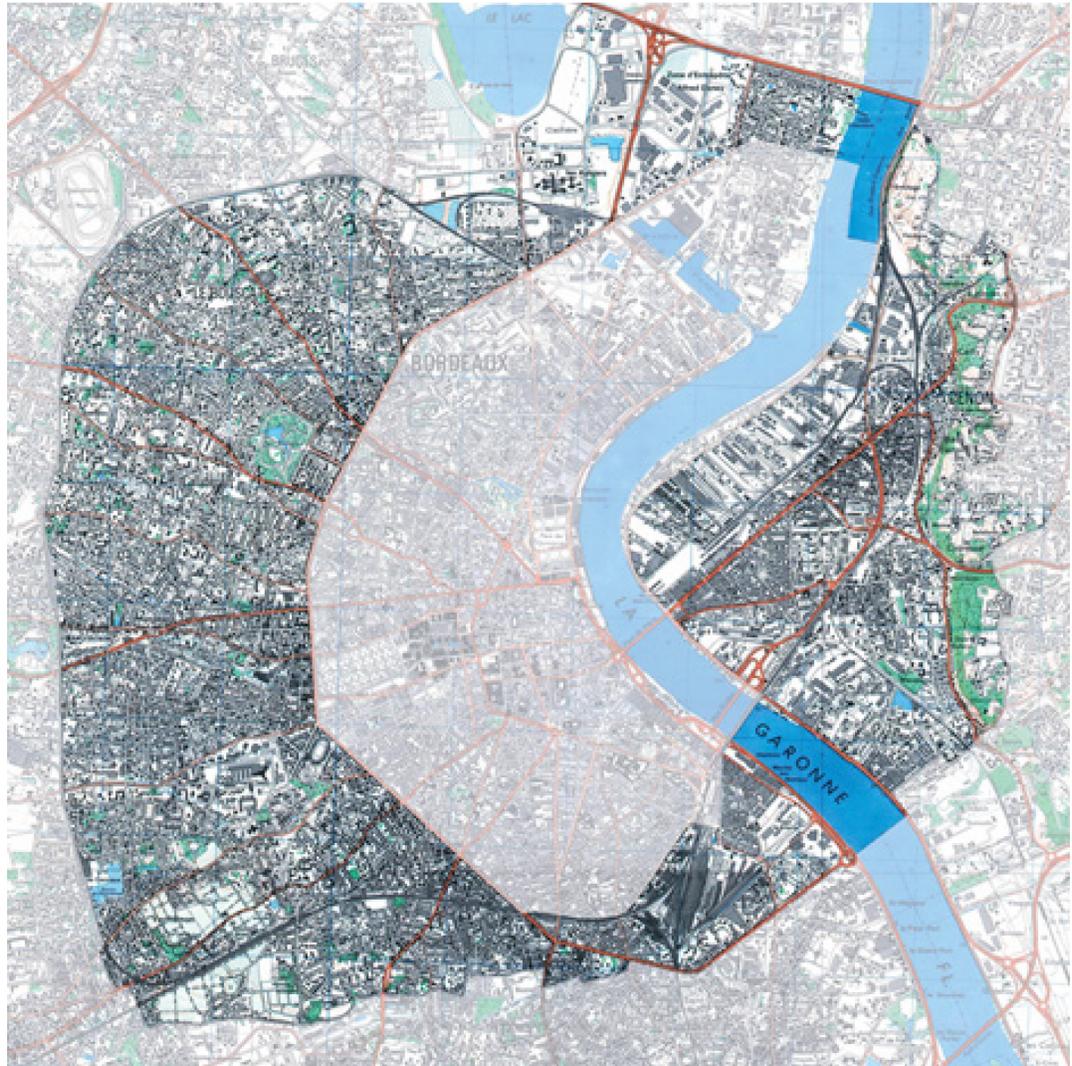


Figure 19 UNESCO buffer zone, 2007

According to what has been discussed so far, the main stakeholders, their relationships, tools and policies are represented in the following chart (Figure 20).

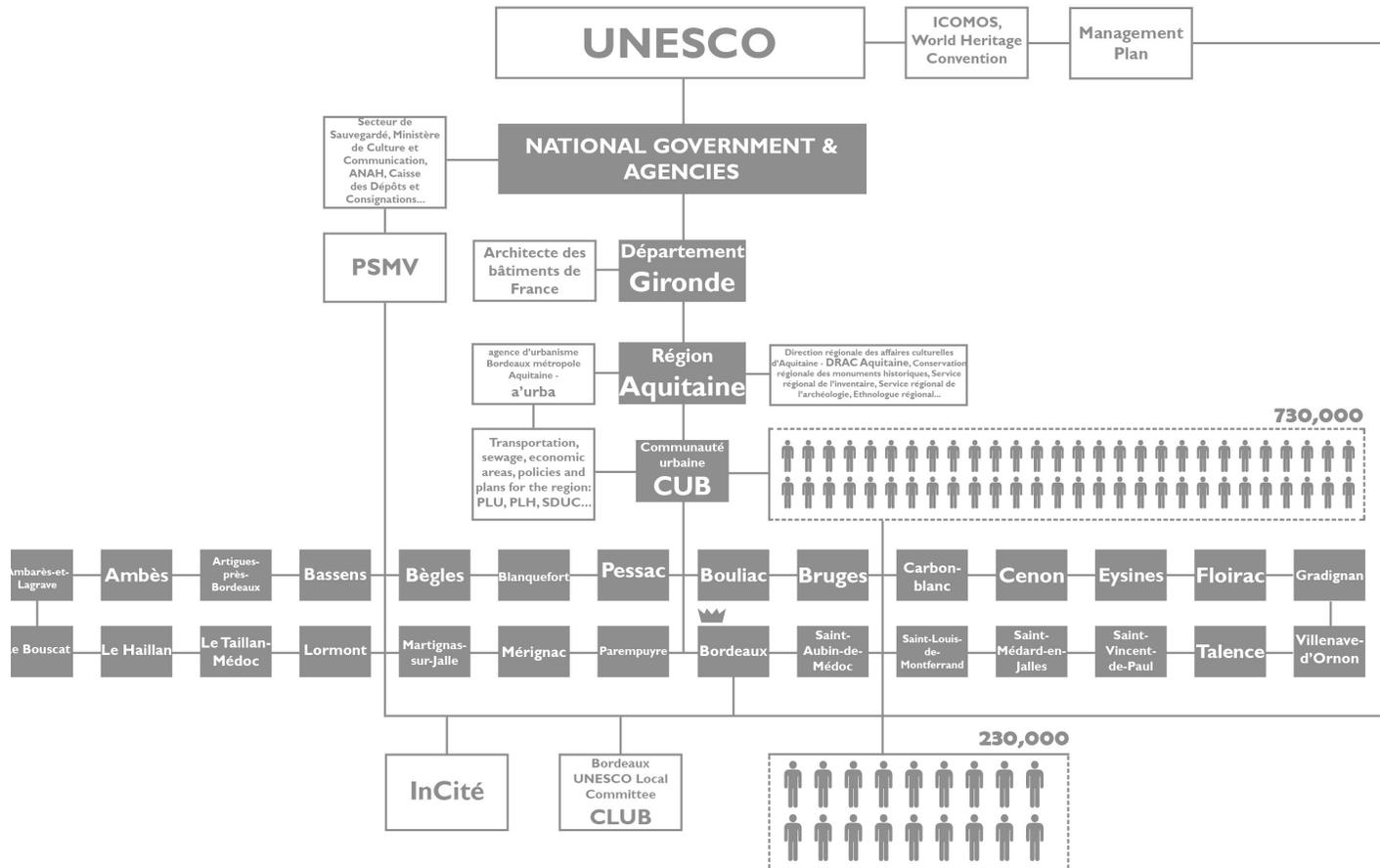


Figure 20 Relationship of the main stakeholders, their policies and tools in the context of the Urban Project of 1996.

# 4

## Bordeaux's UNESCO Inscription and After (2007-2012)

In order to understand the new challenges of the city after the UNESCO inscription, this chapter will analyze the proceedings of the working session/seminar organized by the City of Bordeaux in conjunction with ICOMOS and the UNESCO French Convention of June of 2009, called *Paysages Urbains: Une nouvelle recommandation de l'UNESCO à l'appui de la Convention du patrimoine mondial* (Urban Landscapes: A new recommendation of UNESCO in support of the World Heritage Convention), the case of the bridge *Bacalan-Bastide*, and, finally, the new Urban Project undertaken by the city, called Bordeaux 2030, which includes the revision of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*.

As one of the outcomes of the Urban Project of 1996, the city of Bordeaux extended the work on architectural inventories to identify the conditions of undocumented historic buildings inside and outside the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*, in order to guarantee a revision of its boundaries and a specific and lower level of protection for its immediate surroundings. The revision of the Plan of the *Secteur Sauvegardé* has been ongoing since 2011, and it requires the execution of the inventories of the buildings that had not been done before.<sup>1</sup> Although part of a comprehensive system of preservation, the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* and the UNESCO inscribed area follow distinctive urban regulations, required and specified in the plan of management, while

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<sup>1</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Mairie de Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

the rest of the city reports to the PLU (Local Urban Plan).<sup>2</sup> The Plan of Historic Monuments and surroundings, the Plan of Preservation and Development (PSMV, regulated by the State, the CUB and the City of Bordeaux), the Local Urban Plan (PLU, overseen by the CUB) are the main regulations of the area.

According to Anne-Laure Moniot, architect of the City of Bordeaux and in charge of the survey of the architectural and urban landscape operation and the UNESCO World Heritage nomination process, although the inclusion of Bordeaux on the World Heritage List did not result in any additional legal constraints in terms of protection, the City of Bordeaux is supposed to communicate regularly with the Ministry of Culture, to assure the maintenance of the UNESCO inscription.<sup>3</sup>

For this purpose, the creation of the World Heritage Committee in Bordeaux was approved at the meeting of the Municipal Council, on 30 April 2007, and is chaired by the Mayor. It includes deputies and their agencies, representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Communication, the president of the CUB, qualified personalities, representatives of the consular corps (CCI CMA33) and associations. It meets twice a year and follows up the implementation of the management and action plans and produces a report to be submitted to UNESCO every 5 years. This report allows UNESCO to decide on the quality of management, its evolution, or changes, and to decide whether or not the city still carries the merit of the distinction.<sup>4</sup>

The plan of management of the site includes the historic documentation of the urban ensemble of Bordeaux, as well as inventories of rather ordinary neighborhoods towards the periphery, between the big 18<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Catherine Chimits, interview by author, 26 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Bordeaux, France.

<sup>3</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author.

<sup>4</sup> “La Commission du patrimoine mondial,” Bordeaux 2030, accessed April 24 2014, <http://www.bordeaux2030.fr/bordeaux-unesco/patrimoine-mouvement/suivi-permanent/commission-patrimoine-mondial>

Century avenues (*le cours*) and the boulevards. In order to incorporate more precise regulations in the Local Urban Plan (PLU), the documentation work encompasses 1,400 hectares (3,459 acres) and 40,000 parcels and identifies buildings that can or cannot be demolished, replaced, or renovated, and how these actions could be done (in terms of zoning permits, height, design and materials, etc).

As the city builds up its repertoire and knowledge, it has also improved and made use of specific laws and regulations. Since the 1996 Urban Project, the rationale behind the city management has been in emphasizing the development of the city through the reinforcement of the existing built environment. According to Moniot, this not only requires a well-defined methodology of intervention in ancient properties, but also should include conceptual and legitimate studies identifying guidelines that could have been thought by the architect/design of the original configuration.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the city of Bordeaux takes into account the stratification that the building might have gone through in its lifetime in order to allow/direct possible design/programmatic intervention in existing buildings.

According to this perspective, ancient buildings that have survived are able to take on different “lives” over time, but keeping the “same soul” or the original architectural features. For example, the *Lycée Michel de Montaigne* was a convent in its foundation in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. As many religious enterprises, it became the main *Lycée* (High School) in Bordeaux in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The municipal architect of the time, Charles Burguet, then decided to re-use the basis of the building dated back to 17<sup>th</sup> Century and to add a rooftop, a terrace, a big pavilion, and other features, according to the style and constructive methods of its foundation period.

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<sup>5</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author.

Sylvain Schoenbaert, the current architect in the city of Bordeaux and responsible for the architectural inventories within the *Secteur Sauvegardé*, points out the challenge of such interventions considering that there are at least 13 accepted definitions/theories on restoration, among them Viollet-le-Duc's principle of restoration which is a stylistic approach that imagines a building that has never really existed.<sup>6</sup>

In terms of the general population's (residents and stakeholders) input in the UNESCO inscription process, according to Moniot, it was implicitly intended to not have broad involvement in Bordeaux's process. In her perspective, the absence of a participatory approach relates to the challenge of managing disappointments. Advised by the city of Poitiers, which also had the ambition of inscription into the World Heritage List, Bordeaux commissioned the private company called GRAHAL to design a base document for the application. This created an impasse: on the one hand, the city regretted experiencing the feeling of having "bought a ticket to be inscribed" onto UNESCO World Heritage List; on the other hand, during the process and given the existing structure of the institutions and government, and lack of a strong political desire for involvement, the technical agencies could not find preconditions (legal or political) to engage the local community in the process. The same question concerning community involvement has been raised again by ICOMOS and technical advisory bodies for the projects of the bridge *Bacalan-Bastide* and the *College Cassagnol*, briefly mentioned but not completely explained in the inscription document. The city has been looking for a solution for this "flaw" ever since, through the production of Agoras, Biennales, neighborhood meetings etc., within the scope of the Bordeaux 2030 Urban Project.

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<sup>6</sup> Some of them were mentioned in the Discourses on Preservation, pages 11 and 12. Sylvain Schoenbaert, interview by author, 27 November 2012, Bordeaux, sound recording, Mairie de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, France.

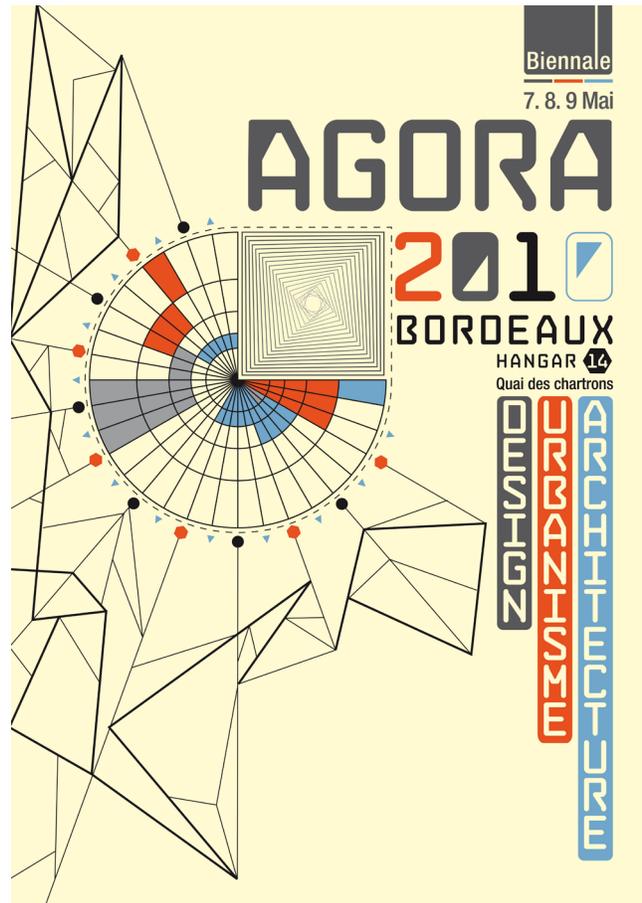


Figure 21 Poster of the Agora 2010 that occurs biannually with professionals and technicians in architecture, urban planning and design and the local community (Shake Studio Communication, 2009)

In sum, the nomination raised issues concerning the human dimension and aspects other than infra-structure and represented an initial step towards a new approach of management of urban centers, as recognized by ICOMOS and UNESCO. On the other hand, Moniot argues that, although it was not planned, engagement and involvement of the community has happened naturally afterwards; there was a significant appropriation by the local population. The Urban Project and the UNESCO inscription have not only changed the built environment but also the perspective and thought about the city. This is still ongoing, understanding that the existing built

environment can have a development value for urban projects, including the territory outside the center, surrounding the urban core. After the process, more interest and public awareness have been experienced towards old and industrial buildings, for example – from the point of view of the population but also the administration. It is also notable how the population has become more demanding regarding this matter.<sup>7</sup>

Concerning the involvement of local specialists in the city and historic preservation, although the city has its own department in charge of the Land Use and Zoning, at the time of the UNESCO nomination, these issues were being addressed instead by the Ministry of Culture, in the context of the nomination. There are also very influential and recognizable people in the area, such as the professor from the Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux University, Robert Coustet, experts on the history of the city but, during the three day visit by ICOMOS, they were secondary.<sup>8</sup>

In 2008, the ICOMOS Committee visited the area in order to inspect and to guarantee the city's efforts in maintaining the title. They then raised questions about the demolition of specific items. Firstly, concerning a small steel bridge, primarily, of ordinary importance, but at the same time very rare and one of the last reminiscent of the type. Secondly, about the demolition and the architectural and universal importance of a wine cellar to build a school, since, in the case of Bordeaux, wine is an intangible and very important cultural factor. Finally, the last question was about the construction of the *Jacques Chaban-Delmas* Bridge (then called *Bacalan-Bastide*) that, although it had already been mentioned in the nomination document, it was not explained enough. Due to these questions, in January of 2009, the municipality organized a specialized workshop, and a week later they received the ICOMOS committee for explanation. This was also a great

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<sup>7</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by the authour.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

opportunity to write an article about Bordeaux and its relationship to its bridges, which considering the size of the Garonne River, was the theme of many projects, including utopian tunnel schemes that were never built, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

The ICOMOS Committee also questioned the instance/organization in charge of keeping the urban and architectural modifications in the nominated area. For that reason, in 2009, the *Comité Local UNESCO Bordelais* (Bordeaux UNESCO Local Committee - CLUB) was founded. This committee of experts assists the city in the analysis of projects prior to their implementation, and in consideration of the comprehensive tools presented in the complementary action plan of the general management plan. It meets once a month and the meetings are subject to information from the French UNESCO delegation. It is meant to be a sphere of dialogue and not a commission closed in itself. The members work as consultants for the private and public sectors and entrepreneurships, in how to achieve the requested development but in the best compatible terms with the inscription, in the urban scale, considering design and use.<sup>9</sup> Other instances of intervention go through the *Committee de Pilotage du Projet de Cité Municipale*, etc.<sup>10</sup> However, arguably by some, CLUB's action is not necessarily legitimized, since it consists of a group of people giving and defining a protection system sometimes above the existing protection system, in very subjective terms. As far as for the nomination process, Chimits believes it could have been more inclusive and open to contemporary needs, "if you give protection to protectionists, the city will turn into a museum."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, "Le patrimoine mondial au Coeur du projet urbain de Bordeaux, Port de la Lune," (paper presented at the ICOMOS' 17th General Assembly Scientific Symposium Proceedings – Part V – Session 2, Paris, France, 2 December, 2011), 1206, accessed 10 December 2012, [http://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/Symposium\\_proceedings/PartV\\_session2.pdf](http://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/Symposium_proceedings/PartV_session2.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Catherine Chimits, interview by author.

Concerning the most significant benefits of the overall transformation of urban and preservation policy in Bordeaux, Moniot says it is very hard to know what came about because of the inscription and which things are due to the Urban Project. According to her, the Tourism Office prefers to say that this Urban Project validated the inscription of the city in the World Heritage List, bringing great touristic benefits. In Moniot's point of view, the most significant benefit from the process relies on the sustainability of the urban projects overall. The inscription onto the World Heritage List now requires that the city thinks twice before going further on any entrepreneurship.<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the main challenges faced by the city of Bordeaux in implementing not only physical but fundamental changes in its urban context, Moniot admits the time frame was not enough (1996-2007), considering the ambition of the project, of changing mentality towards preservation, encompassing the entire urban fabric and its use, moving from the previous façade-based concept. There are still 30,000 houses with gardens around the city, therefore the city is still in the process of implementing more sustainable ways of managing itself. In the 1970s, monuments were designated for protection by UNESCO. Over the years, the concept of preservation and the protected areas have been changing and expanding. With Bordeaux's UNESCO inscription, the value of the land use and the urban fabric represents a ground breaking initiative. According to Moniot, Bordeaux is comparable to Saint Petersburg's case as a large urban situation that, however, did not address the land use, necessarily. From the document utilized for the inscription, due to the fact that it is so extensive, the municipality only utilizes its operational sections.<sup>13</sup>

In 2009, from the new way of interpreting the architectural and urban heritage and its inevitable changes, the City of Bordeaux has undertaken a

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<sup>12</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

new Urban Project, called Bordeaux 2030. This ongoing project aims to be a continuation of the previous plans, in keeping with Alain Juppé's vision, and incorporating the UNESCO criteria along with more community outreach.<sup>14</sup> The new project considers, on the one hand the consolidated city and, on the other hand, the challenges of the development project, and new operations towards sustainable development.<sup>15</sup> The project also includes a community involvement feature, the Bordeaux 2030 Agoras, which are a format of public forums in which planners, architects, and the community can participate with the projects being released.

The implementation of the LGV (*Ligne à la Grand Vitesse*) *Sud Europe Atlantique* (High Speed Train) connecting the North and South of Europe, sets the ground for the new Urban Project and will make Bordeaux only two hours away from Paris (Figure 2); with that the city hopes to turn into a gateway to the Southwest of Europe. The second urban project looks for a metropolis of 1 million people, with new developments in housing and businesses along the main transportation corridors (Figure 22). It also plans on including the right bank of the city within its core (Figure 23). According to Bruno Fayolle, historian, professor and member of the CLUB, this is more conflicting, dealing with different municipalities – a competition of heritage (and also of cultural functions). This aspect specifically shaped Juppé's vision: Bordeaux has the *quais* and heavy population and infrastructure, including the tramway; the key was to reinforce the center. The project also brought back the river to the city/region, through picturesque parks (economic and natural assets for the region); one of them is 4km long. Alain Juppé was the first mayor to advertise Bordeaux as a city, not just for the

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<sup>14</sup> "Comité Local Unesco Bordelais," Bordeaux 2030, accessed 1 November 2013, <http://www.bordeaux2030.fr/bordeaux-unesco/patrimoine-mouvement/suivi-permanent/comite-local-unesco-bordelais>.

<sup>15</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, interview by author.



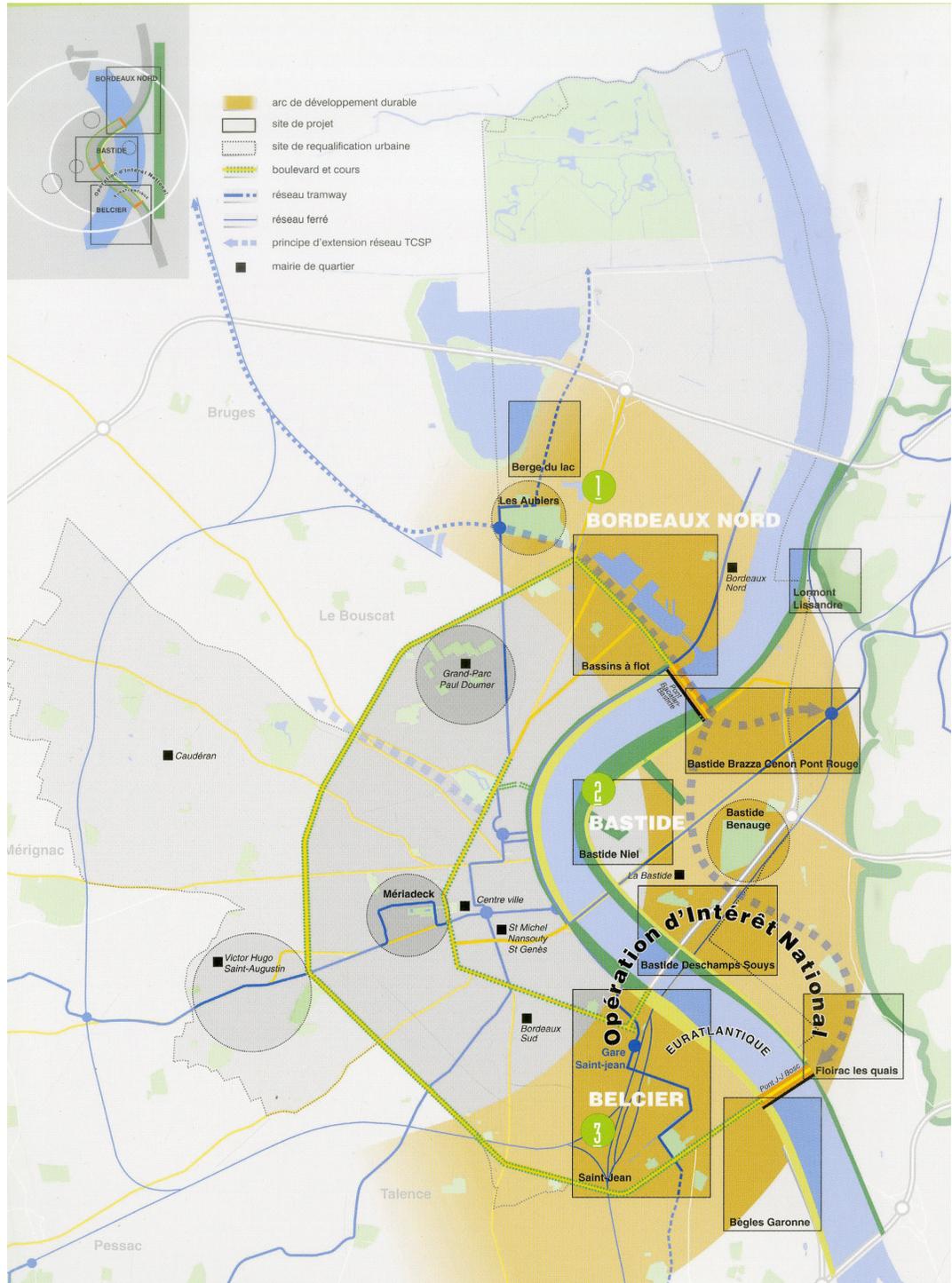


Figure 24 Bordeaux 2030 Urban Projects, defocusing on the center, the city expects to thrill and become an 1 million people metropolis (Bordeaux, 2030)

## 4.1 The *Bacalan-Bastide* Bridge

In 2008, the project of a new bridge struck and raised questions from the UNESCO and ICOMOS Committees evaluating Bordeaux's World Heritage nomination. As a result, under the city of Bordeaux's request, a group of experts met for two days in January of 2009 to give their input on the *Bacalan-Bastide* future bridge, as the UNESCO Commission had required additional information on the project, mentioned but not completely explained in the 2006 nomination document.

During the 31<sup>st</sup> session of the World's Heritage Committee, in Quebec in 2008, the city of Bordeaux had been questioned about the impact of this project on the unity of the protected area and the Committee decided to apply the mechanism of reinforced monitoring. Another reason for that was the demolition of the *Pertuis* bridge, which used to connect the two flood basins, and a new school (*Collège Cassagnol*) replacing an ancient cellar.<sup>17</sup>

The need for a crossing between the stone bridge and the Aquitaine bridge, five kilometers away, was not questioned. The choice of a lifting span bridge supported by four 87 meter (285 feet) high towers in a competition design however, was challenged. The implementation of the crossing in the continuity of the avenue Lucien Faure and its importance in the rail system initiated in the nineteenth century were consolidating the values that were driving the nomination. However, the criteria for visual integration and enhancement of heritage were not clear in the choice of the architectural project. And this was indeed the case, since the competition had been held in 2006, before the inscription on the World Heritage List intervened in June 2007. This is probably the reason that led Bordeaux to have to justify *a*

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<sup>17</sup> Anne-Laure Moniot, "Le patrimoine mondial au Coeur du projet urbain de Bordeaux, Port de la Lune," 1206.

*posteriori* this choice and modify the project to adapt the recommendations of ICOMOS and the World Heritage Centre.<sup>18</sup>

As part of the implementation of the reinforced monitoring mechanism, a delegation of representatives of the Ministries of Culture and Ecology came to Bordeaux in January 2009, accompanied by an ICOMOS expert and representatives of the World Heritage Centre. The report of the analysis of this group of experts concluded favorably to the proposed bridge rising right to the Rue Lucien-Faure, where the crossing is necessary for the continuation of urban development and the living character of this historic city. However, commitments had been made: the draft *Cassignol College* had to be modified to keep the old cellar; changes were planned for the drawbridge project, to further limit its impact. As for the demolition of the bridge *Pertuis*, between the docks, it was irreparable, that is when the City decided to set up the CLUB to monitor any prospective architectural and urban transformations, and at the earliest possible moment to bring them to the mayor of Bordeaux, and its board and avoid such errors.<sup>19</sup>

These dialogues allowed project managers to understand the added value that can arise by taking into consideration the local heritage. Conversely, these meetings allowed the experts on urban and architectural history to become more aware of the need of new projects to enhance this heritage. To meet the increased interest of Bordeaux in their city, and in its heritage and development projects, new devices for consultations were strengthened and systematized. The City of Bordeaux organized such consultations in neighborhoods in rotation; opportunities for people to express themselves together regarding urban topics. These meetings address issues of neighborhood identity, place memory, and heritage. On the occasion of their contribution to the definition of the Urban Project, residents showed

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

awareness and attention to what their neighborhood retained as singularities.<sup>20</sup>

After a 20 year controversy (in the 18th and 19th Century, it took 70 years during the Napoleonic war in Spain to build the Pont de Pierre) the *Bacalan-Bastide* was concluded in 2012 and connects the North Bordeaux with the North *Bastide*, plus the right bank's low land, areas that are still not completely built up. The bridge generated further discussion on preservation and contemporary urban infrastructure, to be further explored in the next section.



Figure 25 Currently Bordeaux's riverbanks stretch more than 5 km (3.10 miles) long, and had no possible crossing. Cars and public transports had to take the quays. It resulted from the various technical studies that the best place would be the furthest downstream, i.e. in continuation of Rue Lucien Faure and urban boulevards rather than facing *Place des Quinconces* or in continuation of *Cours du Médoc*. (CUB, 2009)

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 1210.

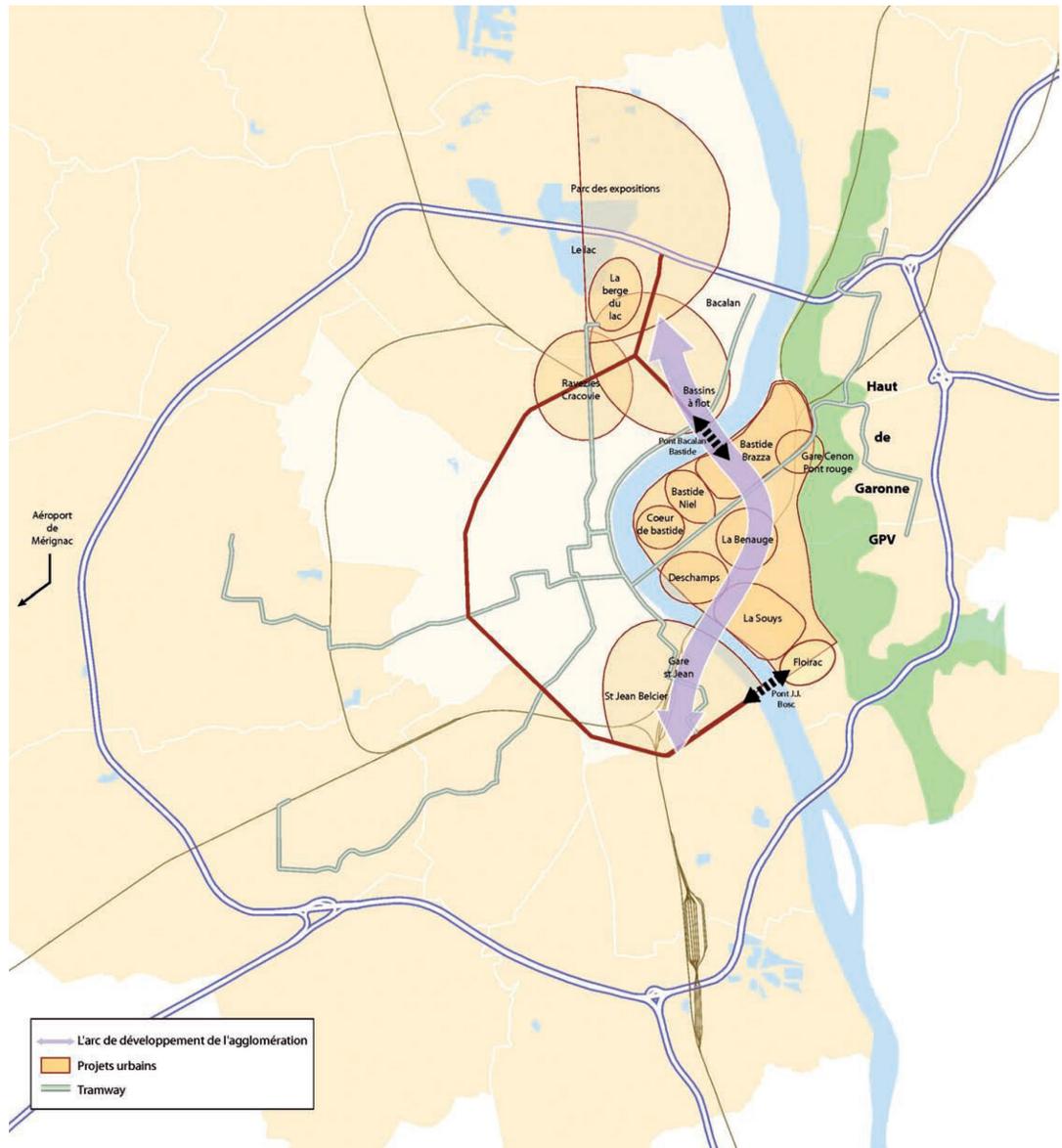


Figure 26 Bordeaux and Greater Bordeaux new sustainable development crescent and the *Bacalan-Bastide* Bridge at Northwest of the historic district (CUB, 2009)

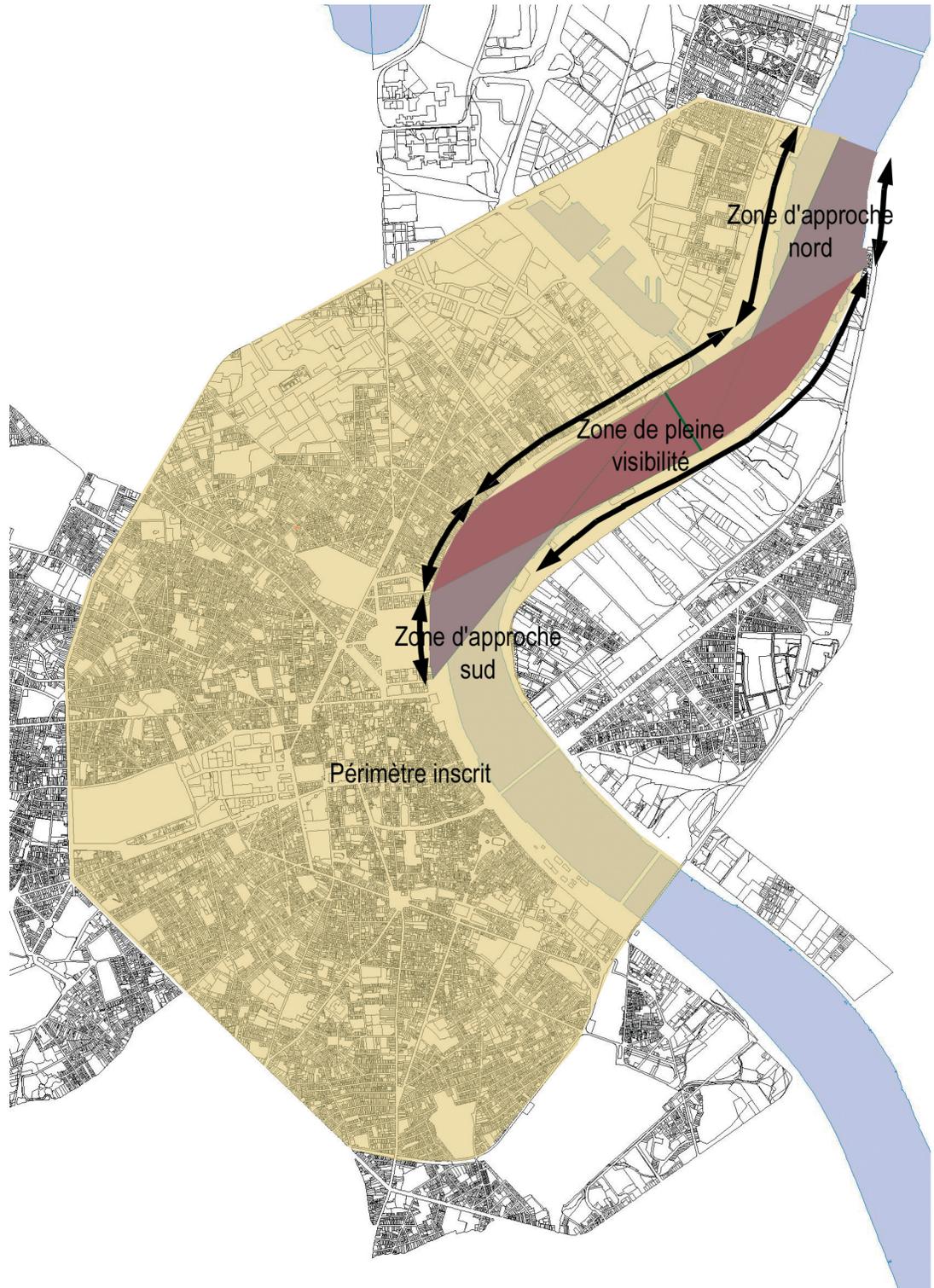


Figure 27 Territory of vision of the Bacalan-Bastide Bridge (a'urba, 2009)



XYZ\_CUB\_Direction des Grands Travaux\_Mission franchissement Lucien F



XYZ\_CUB\_Direction des Grands Travaux\_Mission franchissement Lucien F

Figure 28 Panoramic view studies of the *Bacalan-Bastide* Bridge that were part of the report on visual integrity. This extensive study used many different points of view throughout the city (Moniot, 2011)

## 4.2 The 2009 ICOMOS and UNESCO Conference in Bordeaux

In 2009, the ICOMOS and the UNESCO Commissions of France organized along with the City of Bordeaux and local institutions regarding heritage, a workshop that aimed to further articulate the discussion started with UNESCO's adoption of the Vienna Memorandum in 2005, the bridge *Bacalan-Bastide* in Bordeaux, and contemporary infrastructure in protected areas overall. The outcomes would turn into the Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation of 2011.

UNESCO analyses and poses general questions regarding issues of outstanding universal value (OUV) without getting into the actual pertinent scale of preservation, that is, the territorial scale. So the discussions during the meeting were meant to move beyond this, and provide assessments concerning the French experience and an evaluation of this "new" notion regarding the existing urban tools. The workshop was divided into four themes: definition of the historic urban landscapes; historic knowledge: production and sharing; maintenance of the historical sense of the urban landscape and contemporary change; and heritage and the socio-economic and cultural factors of historic urban landscapes.

Diagnosing specific issues in current practice as of 2009, Yves Dauge, the then president of the National Association of the World Heritage French Assets, identified new goals in terms of laying out future urban projects:

- Priority and investment in knowledge: the operations should be of an intellectual work nature.
- Development of a strategy/project at the territorial scales that eventually will be translated into different scale for coherent planning.

- Consideration of the scale of public spaces: places of gathering and culture, in which the city is the stage.
- Work with the basic services: water systems, sanitation, and improvement of life quality.
- Preservation of peri-urban food agriculture.
- Development of a vision in terms of objectives rather than normative controls.
- Concerning governance: maintain public control of the territory through project management.
- Address the issue of decentralization of powers to local authorities.
- Community outreach/participation.
- Investment in intelligence at the community level and at the technical level (architects etc.)
- Enhancement of the dialogue with the private actors.
- Contextualization: the process must be "tailored" to invent the project for each city in order to ensure diversity.<sup>21</sup>

Dauge goes further, recognizing the need for new recommendations but also taking on a critical position regarding the inscription itself and its social dimension, as opposed to a defined and prescriptive model. According to him, the inscription process should be evaluated considering the risks one takes with it, even if the management undertaken has not been successful. He also touches the issue of perimeter, learning from previous experiences that it should not be rigid: instead of a border it should be a place of identification and transmission of values, taking into account its relationship with the city and the surrounding territory, such as: traffic and mobility issues, public

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<sup>21</sup> Martinot-Lagarde, Jean-Louis and Et., Al., ed. 2010, *Proceedings of the Journées d'étude sur le thème "Paysages Urbains Historiques : Une nouvelle recommandation de l'UNESCO à l'appui de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, June 8- 9, 2009*. Bordeaux, France: ICOMOS France, 14-15.

spaces, and fluid landscape. Finally, international cooperation is a duty for countries with a certain level of urban policy and rule development, which should define priorities and leverage efforts to the most significant issues, mobilizing development agencies to support the understanding of cities and planning tools. This should attract investors and modify the behavior of certain private actors.<sup>22</sup>

Organized mainly to discuss the question on the *Bacalan-Bastide* Bridge, the workshop also helped to define the concept of heritage management of Historic Urban Landscapes. Past these issues, the city has finally focused on the new Urban Project Bordeaux 2030, to be discussed in the following sections.

#### 4.3 The New Urban Project: Bordeaux 2030

The Urban Project of 1996 and the UNESCO inscription have changed the city's perspective in terms of urban management, permitting the reconnaissance of its heritage importance and opening a wide range of new visions and potential projects. After 90% of the execution of the Urban Project of 1996-2004, the City of Bordeaux adopted a new Urban Project released in 2009, called "Bordeaux 2030," with the goal of reinforcing the results of the previous entrepreneurship, while adding sustainable development actions (Agenda 21, Climate Plan), as well as community participation and outreach, in order to ensure a coherent framework for the local urban development strategies. It is expected that by 2030, a million people will be living in the city, due to improvements in transportation systems that will establish closer connections to other major cities. For that

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

reason, infrastructure in housing, public transportation, urban spaces, energy efficiency, sustainable and dynamic urban densification (mixed-use) projects are the main items in the agenda of the new Urban Project.<sup>23</sup>

With the same rationale as the previous project, Bordeaux 2030 wants to establish a strong position in the competition with other cities of similar size. However, the chosen approach in other cases, notably Bilbao in Spain, is contrasting due to its emphasis on the new and contemporary, including commissions of star architects in order to demystify and go against the idea of “museumification,” coming to terms with the contemporary interventions within the protected historic city. On the other hand, the new branding strategy in Bordeaux, uses the idea of metropolis and economic and human development, once it feels confident about its relationship and synergy with the past.<sup>24</sup>

The project aims to reinforce its location potential being a gateway to the Southwest of Europe, on the way to the Iberian Peninsula. For a long time, Bordeaux’s geographical position kept it isolated from the main European economic thoroughfares and areas, too far from the main industrial areas and exchange routes. In addition, its location at the bottom of the estuary made it hard for container ships to access. While the harbor itself was suffering from its location in the center of the city, it was accepted that no additional bridge could be built.<sup>25</sup>

In France, a harbor revival program has been initiated recently; harbors were given an updated “port autonomy” legal status which was approved by the French Parliament on July 4, 2008. It is an opportunity for Bordeaux and the harbor authorities to prepare a strategic framework in

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<sup>23</sup> Michèle Laruë-Charlus, coord., *Bordeaux 2030, vers le grand Bordeaux, une métropole durable* (Bordeaux: Direction Générale de l’Aménagement de la Ville de Bordeaux, 2010), 170.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

order to improve their competitiveness with other European sea ports. The harbors are part of the town in general and of the *Bacalan* borough in particular, where the harbor authorities are going to move their headquarters.<sup>26</sup>

In 2016, the LGV fast train (*ligne à grande vitesse*) will be operational, connecting the city to Paris through a two hour trip. This will bring closer relationships between the two cities in terms of population (commuters) and potential financial-economic development. The project focuses on the development of housing and services, such as parking spaces for weekly commuters and public transport connections, with priority being given to the center, railway stations, and surrounding areas. In the same terms, Bordeaux will be “closer” to other major cities, such as Toulouse (one hour), Bilbao (one hour and a half), and Madrid (three hours), enhancing its role as a gateway to the Southwest of Europe, as the project refers to (Figure 2). This is also meant to create greater exchange and intercultural immersions, including dialogue between universities, research centers, and innovative technology firms.<sup>27</sup>

The LGV and the dramatic development of regional trains (TER) has led the French Railways (SNCF) to propose a significant development of the railway station on the basis of 20 million travelers per year expected in 2020. However, in order to avoid overcrowded and congested incoming streets, additional facilities such as regional train terminals connected to the tram that will work in other parts of the conurbation will be implemented. Concerning freight transport, a rail diversion is being planned to bypass the city, which in addition to its economic advantage, will make reduced use of fossil energy.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 171.

In the project, priority will be given to the North West area and the East West link in terms of tram system expansion and public transportation connections. In the center of the city, small and larger squares are being renovated and by 2030 an architecture competition should choose the best approach to *Allées de Tourny* and the *Esprit des Lois* street renovations.<sup>29</sup>

For decades, Bordeaux endured traffic jams on the motorway but the situation has been improved by the Pont d'Aquitaine being widened and by a ring road with three more lane sections. Yet, though public transport is a social requirement and old towns like Bordeaux were not built to channel permanent flow of cars that deteriorates the environment and progressively ruins the building heritage, the expected scale for the city of 1,000,000 inhabitants still requires some auto-traffic improvements.<sup>30</sup>

A another new bridge is also underway to complete the South section of the boulevard ring road across from the *Bastide* borough, as a counterpart to the *Bacalan-Bastide* Bridge finishing the North section. It would serve the railway station area and improve the right bank traffic. By the year 2030, the south link between the bridges should be established as well, with no inconvenience to the river banks, as they are designed to be the town boulevards with leisure lanes and cycling paths like their counterparts across the river, running along a 50 ha park.<sup>31</sup>

In terms of density, the local planning agency has made decisions concerning the areas to focus on, respecting the existing PLU. There are strict guidelines to control development and to protect the existing skyline of the city and the characteristics of each neighborhood. Local discussions on city planning and architecture ("Agora 2008") have raised valid questions and parameters on solutions to density and sustainable development, such as "High Quality of Use" rather than "High Environmental Quality," lightweight

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

architecture, a new definition of the public-private space boundaries, and “context” and nature in the town.<sup>32</sup>

In terms of social housing, every new development of more than 28 flats or dwellings would have 25% of its apartments for rent on social housing schemes. ‘*La Foncière de Logement*,’ a French organization in charge of managing 1% of the housing in the country, will acquire a minimum of 150 dwellings per year in Bordeaux to be set aside as social housing apartments that will contribute to the 1% scheme.<sup>33</sup>

Since December of 2006, the City of Bordeaux’ financial contribution to social housing construction programs has been merged with the CUB, totaling amounts that can reach 20,000 euros per apartment. The city is also planning on addressing homeownership incentives and advising. Subsidized people, whose incomes entitle them to the zero rate housing credit scheme (80% of the population), will be granted, which is a statutory doubling of the credit amount and may trigger the deferred payment process that keeps their debt rate under the 30% of salary amount that is required by the banks. The *Caisse des Dépôts* and the city have also negotiated to put on sale apartments at prices 20% lower than current market rates. A Social Plan was produced in order to address issues of inequalities within the project.<sup>34</sup>

Envisioning the increasing of jobs and the attractiveness of the city to new investments, the city will follow the principles of: “the closer to the center a firm is located, the higher its number of staff must be;” “the closer to the center a firm is located, the smaller the ground surface it occupies must be,” for reasons of real estate conservation; and finally, “in order to attract prestigious companies, the city needs to offer prestigious sites.”<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

The regeneration of historic buildings and monuments will continue, as extensions of the 1996 Urban Project. However, common private heritage such as “*échoppes*,” wine warehouses, or workshops, is more difficult to handle as owners or buyers are tempted to extend their property, sometimes being detrimental to architectural quality and to environmental harmony.<sup>36</sup> In order to have a better sense of this challenge, the city has undertaken a project concerning the documentation of the *Ville de Pierre*, and the revision of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé*, to be discussed in the next section.

#### 4.4 *Secteur de Sauvegardé* Revision

In order to include in the Local Urban Plan (PLU) regulations ensuring preservation and enhancement of its heritage, the City of Bordeaux has performed a survey of the architectural and urban landscape. Since 2004, the stone buildings (*Ville de Pierre*) have been the object of a survey run by a specialist in historic precincts. The survey carries out analyses of the buildings in terms of environmental relationships and makes estimates of the buildings’ architectural and urban heritage value; this is put together in reports that are incorporated every year into the PLU. As a result, the plan is allotment specific, the first of its kind in France. The inventory distinguishes buildings, built sequences, or green spaces that should be protected from those that may be either maintained or replaced by new buildings integrated in their environment. To date, the survey has identified 80% of the territory of the *Ville de Pierre*, which is the urban and architectural heritage part of the city of approximately 1,400 hectares (3,459 acres), right outside the *Secteur*

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 173.

*de Sauvegardé* and reaching to the boulevards belt and beyond, to *Caudéran*, *St. Augustine* and *La Bastide*.<sup>37</sup>

Although the current Plan of Safeguarding and Development (PSMV) has been changing since 1988, the procedures for updating it have always had a limited impact, since they have always been linked to specific development projects, such as the passage of tramways. Therefore, the PSMV has never been completely revised including in particular in relation to the guidelines of the Urban Community of Bordeaux (CUB), the World Heritage inscription by UNESCO, the new regulatory context, or the objectives in terms of sustainable development. The needs and expectations of the people have also changed in terms of size of accommodation, comfort, public spaces in the city, or local shops. Knowledge of these elements is essential to adapt the project taking into account the heritage quality of the preserved area.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, the PSMV became no longer compatible with the guidelines of the management project and of sustainable development of the PLU nor does it take sufficiently into account the following objectives:

- promote the regeneration of older neighborhoods while respecting their identity, upgrading parks and inadequate housing, and the preservation of public spaces;
- ensure the adequacy of existing housing with the current needs and the implementation of the objectives of social and functional diversity;
- enhance the quality and diversity of the *Ville de Pierre*, while enhancing the comfort of life of its inhabitants;

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<sup>37</sup> “Bordeaux 2030: Le recensement du paysage architectural et urbain,” City of Bordeaux, accessed 6 January 2014, <http://www.bordeaux.fr/p24332>.

<sup>38</sup> Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux, “Révision du Plan de Sauvgarde et de Mise en Valeur de Bordeaux,” *La Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux* (La CUB) 2014, Bordeaux, France, 9-10, accessed April 24 2014, [http://participation.lacub.fr/IMG/pdf/Plan\\_Sauvegarde\\_Mise\\_Valeur/Note\\_presentation\\_revision\\_plan\\_sauvegarde\\_psmvf\\_05-03-2014.pdf](http://participation.lacub.fr/IMG/pdf/Plan_Sauvegarde_Mise_Valeur/Note_presentation_revision_plan_sauvegarde_psmvf_05-03-2014.pdf).

- allow traffic, managing public transport, parking, and bicycles in the city and buildings;
- strengthen the economic sector in the dense urban center, by maintaining and attracting new local services and shops;
- preserve the place of green spaces in the dense urban fabric;
- enable the integration of energy saving and sustainable development for new and existing buildings devices.<sup>39</sup>

For these reasons, the Urban Community of Bordeaux, by decision of 28 May 2010, has engaged the revision of the PSMV. The revision of the protected area of Bordeaux was initiated on 17 January, 2011. This procedure is jointly conducted by the State, the Urban Community (CUB) and the City of Bordeaux. It is followed by the Local Commission of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* (CLSS). It covers the entire perimeter (150 hectares) and includes visits to nearly 4,000 buildings. The studio Etienne Lavigne was appointed to conduct this operation in close collaboration with the City. This mission will be conducted for a period of six years, updating the old PSMV and developing new regulations adapted to the requirements of sustainable development and contemporary lifestyles, as outlined in the Bordeaux 2030 project.<sup>40</sup>

The revision of the PSMV will be followed up by the local board of the *Secteur de Sauvegardé* formed by decree dated April 25, 2013. The President of the Urban Community of Bordeaux has delegated the chairmanship of this committee to the Mayor of Bordeaux. The local board is thus composed of the Mayor, five elected community representatives, five representatives of the State, five qualified people, and two associate members in an advisory capacity. The role of this committee is to validate the work of the study and

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

the draft PSMV. In this project, public consultation will be closely done through meetings and consultation, general or thematic, throughout the procedure, particularly during major decisions. The public will be informed in advance of these meetings through the media and also by the Website of the CUB.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

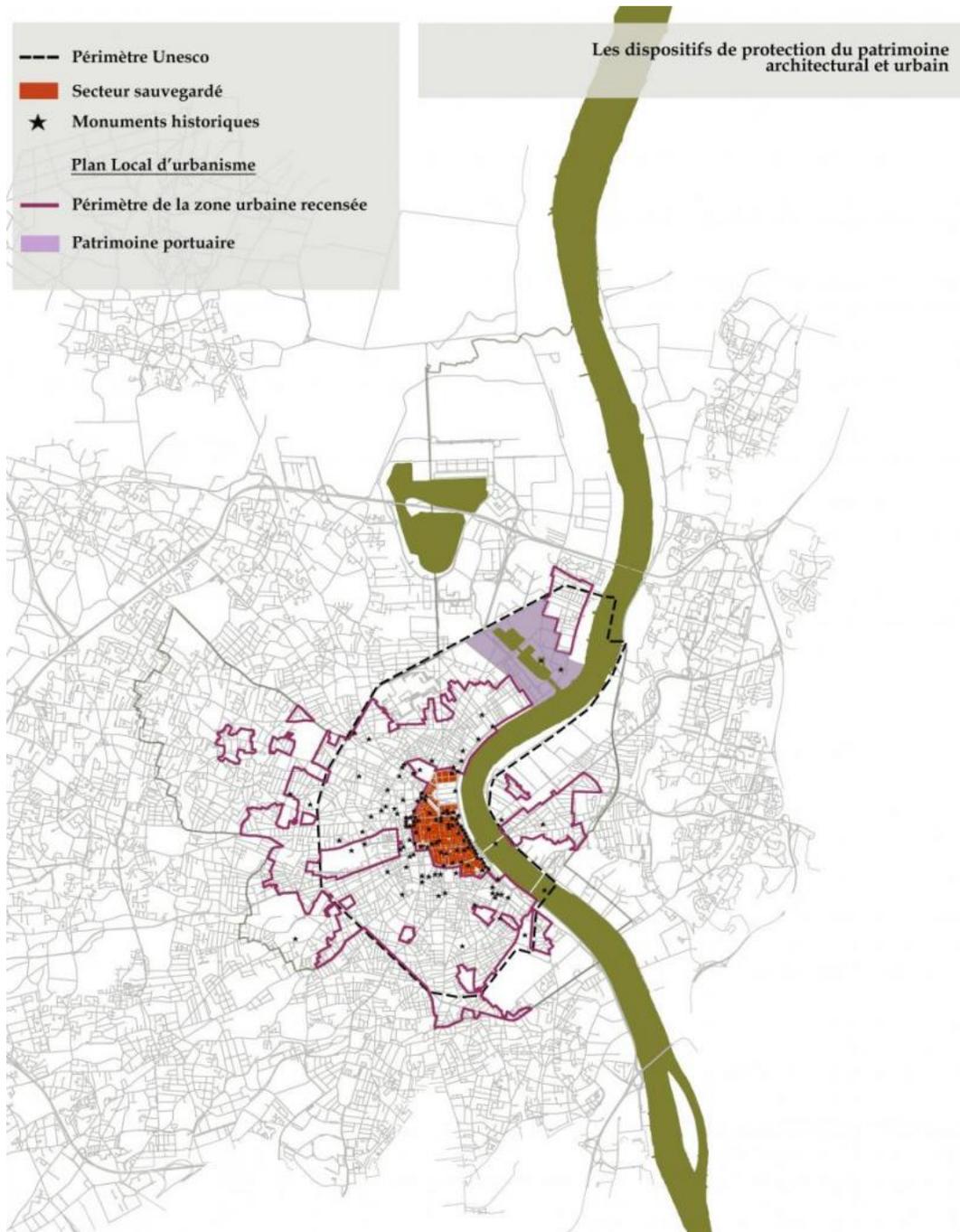


Figure 29 Tools of Protection of the Architectural and Landscape Heritage including the *Ville de Pierre* and the Port heritage (in purple) (Bordeaux 2030)

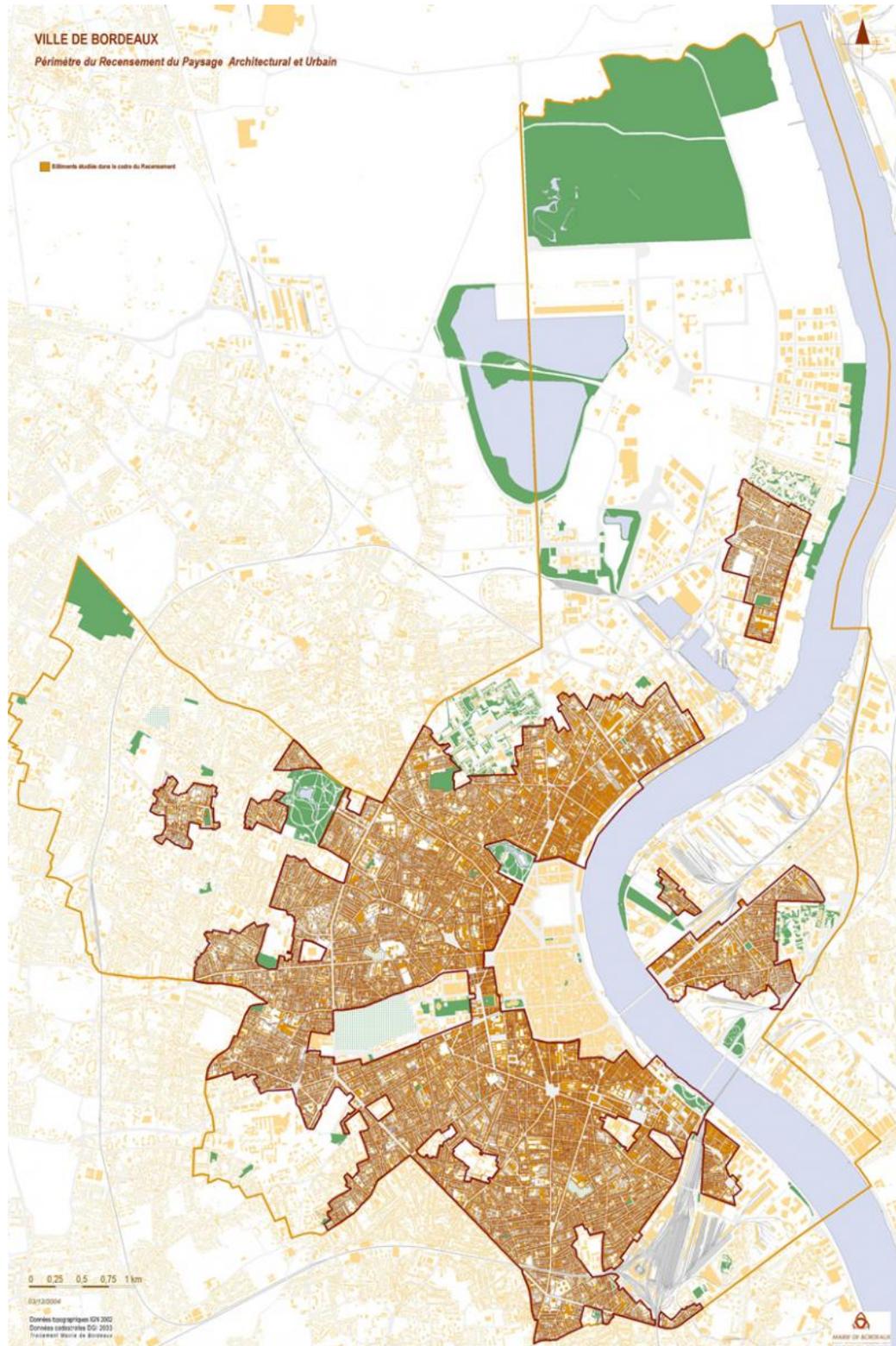


Figure 30 Documented areas within the Ville de Pierre(Bordeaux 2030)

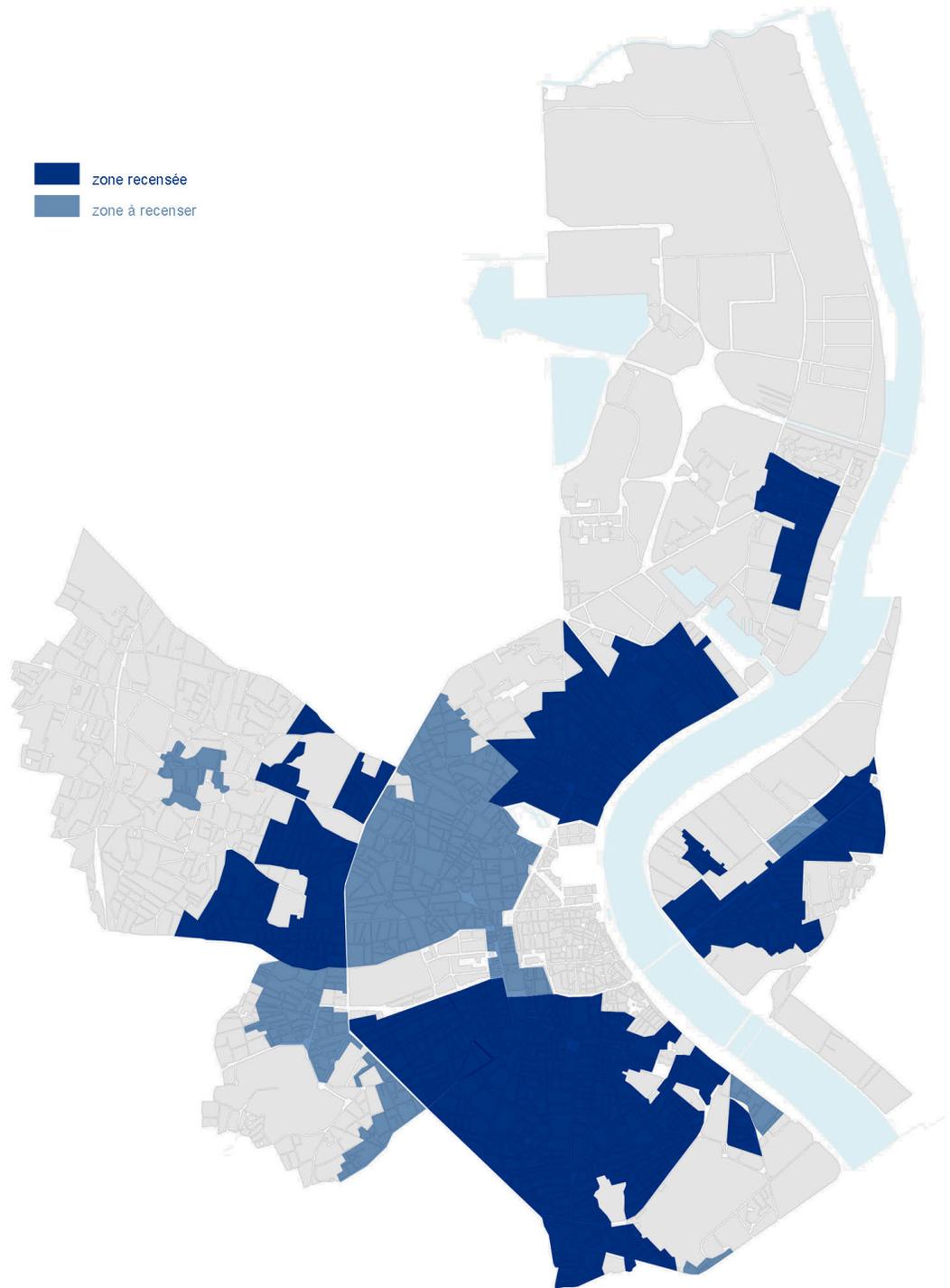


Figure 31 Map of documented areas (dark blue) and areas to still be documented (lighter blue) in the *Ville de Pierre* (City of Bordeaux, 2014)

# 5

## Conclusions, Implications and Reflections on

### Historic Preservation

As a result of this study, it is clear that the strong leadership and vision of Bordeaux's Urban Project contributed to its success. The measurement of success of the entrepreneurship can be defined by the comparison of the initial goals and the outcomes assessment from the Urban Project of 1996, which culminated in the UNESCO World Heritage inscription, already envisioned in its essence. However, considering the significance of the project in a broader context, we can observe that urban management standards in the local and international levels have been redefined according to the project's outlook and debate, and on the academic and scientific level (by local scholars, UNESCO, and ICOMOS) the discourse has been advanced concerning this process (amongst other cases as well). In that sense, Bordeaux's best practices rely mostly on the development of a methodology, in urban and material heritage management, consistent with the comprehensive definition of Historic Urban Landscapes provided in the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation.

PROCESS: The resulting historic center after the Urban Project of 1996 not only carries the consolidated infrastructure of the city of Bordeaux, which contributed to its city branding, but also aspects that helped define the common ground of sustainable development in urban heritage sites, in reference to, at least in theory, all layers composing vibrant urban settlements. This approach focuses on the land use and the integrity of the

landscape as a socio-economic composition, in contrast to previous consolidated approaches in historic preservation, which considered mainly and exclusively the aesthetic dimension.

However, in terms of accommodating the dichotomy of old and new, it seems that Bordeaux still has some resistance to change: The current constraints and the size of the protected and buffer areas are somehow indicative of a city still afraid of compromising integrated and contemporary changes into its historic context, with the exception of the tramway (which had to be fully adapted). This contradicts the stratification idea of history and its documents, so much recognized up until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the period when most of the preserved buildings were built. The vast boundary also encompasses not so relevant architecture and, in a way, encourages *pastiche* architecture, disconnected to our times. Although the concept of preservation has evolved into a larger scale, the building codes and policies seem to be still caught up in the same time frame defined by UNESCO's inscription.

TIMELINE: Although the project can be considered successful in revitalizing and reestablishing multiple uses in the core of the city, the process went through further changes after the inscription. Naturally, the project opened the ground for new processes and dynamics after 2007 that required further investments not necessarily in alignment with the UNESCO and ICOMOS perspectives on protection. Starting with the UNESCO nomination, which was a deliberate economic development tool, and addressing some of the assessments and issues not well addressed in the previous project, Bordeaux 2030 arises as a way of filling the gaps and implementing the contemporary needs of the city. Once confined to consideration of the uses in the historic core, the new developments and infrastructural projects of housing, economic development, and mobility are being placed outside of these areas.

On the bright side, the emergence of different discourses and research on the new dynamics of the city and its heritage has been collaborative and fruitful to the process of evolution of urban management tools, and also beneficial for community education and awareness.

**ECONOMICS & POLITICS:** Bordeaux's case proves the point that highly focused leadership and capital can solve most problems. The concentration of power was a fundamental piece through the hierarchy and relationships amongst the stakeholders involved, at the local, regional, and national levels. On the other hand, its rather top-down approach did not initially address issues regarding the population's concerns and inputs, and the concentration of power in the decision making process throughout the years of the Urban Project initiated in 1996 reveals an inflexible structure of power defined by political relationships and technical committees. The controlled environment in which the Urban Project took place seems to not endure disappointments or spontaneity, aspects that could be beneficial and compatible to heritage sites

Similar cases to Bordeaux regarding the protection and inscription of historic centers, such as the case of Dresden, a former UNESCO World Heritage Site (it was un-inscribed in 2009), have raised questions about UNESCO's role and criteria. The Dresden Elbe Valley was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2004 and had the *Waldschlösschen* Bridge built in 2007, after a traffic analysis of 1996 showed the demand for another connection between the two banks of the river, and a public referendum in 2005 was favorable to its implementation. According to UNESCO in the delisting process during the 2009 World Heritage Committee meeting in Seville, the city underwent a project that bisects the protected site and interferes with the visual integrity of its cultural landscape (cultural properties that represent the combination of man built heritage and

nature).<sup>1</sup> As we have seen in Bordeaux's case, specificities apart, the construction of a bridge was also questioned but a compromise was achieved, the opposite outcome of Dresden's case. The lack of consistency in decisions regarding contemporary interventions in World Heritage Sites can be detrimental for the idea of heritage protection and might evince/question hidden details and politics. It is important to further develop criteria of intervention in heritage/historic sites so the World Heritage Convention is effectively applied according to its main purpose, to keep the outstanding universal value of heritage sites/practices, which can also be further refined.

**STAKEHOLDERS:** Encompassing a number of State Parties, UNESCO defines general guidelines to safeguard heritage of outstanding universal value. The role of managing and developing tools to this end relies on the nation, the region, and the municipality to keep and manage its urban heritage using the means and tools available.

From 1996 until 2007, Bordeaux dealt with very specific issues: vacancy, insalubrious housing conditions, deterioration of historic buildings and public spaces, unattractiveness of its core, and low-income housing in unlivable conditions. The social dynamics behind these issues within its historic district were predominantly related to the population's income. Historically, the concept of public interest in France is very strong, and the State provides plenty of tools in order to apply what they define as the common good and of the highest priority in the long term. For this reason, private properties are subjected to public interventions, especially if they do not achieve the public social purpose of equity. This is also true concerning historic preservation in France. Over the centuries, a consolidated culture that is conscious of the importance of a city's heritage has been cultivated, which has led to many urban policies and tools that provide ways to assure

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<sup>1</sup> Bénédicte Gaillard. "The delisting of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List," (slideshow, Cottbus, Germany, International summer Academy Cottbus: Understanding Heritage (ISAC), July 7-19 2014).

urban preservation. Even so, this controlled process, when starting with the Urban Project of 1996 did not have much room for enough community input and participation (or even spontaneity), due to the residents' reliance on the consolidated and strong central power. However, the construction of a strong urban identity and widespread and justifiable pride in the city, as among the main outcomes of the project, has turned the community into a significant part of the process of the new project Bordeaux 2030.

In this matter, education has been a huge catalyst of change. The amount of publications, articles, workshops, round-tables, competitions, meetings, etc., produced by the local, regional, and national agencies responsible for all sorts of urban features, is impressive. From the "sleeping beauty" and "city with no project" fame from the former mandate, before Alain Juppé, Bordeaux has re-created itself not only in the built environment but also in the scientific realm. Bordeaux has become a role model of best practices in using heritage as a way to achieve sustainable and smart development, not only of the city but for the regional agglomeration as a whole. One can affirm that the progress perceived from the "first edition" of the Urban Project to the second one are mostly due to the research factor, compelled and enhanced by the UNESCO World Heritage inscription, in 2007.

Taking into consideration the best-practices of Bordeaux's case, a balanced model of governance and preservation should be envisioned and further research should be undertaken. On the one hand, top-down approaches provide the long-term vision and tools to make sure the collective good is being considered in each endeavor. On the other hand, private sector initiatives, grassroots movements and the community's inputs could be sometimes more efficient and lasting than imposed initiatives, especially in World Heritage Sites, in differentiating the city from other protected ones. However, without the balanced combination of the elements of the community's input and a global approach, also controlling the market

place to ensure that all residents and actors can live side by side in historic districts in equitable terms, individual efforts can pass by without being noticed.

The existence or not of a “common culture” within UNESCO applications could be also further researched. As Fayolle pointed out, the universality of the organization’s guidelines instead of enhancing and nurturing a local identity, as it should, can also be interpreted as a tool of standardization of cultures and cities. No one is to say that heritage is unchangeable and should not be adapted to globalization trends but, to Fayolle’s point, UNESCO inscription should be mostly about the preservation of the outstanding universal value, while the standardization or false reproduction of heritage could be detrimental, irreversible, and should be avoided by all means. Another important question that arises from the discussion is how to engage the local community to also participate in the process of “making” the city, supporting and enhancing the protection of its history (by providing institutional and political support as a precondition of local participation) while giving the opportunity to bottom-up and spontaneous urban interventions, such as community gardens, public art, reclaiming of underutilized spaces for specific demands of the local residents.

## Glossary

a'urba: agence d'urbanisme Bordeaux métropole Aquitaine

ABF: Architecte des bâtiments de France

ANAH: Agence Nationale de l'habitat - National Housing Agency

CDC: Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations - Fund of Deposits and Consignations

CLUB: Comité Local UNESCO Bordelais - Bordeaux UNESCO Local Committee

CNMH: Commission Nationale de Monumentes Historiques - National Commission of Historic Monuments

CUB: Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux - Urban Community of Bordeaux

HUL: Historic Urban Landscapes

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOM: International Council of Museums

ICOMOS: International Council of Monuments and Sites

IIC: International Institute for the Conservation of Museum Objects

IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature

OUV: Outstanding universal value

PLH: Programme local d'habitat - Local Plan for Housing

PLU: Plan Local d'Urbanisme - Local Urban Plan

PRI: Périmètre de Restauration Immobilière - Properties Restoration Perimeter

PSMV: Plan de Sauvegardé et de Mise en Valeur - Plan of Safeguarding and Development

SBUC: Société Bordelaise mixte d'Urbanisme et de Construction - Mixed Association of Construction and Planning of Bordeaux

SDUC: Schéma Directeur d'Urbanisme Commercial - Master Plan of Commercial Planning

SUIT: Sustainable development of Urban historical areas through an active Integration within Towns

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

World Heritage Centre: Established in 1992, it is the focal point and coordinator within UNESCO for all matters related to World Heritage

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