ПРАКТИЧНА КУЛЬТУРОЛОГІЯ

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VERNACULAR CULTURE, CITY, ARCHITECTURE:
ANALYSIS AND CORRELATION OF CONCEPTS

The article is devoted to structuring the existing definitions of three key concepts within modern vernacular cultural studies in order to build a holistic picture of understanding the vernacular elements in urban space. Within the definition of vernacular culture (M. Lantis, A. Markusen, J. Carr and L. Servon), characteristics such as the combination of traditional culture and modern aspects of cultural identity in the non-professional dimension of city life were identified. Within the definition of the concept of vernacular city (J. Krase and T. Shortell, S. Sapu and others) the appeal to the discourse of everyday (G. Simmel, H. Lefebvre, M. de Certeau, R. Sennett and M. Blonsky) and the method of visual semiotics (R. Jakobson) is analyzed in order to distinguish signs of visual representation and urban identity, social and cultural conditions in the construction of urban space by its inhabitants. The concept of vernacular architecture (R. Brown and D. Maudlin, H. Guillaud, M. Salman) carries a combination of elements of traditional and everyday within postmodern and postcolonial studies and the concept of "collage city", as well as through the prism of the problem of sustainability.

Key words: vernacular architecture, vernacular culture, vernacular city, urban landscape, sustainability.

Formulation of the problem. Cultural studies of the city today involve the active expansion of the problem field and methodological tools. In particular, the focus of our research was a segment of the urban visual landscape, which can be described as vernacular, that is the result of non-professional creative production efforts. But one that is visible and affects the general perception of the city by its residents and guests.

A more thorough study of vernacular practices in a city leads to attention to such key concepts as vernacular culture, vernacular city and vernacular architecture. After all, these concepts are common in scientific discourse based on current research areas of the city (culturology, everyday aesthetics, ethnography, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, material culture, visual studies, urban studies, etc.).

Analysis of research and publications. In our analysis, we rely on the research of the following authors. The concept of vernacular culture was introduced and expanded by Margaret Lantis, Ann Markusen, James H. Carr & Lisa J. Servon.

Researchers such as Jerry Krase and Timothy Shortell, Sakkarin Sapu have devoted their works to the analysis of the concept of the vernacular city (as well as the vernacular landscape of the city). In particular, Jerry Krase and Timothy Shortell draws on the methodological approaches to the study of everyday life and urban studies by George Simmel, Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau, Richard Sennett, Michael Blonsky and others, as well as the visual semiotics of Roman Jakobson.

The concept of vernacular architecture is explicated in the works of Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin, Hubert Guillaud, Paul Oliver, Maha Salman. Brown and Maudlin turn to the concepts of Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre and Umberto Eco. Hubert Guillaud turns to the phenomenological interpretation of Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

Purpose of the article. Thus, the purpose of this article is to consider these key concepts (vernacular culture, city, architecture) in order to outline their meaning and main characteristics for further study of vernacular practices of the city within the subject field of culturology and related disciplines.

Exposition of the main material of the study. The concept of "vernacular culture" became widespread in scientific discourse in the 1960s due to the need to denote the dimension of culture that corresponds to the current organizational principles of life of the modern city dwellers, to appeal not only to customs and traditions but also to recurring modern practices and objects of common material culture, reflecting its current spiritual state. As researcher Margaret Lantis points out, "…"mores," "folkways," "customs" – all are somehow inadequate, first, because they fail to suggest any organizing principle; second, because their connotation is chiefly tradition, the past, even suggesting lack of present adaptation" [5, p. 202].

Anthropology defines this concept based on the presence of a specific location and established practices of the people living there. Each of these constructed and shared practices has the characteristic of "… not only institutional organization and a characteristic appearance but also complex of values and behaviors…" [Ibid.]. Among such practices she names fairs, dog shows and others. That is, these are grassroots practices that are organized by the community and have cultural value and are based on the material aspects of local culture.

It is also important to note that Lantis correlates vernacular culture with related concepts of folk culture, mass culture and subculture. Vernacular culture differs from folk culture in that it absorbs aspects of contemporary, mass culture, but in its local version. In addition, some elements of vernacular culture (its local format) may become widespread and migrate into mass culture. Vernacular culture and subculture are not identical, because the former is formed within an unlimited group of people, which is relevant for the latter [5, p. 202–204]. If we correlate vernacular culture and culture in general, the first involves the selection of certain values, actions and artefacts that correspond to a particular situation and are based on individual tastes [5, p. 205]. Within the vernacular culture there can be no norms, constant repetitive practices that are not subject to change and variation. On the contrary, vernacular culture presupposes dynamism and situationism of its forming.

In general, Lantis identifies the following key components of vernacular culture: values and goals that are situational in nature; relevant time, place and artefacts; common knowledge; attitude systems (especially emotional); relationship systems or patterns; sanctions; free communication as the most important component, which

provides "cues, verbal and nonverbal, regarding status, values, or sanctions operative in a given type of situation" [5, p. 206]. And this concept is most relevant in the context of its application in the analysis of the modern city, i.e. the most important is the correlation of vernacular culture with the urban culture and situations of conflict of values and practices of different communities, which constantly occurs in urban living space.

Researcher Ann Markusen emphasizes the differences between vernacular culture and high culture, as the latter presupposes institutionalization and diversity in the absence of clearly defined organizational formats and control by the public and elites. In this context, the main goal of forming a vernacular culture is to build cultural and regional ties within the city, accompanied by creative solutions and practices. Markusen defines this concept as follows: "Vernacular cultural practices encompass a wide range of activities that are distinguished by their expression of community values and their inclusion of many participants, in contrast to the individualized and professionalized creation or reproduction of art or culture by experts detached from a community frame of reference" [6, p. 185, 198].

Another crucial study of this concept has been provided by James H. Carr and Lisa J. Servon, who also focused on urban space, but drew attention to the role of city politicians and policymakers, who are recommended to rely on the concept of vernacular culture in planning economic development. This is due to the understanding that any effective transformation and attraction of investment in the city is possible only if it is rooted in local culture, which implies its vernacularity [2, p. 29–30]. These authors present an urban approach to vernacular culture understanding: it is analysed in the context of the revitalization process and linked to loci such as neighbourhood (vernacularly marked space other than the administrative district of the city). Strengthening and developing culture within the neighbourhood contributes to revitalization (positive transformation, renewal of local architecture, infrastructure and landscape in general), but must resist gentrification of the space (reconstruction of residential areas to be inhabited by the upper class), which usually leads to social inequality.

Carr and Servon distinguish the following types of places that define "strong" vernacular culture, calling them "anchors": "public market, an arts-and-culture venue, or an area of ethnic significance or heritage site" [2, p. 30]. The cultural significance of such "anchors" is that they contribute to the development of local communities through their publicity and local, independent small business (it is often creative business that fits into the concept of creative economy and creative city). Accordingly, for the successful implementation of revitalization and further economic development, vernacular cultural practices and artefacts must receive the care of the city authorities [2, p. 35–38].

As we can see, researchers more often link the relevance of the study of the phenomenon of vernacular culture with the urban space. Jerry Krase and Timothy Shortell emphasize the need for visual studies of such elements of the city's vernacular culture as "architectural details, commercial signs, and graffiti" [4, p. 375]. The researcher proposes a method of visual semiotics (through the practice of walking in the city and long, sequential photographing of such "signs of collective identity", which allows to collect enough visual data to analyse the dynamics of change and transformation of the vernacular neighbourhood) [4, p. 375–376].

In this context, Krase and Shortell turn to the discourse of everyday life presented by Georg Simmel, Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau, Richard Sennett and Michael Blonsky. Within this approach, the subject of the study is the vernacular landscape of the city, represented in various social signs, which the researcher can capture only by mastering the experience of being in the city (moving around the city), its cultural and social environment. Also based on Roman Jakobson's semiotics, Krase and Shortell distinguish two types of signs within the visual representation of identity in urban space: the expressive and the phatic. The second type of signs "are artefacts of ordinary social interaction that become markers of settlement space. They are the indicators that we are 'at home' in our neighbourhood" [4, p. 376].

Thus, the study of the vernacular city (more precisely, the urban landscape) allows us to conclude about the local identity (its spiritual and material cultural dimensions). Another important point is the hybrid and dynamic nature of vernacular signs, because they can be appropriated by representatives of different social strata, and move from niche to mass culture, from low to high, from creativity to consumption and so on.

The concept of a vernacular city is also developed by Sakkarin Sapu, who defined it as "the relationships among land and economic, social and natural resources. … The vernacular in the urban environment is the process of the power structure dominating the reproduction of urban space" [9, p. 65]. The researcher includes in this concept such key components as urban heritage and urban identity, and the greatest expression of the vernacularity of the city is its architecture, built or supplemented by the inhabitants of the city, often using traditional technologies.

Vernacular architecture has been the subject of urban and cultural studies for the last two decades as long as it allows to identify visual and formal aspects of local culture in its dynamics and diversity, but emphasizing the preservation of a certain identity ("common identities including language and place names, ethnicity, traditions, local wisdom and knowledge, power ideology, resource management, networks and organization are related to four dimensions of space – environment, daily-life economics, common space and spiritual space") [9, p. 70, 88].

Thus, we move on to the concept of vernacular architecture, which is very popular among researchers of the city today. Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin define this type of architecture as "… 'traditional buildings': buildings that are, or were, the authentic product of a specific place and people, have evolved in form over time, and are produced by nonexpert 'ordinary people' through shared knowledge passed down over time" [1, p. 340]. The source for understanding of this concept is the definition of 1978 by researcher Paul Oliver: "… all the types of building made by people in tribal, folk, peasant and popular societies where an architect, or specialist designer, is not employed" [7, p. 4]. But the term "vernacular architecture" also serves to denote the scope of research of this type of buildings through a number of approaches, including ethnography, cultural geography and material culture.

Again, researchers of such architecture within the urban space rely on the study of everyday De Certeau and Lefebvre. After all, most examples of vernacular architecture are objects that do not have an author – a professional architect – and they are an important part of the daily experience of a city dweller. Among them, researchers distinguish: "… city neighborhoods, provincial market towns, roadside diners, suburban housing developments, generic edge-of town retail barns and anonymous industrial com-

plexes", as well as "… vacant lots, the backs of buildings, the undersides of bridges and the verges of highways that are appropriated by urban subcultures (street gangs, skateboarders, graffiti artists)" [1, p. 341]. That is, the concept of vernacular architecture corresponds to a combination of traditional architectural technologies, as well as elements of anonymity and everyday life in the architectural landscape of the city. One way or another, vernacular architecture does not fit into the norms of professional architecture and its institutionalization in the context of modernist guidelines. It is on the verge of presenting a certain "difference", and according to Umberto Eco – "kitsch", which represents the cultural patterns of "ordinary people".

Brown and Maudlin draw attention to the rich history of discourse around vernacular architecture: from the introduction of the concept of "picturesque" in the culture of Romanticism and later phenomena of the Gothic Revival and the Arts and Crafts in England in the second half of the twentieth century, which led to resistance to industrialization and continuing with postmodern and postcolonial studies, which critically analysed the oppositions of hand production / industrial mass production, local/universal, "old/new, east/west, progress/conservation" in the context of the opposition of European civilization and colonial cultures (and, accordingly, architectures) [1, p. 345–350]. These oppositions were contrasted by the concept of hybridity and glocalism.

Today, within the framework of the "new urbanism" guideline, there is a wave of struggle against universalism in urban planning, and in contrast there is a bet on local diverse cultures that rely on a particular community and build public spaces and buildings around it and its values. This guideline is actualized by the concepts of "weak urbanism", or "collage city", which implies participation, "diversity, fragmentation and self-expression" [1, p. 351]. Within the modernist understanding of the city and urban architecture as a universal transformation, addition, decoration and personalization of the building by people living in it and surrounding it, was perceived negatively. But in the context of postmodernist and postcolonial guidelines, these processes are perceived by researchers as vernacular – that is, those that are worth analysing in the context of "cultural, economic, social and technological conditions". The key words for the description and analysis of the vernacular architecture "as a living condition" are "hybridity, change and ambiguity" [1, p. 354].

Paul Oliver, mentioned earlier, compares vernacular architecture with language, or rather with a local dialect, in which we can learn a lot about local culture, also paying attention to the ecological context of addressing this concept: after all, traditional construction and decoration technologies are one way environmental problems of mankind, and the so-called "architecture of power" [7, p. 17, 25].

The reason for this is the environmental guidelines for environmental responsibility that the key issue in vernacular research is sustainability, through which Maha Salman and Hubert Guillaud analyse architecture. For the former, vernacular architecture becomes the key to studying the problem of identity, which consists of "… place (region, geography, topography, and climate), people (society, community), and culture (traditions, customs, language, religion, and artifacts)" [8, p. 3]. Attaching to vernacular architecture the importance of a built environment that meets a person's need to acquire an identity through limited (rational) means, natural factors, traditional techniques and local materials, Salman speaks of sustainability as a key characteristic of vernacular

architecture, as long as the methods of creating such buildings correspond to the existing cultural values due to rootedness in the environment. Thus, for Salman vernacular architecture means "… unpretentious, simple, indigenous, traditional structures made of local materials and following well-tried forms and types" [8, p. 7,10].

Hubert Guillaud, on the other hand, refers to the phenomenological approach and the concept of "Lebenswelt" by Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty – "… humanity's common good which we have inherited and which expresses the widest social and cultural diversity anchored in the specificities of territories" [3, p. 49]. This tradition is an appeal to local architectural forms in the context of the search for the involvement and combination of man and nature, its roots and authenticity in the social and cultural dimensions of the built heritage. It was continued in the second half of the XX century, with a critique of consumerist society and planned obsolescence as a strategy in the commodity market: here vernacular architecture was perceived as durable and environmentally friendly [3, p. 50–51]. Guillaud emphasizes the importance of studying vernacular architecture within a cultural landscape in order to combine natural and cultural sources of the built environment, which can be passed on to the next generation: "The social and cultural dimensions of vernacular architecture are also reflected in building language those who built and lived in the space" [3, p. 54].

Conclusion. Thus, in order to analyse the three key concepts within vernacular studies, we addressed the following author's interpretations, which allowed us to build a holistic picture of the understanding of vernacular in urban space.

The term "vernacular culture" in its broad interpretation refers to that part of the cultural landscape that combines traditional construction techniques and modern aspects of cultural identity in a non-professional dimension. Margaret Lantis emphasizes the specific location, repetitive common practices of its inhabitants and the presence of common values and patterns of behaviour, defines this concept based on the presence of a specific location and established practices of people living in it. It also correlates this term with the concepts of folk culture, mass culture and subculture. Ann Markusen distinguishes vernacular and high types of culture, due to the lack of clearly defined organizational formats and control by elites in the former. James H. Carr and Lisa J. Servon, on the other hand, focus on the influence of city politicians and administrators on preserving a vernacular culture for the city's economic development, referring to the concepts of revitalization and gentrification.

In defining the concept of the vernacular city, Jerry Krase and Timothy Shortell use the discourse of the everyday (Simmel, Lefebvre, De Certeau, Sennett and Blonsky) and the method of visual semiotics (Jakobson) and distinguishes the expressive and the phatic signs of visual representation of urban identity. Sakkarin Sapu defines this concept as the interaction of economic, social and cultural conditions in the construction of urban space by its inhabitants and notes architecture as a central element of such a city.

The concept of vernacular architecture is defined by Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin, combining elements of traditional and every day. Researchers turn to postmodernist and postcolonial studies and the concept of collage city. Maha Salman and Hubert Guillaud analyse vernacular architecture through the prism of the sustainability problem. The former identifies sustainability as a core value of root-

edness in the environment. The latter actualizes such architecture as a counterbalance to planned obsolescence.

Addressing all the above researchers and their interpretations of the concepts of vernacular culture, city and architecture, we seek to determine our own position on the possibility of interpreting these concepts with further study of the Ukrainian vernacular city: referring to the local context, we must note that under the vernacular urban landscape we consider only traditional, ecological construction practices, and more the meaning of this concept. We have a closer approach to the interpretation of the vernacular in the context of aesthetics and culture of everyday, and therefore appeal to a set of different (positive and negative) vernacular elements of urban space and cultural conditions of their creation and transformation.

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ВЕРНАКУЛЯРНІ КУЛЬТУРА, МІСТО, АРХІТЕКТУРА:
АНАЛІЗ ТА СПІВВІДНОШЕННЯ ПОНЯТЬ

Присвячено структуруванню наявних визначень трьох ключових понять у межах сучасних вернакулярних культурологічних досліджень із метою вибудувати певну цілісну картину розуміння елементів вернакулярного у міському просторі. У межах визначення вернакулярної культури (М. Лантіс, А. Маркусен, Дж. Карр та Л. Сервон) було виокремлено такі характеристики, як поєднання традиційної культури та сучасних аспектів культурної ідентичності в непрофесійному вимірі життя міста. У межах визначення поняття вернакулярного міста (Дж. Кразе і Т. Шортелл, С. Сапу та ін.) проаналізовано звернення до дискурсу повсякденного (Г. Зіммель, А. Лефевр, М. де Серто, Р. Зеннетт та М. Блонскі) та методу візуальної семіотики (Р. Якобсон) з метою виокремлення знаків візуальної репрезентації міської ідентичності, а також економічних, соціальних і культурних умов їхнього створення та трансформації. Поняття вернакулярної архітектури (Р. Браун і Д. Модлін, Г. Гійо, М. Салман) містить поєднання елементів традиційного та повсякденного всередині постмодерністських і постколоніальних студій та концепції "collage city", а також крізь призму проблеми sustainability.

Ключові слова: вернакулярна архітектура, вернакулярна культура, вернакулярне місто, міський ландшафт, сталість.

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ВЕРНАКУЛЯРНАЯ КУЛЬТУРА, ГОРОД, АРХИТЕКТУРА:
АНАЛИЗ И СООТНОШЕНИЕ ПОНЯТИЙ

Посвящено структурированию имеющихся определений трех ключевых понятий в рамках современных вернакулярных культурологических исследований для того, чтобы выстроить целостную картину понимания элементов вернакулярного в городском пространстве. В рамках определения вернакулярной культуры (М. Лантис, А. Маркусен, Дж. Карр и Л. Сервон) были отмечены такие характеристики, как сочетание традиционной культуры и современных аспектов культурной идентичности в непрофессиональном измерении жизни города. В рамках определения понятия вернакулярного города (Дж. Кразе и Т. Шортелл, С. Сапу и др.) проанализировано обращение к повседневному дискурсу (Г. Зиммель, А. Лефевр, М. де Серто, Р. Зеннетт и М. Блонски) и методу визуальной семиотики (Р. Якобсон) с целью выделения знаков визуальной репрезентации городской идентичности, а также социальных и культурных условий в строительстве городского пространства его жителями. Понятие вернакулярной архитектуры (Р. Браун и Д. Модлин, Г. Гийо, М. Салман) несет в себе сочетание элементов традиционного и повседневного внутри постмодернистских и постколониальных студий и концепции "collage city", а также сквозь призму проблемы устойчивости.

Ключевые слова: вернакулярная архитектура, вернакулярная культура, вернакулярный город, городской ландшафт, устойчивость.